

The Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training
Foreign Affairs Oral History Project

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Memoir
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MEMOIR

At the end of WWII, I was a Commander in the U.S. Naval Reserve, serving as the Head of the Government Section of the Office of Island Governments, a unit of the Office of

Chief of Naval Operations. I did not opt for immediate release from active duty. I was just before graduating from the Georgetown Law School and could finish my studies there by continuing to use the evening hours schedule the school had set up during the war.

In the Pacific Theater of Operations, the Navy and Marines, on their march toward Japan, had been involved in retaking the islands occupied by the Japanese military forces. The Office of Island Governments had responsibility for reestablishing local government in these areas.

Major General John Hilldring was a member of the Army Headquarters Staff. As head of G-5, he had responsibilities for the reestablishment of civil affairs in the U.S. Army occupied areas and for the development of a governmental policy on issues raised by the realities of the occupation.

In the waning years of the war there had been very close liaison between Army G-5 and the Office of Island Governments, even to the extent that the latter unit was housed in the Pentagon instead of the of the Naval Headquarters Building.

On February 16, 1946 General Hilldring was sworn in as the Assistant Secretary of State for Occupied Areas. Thus began the playing out of a very important ritual for the “civilianization” of military and foreign policy, which many think has become a fundamental tenet of the American system of government.

General Hilldring had made it clear before he accepted the appointment that he expected to carry with him a number of members of his military staff who were already familiar with the problems facing the occupation forces. I was one of them.

At the time the Secretary of State was James Byrnes and the Under Secretary was Dean Acheson, and the State Department personnel were housed in the old State-War-Navy building on the west side of the White House. The new Assistant Secretary Hilldring and his staff were assigned to the basement offices of the building.

The responsibilities of this new Bureau in the State Department were exactly the same as had prevailed in the Pentagon. We were the conduits for the military commanders in the occupied areas to secure government wide policy guidance and budgetary support for the carrying out of their responsibilities. This was accomplished by close coordination within the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee (SWNCC), chaired by General Hilldring. An added, but unstressed, objective was to work our way out of a job within a year or so by passing on our responsibilities to the established Bureaus of European and Far Eastern Affairs within the Department of State as Germany and Japan were gradually accorded sovereignty over their domestic and foreign affairs.

Within a few months Secretary Byrnes was replaced by Secretary George Marshall who asked Under Secretary Acheson to stay in place for at least six months or until he could find a suitable successor. Mr. Acheson wished to return to his law practice but agreed to

remain in office temporarily.

One of General Marshall's first decisions was to move the State Department offices to the "New State Department" building at the intersection of 21st Street and Virginia Avenue. In fact, that building at one time was destined to be named the "New War Department" building. It was started before the beginning of World War II and later abandoned for the building of the Pentagon when it became apparent that the military headquarters forces would require more space than would be afforded by the Virginia Avenue building site.

The city of Washington in 1946 was a completely different city from the one in place in the 1990s, when this was written. During the war years there had been practically no new building, and the existing facilities had been crowded by the influx of war related activities and personnel to the extent that trying to find a house to rent was a difficult undertaking.

Rentals were still under the control of the Office of Price Administration (OPA). Demobilization was under way and many war related activities were being reduced which contributed to less crowding of the existing facilities. However, the vast expansions of the Metropolitan area in the later years had not yet begun.

The City atmosphere corresponded to the pre-war reputation that Washington was a big-small town. Bus service was just beginning to supplant street cars, which ran regularly from Capitol Hill and the Union Station through the down town area and Georgetown, turning around at the circle in Rosslyn, just over Key Bridge from Georgetown. Most of the government employees came to work on street cars.

There was no Dulles airport and passenger jet aircraft were only beginning to appear in commercial traffic. There was no interstate highway system with an I-495 by-pass around Washington. McLean and Bull Run were places 'over in Virginia' and Tysons Corner was in fact an undeveloped intersection of two roads - not the enormous shopping complex it became in the 1950s and 1960s.

Capitol Hill, too, was a much simpler complex in that there was only one Senate Office building and two House Office buildings. The second Senate Office building and the Rayburn House Office buildings, with their spacious and well appointed committee rooms were to come about much later, as was the massive reconstruction of the east front of the Capitol. During this earlier period only the major committees of the Congress and their staffs had meeting rooms in the Capitol building. The remaining committees were assigned space in their respective office buildings.

In the House of Representatives, the offices of the Appropriations and Ways and Means Committees were on the west side of the main level of the House Wing of the Capitol. The House Foreign Affairs Committee facilities were on the third level of the building, opposite the Executive, Diplomatic and Press Galleries of the House. On the second level of the East side of the House Wing was the Office of the Speaker opposite the House

Chambers. On the Senate side, only the Senate Appropriations and Senate Foreign Relations Committees were housed in the Capitol building.

Wartime security restrictions had been lifted and the Capitol building and most other governmental agencies were open to the public without passes. In fact, for many years to come, a significant portion of the parking space on the East side of the Capitol was reserved for tourist parking.

Greek Turkish Aid

General Marshall had been Secretary of State barely a month before his first big crisis arose. On February 21, 1947, the British Ambassador presented two notes from his Government announcing that within six weeks British aid to Greece and Turkey would have to be terminated and expressing hope that the United States would assume the task of supporting them. It was recognized by the Administration that this was a defining moment in the development of post war foreign policy.

At the time it was well known that the government and economy of Greece were in disarray and that the post war Communist forces in the neighboring Balkans were pressing in on them in the hopes that they could absorb them into their orbit and control. Turkey at the time was in a process of modernizing its economy and army but lacked the resources to do it fast enough to withstand the pressure if neighboring Greece should fall under Communist control.

In the preceding 1946 Fall Congressional elections, the Republicans had won both Houses of Congress for the first time since the beginning of the New Deal in 1932 and the Congress at that time was in the process of being organized by the Republican majorities. The Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee was now Dr. Charles Eaton, (R-New Jersey) instead of Sol Bloom (D-New York) and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was Senator Arthur Vandenberg (R-Michigan) instead of Senator Tom Connally (D-Texas).

Many observers considered that much of the 1946 mid-term election results turned on a perception by the electorate that the Truman Administration had been focused too much on “foreign affairs” issues at the expense of “bread and butter” domestic matters. Thus was raised the question as to whether a bi-partisan coalition could be formed for the assumption of the responsibilities for the Greek-Turkish aid being dropped by the British in the existing political climate in Washington only an optimist could be hopeful. However, the Administration felt that the stakes were too high to do nothing.

Within a week President Truman had a meeting at the White House with the members of the Republican and Democratic leadership of the Congress. A few days later, he addressed a joint session of Congress enunciating a policy, later dubbed the Truman Doctrine, “to support free peoples who are resisting subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.” In addition he requested \$350,000,000 for assistance to Greece and \$50,000,000 for aid to Turkey. The Greek-Turkish Aid Act passed the House by a vote of

287 to 107 and the Senate by 67 to 23 and it was signed by the President on May 22, 1947.

The speed with which the Greek-Turkish Aid bill was passed and the size of the majorities belied the intensity of the opposition from many Congressional quarters. Nevertheless, it did serve as an assurance that the United States was not going to retreat immediately into an isolationist foreign policy as was the case after World War I. This action also served to establish the fact that a bipartisan approach on foreign affairs issues could be established if the need is well documented and the Administration is persistent enough.

In the process of developing facts and figures to support the Greek-Turkish Aid bill it became increasingly clear that most of the nations in Western Europe were in dire economic straits. It was apparent that the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) was not geared to do the rehabilitation work needed to produce viable economies in the various countries.

Serious efforts were made by some legislators to add to the bill assistance to several specific European countries and to China. These effort were denied because it was considered that time was of the essence in regard to Greece and Turkey. Nevertheless, the findings reinforced the urgency of the diplomatic and media reporting of economic and social unrest in Europe. There was also a beginning recognition of the need for a generalized approach to the problem of future assistance to the area rather than "piece-meal" efforts.

Transitions

Throughout WWII, Dean Acheson was an Assistant Secretary for Secretary of State Cordell Hull. Later he became Under Secretary for him and his successor. During these years Mr. Acheson was heavily involved in congressional liaison efforts. With the arrival of Secretary Marshall and the urgency of the Greek-Turkish legislative program he continued to spend much of his time in congressional relations. As Mr. Acheson was preparing to leave the government and return to the private practice of law, he tapped a rising young Foreign Service Officer to take over his liaison responsibility. The man was Charles E. (Chip) Bohlen, a Russian language specialist, who since the end of the war, had been detailed for service in the White House. He had served as interpreter for President Roosevelt at Yalta and President Truman at Potsdam. He was assigned as the Counselor of the Department with collateral responsibilities for Congressional Relations.

In the meantime the Office for Occupied Areas was having diminished responsibilities as Germany and Japan were accorded increasing autonomy for their domestic and foreign affairs. The State Department Bureaus of European and Far Eastern Affairs had assumed increasing responsibility for monitoring them. As a consequence, the members of the original staff of the Hilldring entourage began to move on. I planned to return to my home in Jacksonville, Florida and enter the practice of law. As a starter, I was offered a position

as Assistant County Solicitor in Duval County, Florida. This position, focusing on the prosecution of criminals charged with less than Capital offense crimes, would give me needed courtroom and jury experience. I accepted it and submitted my resignation to the Department of State.

A few days before my departure, I had lunch with the State Department Legal Advisor, Ernest Gross. He informed me of the new responsibilities given to Chip Bohlen and said that Chip was looking for someone to represent the State Department as liaison with the House of Representatives. He said that if I were interested he would set up an appointment. It was arranged that afternoon and I was offered the assignment effective immediately. I thought of the Congressional assignment as merely a temporary move before returning to Florida to practice law. I rescinded my letter of resignation and papers were completed for my transfer within the Department from Occupied Areas to Congressional Liaison. On February 8, 1948 I reported for duty with Chip Bohlen.

The staff of the Office of Congressional Relations was small. My responsibility was to serve as liaison with the House of Representatives; Darryl St. Claire was assigned to the Senate side and Florence Kirling and Carl Marcy had responsibility for liaison with the various bureaus within the Department of State which had legislative programs of interest to them. In addition, a small unit was designed to monitor congressional mail and the responses thereto. The unit's mission was to see that congressional mail was responded to as quickly as possible, including an interim reply if extensive time was required for the development of a complete answer.

Our major emphasis was to be effective liaison with the Congressional and staff members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The liaison officers were urged to network with as wide a range of the membership of the Congress and their staffs as possible, including the leadership of both Parties. The only exception was that the House and Senate Appropriations Committees were the exclusive province of the Under Secretary of State for Administration.

Mr. Bohlen introduced me to Dr. Eaton, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and to the members of the Committee staff. At the time Boyd Crawford was the Chief of Staff and was assisted by only one professional assistant, C. Burton Marshall. The secretarial staff consisted of three members, headed by June Nigh. All were holdovers from the previous incumbency of Chairman Sol Bloom, which suggested a good prospect for the development of a bipartisan legislative program. On the Senate side, the Chief of Staff of the Foreign Relations Committee was Dr. Francis Wilcox, also a hold-over from the Democratic administration.

At a later committee meeting, I was introduced to the Congressional membership of the Committee, after which I paid a personal office visit to meet the staff of each member. My next sequence of networking was with the Florida delegation, which at the time numbered only six - and all Democrats. Among them was Congressman George Smathers, a second term congressman who was a candidate for a seat on the House

Foreign Affairs Committee. He took me around for a visit with other members of the delegation, which was a distinct benefit. He also escorted me to the office of Congressman John F. Kennedy, (D-Massachusetts), whom he described as a “future President.” It was a brief visit and had no lasting impact on either of us. Fortunately, Congressman Smathers did get the assignment to the House Foreign Affairs Committee with the result that our community of interest grew proportionately.

I made it a point to call on a few congressmen and the members of their staff each day. I would identify myself and indicate that I was available for help on any constituency or legislative problem they might have involving the Department of State. I was pleased with the frequency that requests for specific information were made. Most of the time I could answer the questions or secure the documents needed. On many occasions I would arrange for a State Department expert who was intimately involved with the question under consideration to meet with the Congressmen and his or her staff for a full discussion of the subject.

I found that sitting in the Diplomatic Gallery and listening to the speeches and debates was a useful learning tool. There was no better way to learn to recognize the various members and to find out their positions on various issues brought before the House.

There were two members of the body who could be relied upon to filled up the galleries when they spoke. One was Dewey Short (D-Missouri), the charismatic Chairman of the Armed Services Committee (when the Democrats were in the majority). He had been an evangelical Minister in his district and he possessed great oratorical skills. He attracted an audience to hear the flow of his language and the tonal qualities of his voice.

The other was Speaker Sam Rayburn, who made no pretense of being an orator. However, as Speaker or Minority Leader, his remarks and the outlining of his position on the subject under consideration were of critical interest both to Democrats and Republicans.

Also one could learn a lot by listening to speakers on “Special Order” hours talking to an empty floor. The speakers at such times are not trying to convince their House colleagues as much as establishing a position to satisfy a constituency in their congressional district.

One of the regulars in this category was Congressman Walter Judd, (R-Wisconsin), a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, who had been a medical missionary in China. He was enamored with the concept that the fall of Chiang Kai-shek to the Maoists was the direct result of the Administration’s and specifically the Department of State’s failure to support Chiang at specific critical junctures during their war. He blamed this on stupidity, at best.

When Senator McCarthy came along some time later, he would adopt and greatly amplify the themes enunciated by Dr. Judd. The impact of Senator McCarthy on the Department of State fell heavily on persons who had at one time or another served in the Far East. The

collective efforts of both were eagerly exploited by the Conservative wing of the Republican Party to saddle the Democratic Party with the responsibility for the “loss of China.” It took many years for the Democratic Party to shed the onus of this political epithet. Many observers of the period go so far as to draw inferences that without this “loss of China” syndrome Vietnam might never have happened.

One of the more amusing scenes observed was during a debate on the extension of some provisions of the Reciprocal Trade Treaty. Congressman Knudsen (R-Wisconsin), an elderly man of conservative bent, had the floor and was opposing the bill. He was asked by Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas (D-California): “Will the Gentleman yield?” There was no answer to this standard request for the speaker to answer a question. After the third request, the Congressman turned to the Chairman of the Committee and asked how much time he had left. The Chairman replied that he had 52 seconds. The Congressman then turned and said: “The Gentlewoman from California knows that a man of my age could not possibly yield in 52 seconds.” The Congresswoman blushed red and the members of the House practically rolled in the aisles with laughter.

The legislative effort for the Greek-Turkish aid bill alerted many members of Congress that much more such legislation would be forthcoming to meet the critical needs of Western Europe. One response was an initiative by Congressman Christian Herter (R-Massachusetts), who felt that too many members of Congress were so focused on local matters that they had little comprehension or concern for the problems of the war torn European countries. His answer was to encourage Congressional travel to those areas so that the Members could see first hand the devastation. In this way, he believed they would become more aware of the steps needed to prevent a complete collapse of the social and governmental structure of the area.

The Administration extended its cooperation by making available Air Force planes and crews for the travel overseas of Congressional personnel designated by Congressional Committee Chairmen. The State Department instructed all our missions abroad to extend courtesies, facilities and briefings to such visitors.

At least a half dozen “Herter Committees,” representing various Committees of Congress, were authorized and made visits before the Marshall Plan legislation was presented.

Dr. Eaton, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, began taking steps to enlarge the size of the Committee Staff. He entered into a contract with Dr. William Yandell Elliott, and two of his Assistants, of Harvard University to be visiting consultants during the legislative period required for enactment of any such legislation as might be proposed by the Administration.

The Marshall Plan

One of the unsung heroes of the Marshall Plan was the then Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Will Clayton. The final formulation of the proposal made by General

Marshall in his speech at Harvard University was based on the research and recommendations of Mr. Clayton and his staff.

The gist of Mr. Clayton's study was that we had grossly underestimated the destruction of the European economy by the war. He contended that the economies there were still deteriorating two years after the end of the war in Europe and that the political situations were beginning to resemble the state of the economy. He estimated the current annual balance-of-payments deficits of four areas alone - the United Kingdom, France, Italy and the U.S.-UK Zones of Germany - at five billion dollars for a *subminimum* standard of living. His proposal was that the United States should grant Europe six or seven billion dollars worth of aid for three years, principally in goods such as coal, food, cotton, tobacco and shipping services. The three year grant would be based on a European plan which the principal European nations, headed by the UK, France and Italy, should work out.

General Marshall accepted fully the premises of this study. The main political problem to be faced was to whom the proposal should be addressed. Should it include all of Europe or be confined to western Europe alone? The Greek-Turkish aid program had been presented to the Congress as an anti-Soviet measure, and it was feared that if Russia were included in this proposal it would alienate enough Congressional support to kill the program before it could get underway. The consensus of advice was that the United States should not be the one to divide Europe. If it were to be divided, let the Europeans do it. In his speech, General Marshall addressed the dilemma in a forthright manner. He said: "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist. Such assistance, I am convinced, must not be on a piecemeal basis as various crises develop. Any assistance that this government may render in the future should provide a cure rather than be a mere palliative. Any government that is willing to assist in the task of recovery will find full cooperation, I am sure, on the part of the United States Government. Any government which maneuvers to block the recovery of other countries cannot expect help from us. Furthermore, governments, political parties, or groups which seek to perpetuate human misery in order to profit from there politically or otherwise will encounter the opposition of the United States. The program should be a joint one, agreed to by a number of, if not all, European nations."

At the initiative of the British Foreign Minister, within two weeks there was a meeting in Paris with the Foreign Ministers of France and the Soviet Union to formulate a tripartite response to the overtures of the Marshall speech. It became obvious early on that the Soviets were not interested in such a plan. After the Soviet departure the British and the French extended invitations to all other European nations to come to Paris to consider a recovery plan. Of the areas controlled by the Russians, only Czechoslovakia responded favorably. However they were later required by the Soviets to withdraw.

Meanwhile, in Washington a bipartisan committee of Congressional leaders and Cabinet

Officials was formed under the direction of the then Secretary of Commerce Harriman to coordinate our resources with the needs of the program.

The Administration took no chances with the presentation of the legislation to the Congress. Every effort was made to enlist public support for the needed legislation by encouraging the development of citizen committees to propagandize the issue and by developing extensive and detailed question and answer books for the use of those persons who might appear before Congressional committees or who might wish to give a speech to a local civic club in their home town. I remember specifically two talks I made to civic groups in Jacksonville during this period where I made extensive use of the briefing book material.

During the early period of the legislative hearings on the Marshall Plan, Mr. Bohlen took a somewhat relaxed attitude toward them. At one time he told me that it was our duty to demonstrate to the Congress the foreign policy needs for the legislation and it was the duty of the members of Congress to see their duty and do it. If they fail to do it - so be it.

As the hearings progressed and the media coverage became more intense and pockets of resistance became identified, his actions took on a more aggressive advocacy for the program. He was readily available to visit with any small group of congressmen wishing to learn first hand more about the need for the legislation. I arranged several from among my contacts on the Hill. We even responded to individual congressmen when he or she could not get a group together.

Perhaps the hardest "sell" came with Congressman Eugene (Gene) Cox, (D-Georgia), who was a super conservative member of the House Rules Committee. Earlier, a rumor had been passed to me by a member of the Florida Delegation that Congressman Cox was in process of trying to form a voting bloc against the legislation. I arranged for Mr. Bohlen to visit him at his office.

Mr. Bohlen turned in a masterful performance. He was able to elicit from Mr. Cox what his objections were to the legislation. As each one was raised, Mr. Bohlen was able to rebut it so subtly and logically that at about half way through the interview Mr. Cox turned to me and said: "I like the way this man talks!"

As we were about to depart, the Congressman waved a letter in front of us and said that he had just received a letter berating him by the use of "barroom language" for his alleged opposition to the legislation. He named the writer as the author Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings.

It is doubtful that we gained a vote for the Marshall Plan, however, we did not hear any more about an anti-Marshall Plan bloc.

The authorizing legislative hearings before the House Foreign Affairs Committee reflected the bipartisan attitude of the Chairman, Dr. Eaton. There was very little

opposition to the program among the committee members. At the end of the hearings there would be only one committee member to vote against the adoption of the proposed legislation. That vote was cast by Congressman Bartel J. Jonkman, (R-Michigan), an avowed isolationist, who was destined to be defeated in the next Congressional elections by none other than Gerald Ford, who eventually succeeded Mr. Nixon as President.

During the hearings it became obvious that the “point man” for the legislation for the Republicans in the debate on the House floor would be Congressman John Vorys, (R-Ohio). He was a consistent “devils advocate” for the Republican “opposition” and thereby gained the trust of his colleagues on the House floor, even though he frequently was an irritant to the persons testifying before the committee.

Between the time of the Marshall Plan authorization and the request for appropriations, Mr. Acheson returned to his law practice and Mr. Robert Lovett succeeded him as Under Secretary of State.

On the day that the appropriation bill was scheduled for debate, it was delayed for a few hours for some unknown reason. The result was that given the specific number of hours set for debate on the measure, no vote could be held before nine o'clock in the evening. Mr. Lovett came down to the Foreign Affairs Committee room to confer with some of the members as to what assistance they could give to the Appropriations Committee managers during the debates. About six o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Lovett asked me if I were going to be around until a vote was taken. I told him that I would be there until it was over. He said he had a dinner engagement for the evening, but he gave me the telephone number of his host and urged me to have no hesitancy in calling him at that number if the debate should take on an ominous note.

Around eight o'clock, with many of the members in the dining room having a late meal, the debate became acerbic and there were occasional boos directed at the defenders of the measure. Time for the vote was approaching and the mood of the members of the House continued to get more raucous.

For me, the climax came when a well respected Republican member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Don L. Jackson, (R-California) rose to defend the measure. He was booed to the extent that he had to give up the floor.

I called Mr. Lovett and within a few minutes I had a grandstand seat for viewing the way the system works - or at least worked in those days. The House “Seniors” began to take charge. They included the elders of the Appropriations and Foreign Affairs Committee, the appropriate sub-committee chairman, the Speaker of the House Mr. Martin and the Minority Leader Mr. Rayburn. The Elders took over the allocation of the remaining time left for the debate and gently brought order and civility back into the process. The bill was approved without difficulty.

After the legislative procedures had been completed, the President appointed Mr. Paul

Hoffman as the Administrator of the Marshall Plan. The genius of the plan was the requirement for the creation of the so-called “counter-part” funds. Each government receiving Marshall Plan aid was required to deposit at its central bank local currency units equal to the dollar value of the grant. Thus non-inflationary local currency would be available for circulation in the economy to be utilized by local entrepreneurs based on market needs and priorities. In addition the program authorized the Marshall Plan Administrator to monitor and help determine the priorities for the use of these funds.

The result was the creation of a unique combination of the maximum use of local governmental and private market driven forces. As noted earlier, the primary commodities purchased by the Marshall Plan Administrator were coal, food, cotton and shipping services which in the circumstances needed governmental established need based priorities for their local distribution. The existence of the locally engendered counterpart funds enabled market forces to determine priorities for the basic rebuilding and recovery of the economy.

These counterpart funds were destined to serve two more political purposes-- One commendable and the other self serving. They formed the basis for the later negotiations to establish the Fulbright Scholarships and lesser known student exchange programs. Under the student exchange concept, the European countries participating agreed to use these funds to finance the transportation and university expenses of visiting students from America and to pay the transportation cost of local students going to the United States. The United States was to pay the university expenses of students coming to America under the program.

The self serving use of the funds was a negotiated demand that the counterpart funds be used locally to cover the local cost of Congressional visits to the nation involved. Someone in Congress thought this up as a measure to reduce the size of the Congressional travel budget.

The Marshall Plan for restoration of the economies of the various European nations was a much better bargain for the U.S. taxpayer than the two subsequent *de facto* “Marshall Plan” type operations for Japan and Taiwan and later the countries of Southeast Asia. Of course, there has never been a formal Marshall Plan for Japan and Taiwan. However, as a consequence of the Korean police action in the 1950s, the off-shore procurement purchases by the U.S. for the support of the United Nations forces were of a sufficient mass and magnitude to stimulate the economies of Japan and Taiwan to a sustainable level of prosperity.

In the 1960s, during the war in Vietnam, the story is the same for the economies of Southeast Asia - especially Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and to a lesser extent Indonesia and Burma. Off shore procurement incidental to the war in Vietnam is surely the genesis of the so-called “Southeast Asian Tigers” economies.

After completion of the legislation that authorized the Marshall Plan program and

enactment of the necessary appropriation measures to make funds available for it, President Truman turned his major attention to the 1948 election process. His foreign policy advisors focused on the problem of integrating a rearmed Germany into an emerging European Defense Force concept, which within a year or so, would become the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Congressmen from Congressional districts having minimal political opposition turned their attention to travel arrangements.

A group from the Latin American sub-committee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee decided on an itinerary that included visits to Cuba, Mexico, Guatemala, Panama, Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil. I was invited to go along as the State Department Escort Officer. My function was to be a tour manager and the focal point of contact with the Embassy personnel. We traveled in a U.S. Air Force plane and the Embassies arranged for all local transportation and hotel arrangements for the party. In addition, the Embassy personnel provided briefing for the Congressmen on the significant policies and problems in their jurisdictions. The chairman of the group was Congressman Robert Chipfield, (R-Ohio).

Two events stand out in my memory. One was the visit to Chile, where the Ambassador was the distinguished historian Claude G. Bowers, author of the widely acclaimed studies on *Jefferson and Hamilton* and *Revolution After Lincoln - The Tragic Era*. The Chilean President invited us to lunch at his summer residence in Vina del Mar where another one of his guests was the American author John Dos Passos.

Late that evening the Congressional party visited the Casino of Vina del Mar. The Chairman developed into an avid player at the roulette table. He gave me his chips and I handed them to him as fast as he requested them. I became the custodian of his winnings. As the evening progressed it appeared to me that he was going to play the game until all his chips were gone. I began to hedge for him. As he turned over his winnings to me I split them by putting half of them in a side pocket of my coat. Finally, the active chip pile was exhausted. As we were about to depart, I gave my pocket of chips to Congressman Mike Mansfield with the request that he cash them in and present the proceeds to the Chairman the next morning. He did so and Mr. Chipfield was most pleasantly surprised. It was the beginning of a life long friendship.

The second memorable occasion was a visit with President Juan Peron in Argentina, at which time Peron twitted Congressman Mike Mansfield, (D-Montana) about the impossibility of selling Argentine beef in the United States because of tariff restrictions.

As tour director, my most challenging duty was to get my charges going in the mornings. This was partially resolved by my placing an order for breakfast to be delivered in the hotel rooms about an hour before the members were supposed to assemble in the hotel lobby for the beginning of the program for the day.

The New Democratic Congress

The elections of 1948 returned President Truman to office and resulted in a Democratic majority in both houses of Congress. The Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee was now Sol Bloom, (D-New York). Dr. Eaton, (R-New Jersey) became the ranking member of the minority. In the Senate, Senator Tom Connally, (D-Texas) became Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Senator Arthur Vandenberg, (R-Michigan) became the ranking Minority member. Again, there was no change in the composition of the Committee staffs, except that plans were made to increase the House Foreign Affairs Committee staff by two members. This was due in part to the pressure of the sub-committee chairmen for more staff assistance for their activities. In those days the sub-committees existed, but the Chairman of the whole committee maintained control by limiting the staff available to them. It was also required that their findings and recommendations must be reported to the Committee rather than to the general public.

With the Democratic Party back in the majority, Mr. Sam Rayburn (D-Texas) was the Speaker of the House and Mr. John McCormack (D-Massachusetts) was the Majority Leader. I found both, and their staffs, to be very friendly and helpful. One of their big assists was a parking place on the Ellipse around the Capitol building. With a parking place at the State Department and one on the Hill, I no longer had to rely on cabs and the State Department car pool to go to and fro.

I was welcomed into the very crowded space available to the Majority Leader and used it as one of my bases of operations. Frequently, I would drop Mr. McCormack off at his downtown hotel living quarters on my return trip to the State Department.

I was pleasantly surprised at the ease of availability of Speaker Rayburn. He did not keep an agenda of daily appointments. He much preferred an "open door" policy. If anyone wanted to see him, he or she could come to the office and check in with his administrative assistant and get immediate access or await in line behind earlier arrivals. I found it useful to check in with him at least once a month.

Acheson Appointed Secretary

On January 7, 1949 General Marshall resigned as Secretary of State due to reasons of health. On the same day President Truman nominated Dean Acheson to become the new Secretary of State. In the lower echelons of the State Department other changes were taking place. Chip Bohlen was being assigned to Paris as Minister-Counselor, and Ernest Gross, State Department Legal Advisor, was made Assistant Secretary for a newly created Office for Congressional Relations. Very little changed in the day to day operations of the office. The legislative agenda for the coming years would include an annual renewal of the authorization for the Marshall Plan program; the establishment of a Military Assistance Program for the transfer of military equipment to the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the creation of which was in the final stages of negotiations, and a reorganization of the Department of State.

Mr. Bloom did not get to serve a full term as Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee. Early in March, while presiding at a routine committee meeting he was overcome with a

heart attack and died a few minutes later. I was designated by the Secretary of State to be his representative to accompany the Congressional delegation to the funeral.

The group traveled together on the train to New York and assembled at the Pennsylvania Hotel across the street from the 34th street entrance of the Pennsylvania railway station. We were placed in two limousines and were much surprised when we realized that we were proceeding through the middle of New York traffic from 34th Street to a 120th Street synagogue at a speed of 60 miles an hour with all sirens blaring. This was made possible by the assistance of perhaps 12 traffic officers on motorcycles speeding in relayed form to intercept all cross town traffic until the motorcade had passed. Those who knew Mr. Bloom best were sure that he would have enjoyed the spectacle very much. They considered it a fine tribute to the public service rendered by the Congressmen to his constituency in New York.

The successor to Mr. Bloom was Congressman John Kee, (D-West Virginia), a former Judge in Bluefield, West Virginia who was referred to by his colleagues as Judge Kee. He was a kindly person who was perhaps best described by Dr. Eaton, the ranking Republican member of the committee, who said: "As a Chairman, Judge Kee suffers the initial disability of being a gentleman."

NATO Treaty Signing

After several years of negotiations, the Treaty for the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was scheduled to be signed on April 4, 1949. The event was to take place in Washington at the auditorium of the Department of Labor building on Constitution Avenue. By some strange lapse of protocol, no member of Congress had been invited to attend. Two days before the signing, the White House press agent was authorized to extend an invitation to all members of the Senate. Those of us who had responsibility for liaison with the House pointed out that the implementation of the treaty would involve heavy congressional authorizations for the resources to make the treaty effective and that "senate-itus" was one of the most prevalent viruses in the House of Representatives. At the last moment the White House press agent was authorized to extend an open invitation to all members of the Congress.

The dilemma as to how to handle the flow of guests without written invitations was approached by the reservation of an estimated number of seats based on the probabilities of who might accept such a general invitation. I was assigned to stand on the steps at the entry of the auditorium and identify and greet such members of Congress as might appear and turn them over to ushers who would seat them in the reserved spaces. Fortunately, it worked. About 40 members made an appearance and there were no complaints later that any one had been ignored.

The Senate gave "advice and consent" to the treaty on July 25, 1949. Immediately thereafter, the President sent a proposal to the Congress for the creation of a Mutual Defense Program, and asked for an authorization of one billion, four hundred million

dollars. The large sum was considered necessary to upgrade military equipment for NATO's members and to insure that the alliance would not be viewed as a "paper tiger."

The House Foreign Affairs Committee approved the entire amount and sent it to the House floor with a recommendation for approval. During the debate it was recognized that there was significant resistance to the size of the authorization. To the dismay of the Administration, Congressman James Richards (D-South Carolina), ranking Democratic member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, offered an amendment to cut in half the size of the authorization. It was accepted and the amended bill was adopted.

Congressman Richards defended his action with the assertion that the important thing at the time was to get the authorization approved. Action was still required of the Senate and the time for the resolution of the size of the authorization would come at the conference between the House and Senate after each had passed the legislation.

On the Senate side, final floor action on this legislation was not made until October 6. By that time it had become known that the Soviets had successfully tested their own atom bomb. The Senate authorized the full amount, and in the subsequent Conference Report to rationalize the differences between the House action and the Senate action, the House accepted the full amount.

A New Assistant Secretary

By this time Assistant Secretary of State Gross was anxious to get out of Washington. He welcomed an opportunity to move to New York and become the Deputy to Mr. Warren Austin, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

The successor was a most logical selection, Jack K. McFall, who started his government career in 1928 with an appointment to the staff of the House Appropriations Committee after graduation from the Georgetown School of Foreign Service. He served there until 1946 in positions of increasing responsibility, except for the WW II war years of 1942 to 1945 when he served in the U.S. Navy. In 1946 Mr. McFall had returned to the Committee but was able to secure an appointment into the senior ranks of the U.S. Foreign Service under the terms of an early post war program to permit a limited number of persons to do so. At the time of his appointment as Assistant Secretary, he was serving as an Embassy Counselor in Athens.

Jack McFall brought with him a zest for the assignment, a wide range of contacts, known on a first name basis, and an intuitive knowledge of the pressures besetting members of Congress and techniques for dealing with them. He invited me to accompany him as he embarked on a program of making calls on Congressmen of every political persuasion.

Near the end of the legislative season of 1949, some members of the House Government Operations Sub-Committee of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments organized a wide ranging itinerary for a visit to the Far East. During the past

legislative session a bill which was designed to authorize added funds for the use of the Occupation forces in Korea was defeated. One of the provisions in the bill was a twenty million dollar aid package for the Government of Korea.

The proposed intent of the Congressional visit was to solicit the views of General MacArthur on the need for this legislation. I was invited to be their Escort Officer. I accepted, not fully recognizing that for forty days I would be traveling forty thousand miles in an air plane which had a cruising speed of 140 miles per hour. Fortunately, the plane had four bunks and only seven persons to compete for them. There were five Congressmen, their Staff Director and me. It was a very congenial group but one not focused on foreign policy. In time the trip took on more characteristics of a tour than a serious study-mission, which was a source of embarrassment to some of the members.

Our first destination was Tokyo. At our refueling stop in Anchorage, Alaska, the Chairman was persuaded by the Air Force Commander there that we should have “diplomatic engine trouble” which would delay our arrival in Tokyo by about 48 hours. In the meantime, we were escorted to a sea-plane which transported us to an Air Force Recreational Fishing Camp at Lake Naknek, about two hours away. After about thirty hours of enjoying the camp and fishing for rainbow trout we were scheduled to be picked up. In the meantime, the weather turned gusty to the point that a seaplane could not land on the lake. After due deliberations, the Air Force decided to evacuate us by means of a Weasel, which is a caterpillar like vehicle. It has a track about four times the width of that on a standard size caterpillar, needed to minimize damage to the tundra over which it was designed to operate.

Having been safely evacuated we arrived in Tokyo where we were billeted in the much publicized “earthquake proof” Oriental Hotel, one of the early creations of the architect Frank Lloyd Wright. The program included a briefing by senior staff officers, a visit with a committee of the Japanese Diet and a luncheon with General MacArthur.

The day before the luncheon I was advised by General Fox, the senior staff officer assigned to our group, that I should have the group at the General’s quarters at 12 o’clock without fail. We arrived at 12 o’clock sharp. Mrs. MacArthur served as a delightful hostess pending the arrival of the General - at 12:30 sharp. Each of us was given a warm greeting. After a few minutes of idle conversation luncheon was announced. It was apparent that the General had made a deep impression on his guests. As the meal progressed, it became obvious that the Congressmen were not about to mention Korea. Their silence forced the host to do most of the talking. It was becoming apparent that there were going to be no questions at all by them. To cover this lapse, I proceeded to ask leading questions about the political and military importance of Korea which the General seemed to appreciate. He ended up with statements which could have been written by the current inhabitants of the Pentagon or the State Department.

From Japan we went to Korea where the Embassy had an excellent program of briefings and entertainment, including a dinner with President Syngman Rhee. The same Syngman

Rhee who as a political émigré in Washington in 1946 and 1947 made frequent visits to General Hilldring urging military and financial assistance to his native land. There was no hint passed on to us that a crisis was about to erupt there within a few short months. We were perhaps the last visitors from Washington before the North Koreans launched their attack on South Korea.

Our subsequent itinerary included the Philippines, Hong Kong, Calcutta, Bangkok, Rangoon and Singapore where we were cordially received and entertained. Also included in our itinerary were visits to Saigon and Batavia.

Our visit to Saigon was during the time of French responsibility. The United States had only a Consulate General there. We were surprised at the beauty of the City, which reflected a Parisian aura. The streets were well laid out and lined with trees. The houses in the residential areas were well built and the yards were neat and well cared for. The architecture of the down town area was attractive and there were few sign of poverty. The Consulate General had arranged a program of briefings and visitations with local authorities, including a dinner meeting with the Mayor.

One indication as to the deceptiveness of the atmosphere in Saigon was played out by Congressman Harold Lovre. When we were ready to proceed to the dinner, I found him fully dressed for the occasion, except for a coat and trousers. Upon arrival he had turned his dress white suit over to the hotel for cleaning and pressing based on the promise that it would be returned by four o'clock. He was equating Saigon service levels on a par with the best to be found in U.S. metropolitan hotels. We eventually found the suit but he was an hour late for the dinner.

We arrived in Batavia (now Jakarta), the capitol of the Dutch Indonesia, during the Round Table Talks for the independence of the Indonesian Colonies. The Indonesian rebels, under the leadership of Sukarno, were negotiating terms with the Dutch for their recognition as a sovereign state. Sukarno and his forces were centered in Jogjakarta, a city located in central Java. After briefings by the Embassy and the Dutch authorities, we were given permission to fly to Jogjakarta for a visit with Sukarno. There were only two conditions. One was that we did not have permission to visit Bali, an island off the eastern tip of Java, as the Chairman of the Committee requested. The second was that if our plane was not to return to Batavia before departing Indonesian territory, the flight plan for subsequent travel must be issued by the Dutch authorities in Batavia.

We were well received in Jogjakarta and we found a cadre of supporters of independence who were most anxious for any intelligence that the Congressmen could pass on as to how their forthcoming government should be organized.

Our meeting with Sukarno (whose media persona was that of a playboy) was opened by his speaking in English: "Do you as legislators have a uniform?" It so happened that each member of the party, except me, was wearing a summer weight cotton twill suit - (A la Ben Matlock, in his Matlock TV series of the 1980s).

When assured that there was no uniform for Congressional wear, he turned to me and looked at my summer weight blue suit and said: "You are from the State Department - where are your pin striped trousers?" I replied: "I forgot to pack them."

Upon our departure from Jogjakarta the Chairman of the Committee asked the Air Force pilot to at least fly over Bali so we could see it from the air. This required less than a hour. He then urged the pilot to take off direct to the Philippines. Almost immediately, the pilot was instructed by the Dutch authorities to file a flight plan from Batavia or we would be escorted back to Batavia. The pilot complied on his own authority and we started out for the Philippines where we would refuel and overnight. Thereafter we flew to Hawaii for a couple of days rest and then on to San Francisco. The following day we returned to Washington.

Mr. Chiperfield's Dilemma

In the spring of 1950 the Foreign Affairs Committee lost its former Chairman. Dr. Eaton had been a capable and well respected figure by both Republicans and Democrats during his long tenure in the House of Representatives. His successor as the Ranking Minority Member of the Committee would be Congressman Robert Chiperfield, (R-Illinois).

I was designated by the Secretary to represent him at Dr. Eaton's funeral in New Jersey. On the return trip on the train, Mr. Chiperfield asked me to join him in the club car for a drink. When we were alone, he confided to me that he did not want the Congressional role of Ranking Minority Member of the Committee. He indicated that he and the next ranking member of the Committee, John Vorys (R-Ohio), entered Congress in the same year and that their placement on the Foreign Affairs Committee was the result of the drawing of straws. He referred to the active role Congressman Vorys had played in the Marshall Plan legislation and stressed that he was a most capable legislator who would welcome the role of Ranking Minority Member. The Committee would be involved with the Marshall Plan renewal legislation for at least two more years and Congressman Vorys had already established himself with his Republican colleagues as the "point man" on this issue.

He asked me to pass on to the Secretary that he would like some small Embassy in South America, thus clearing the field for Congressman Vorys. I urged him to reconsider or at least let a few days elapse to see if he still felt that way. He assured me that he had thought the matter through and felt sure that his decision was the right one. I countered by suggesting that if that were his decision he should think in terms of some Embassy where English was the language. I reminded him that if he did not speak the local language he would be confined to a lot of togetherness with the Embassy staff. He agreed and asked that I indicate an Embassy like Canberra, Australia.

Based on his logic and sincerity, I duly reported the conversation. After a few days a formal offer was made to him for a possible appointment as Ambassador to New Zealand.

When word of this offer reached the ears of the other members of the Illinois Congressional delegation they descended on him as a bloc and demanded that he forget the Ambassadorial appointment. They insisted that he had earned a Ranking Member status and that, should the Republicans be returned to the majority, he would be the chairman of a major committee of the Congress, which would be a good thing for the State of Illinois and its delegation. He did remain and when the Eisenhower administration came into power, he became the Chairman of the Committee.

Korea

There was a definite correlation between the development of NATO and the North Korean attack on South Korea. It is interesting to note the sequence of a few significant dates in 1949 and 1950. The NATO treaty was ratified by the United States on July 25 1949. The Mutual Defense Assistance Program authorization was completed on October 6, 1949. The intensive European negotiations in 1949 and early 1950 for a unified defense force arrangement in Europe to include West German participation were nearing completion immediately before June 20, 1950, the date of the Soviet instigated North Korean attack on South Korea.

There is abundant evidence that in the minds of the policy makers at the time the police action undertaken by the United States and the United Nations was perhaps more about Europe and NATO than about Korea and the security of our forces in Japan. The Korean attack was looked upon as both a Soviet inspired test of Allied wills and a litmus test for the NATO Allies in judging the determination of the United States to be a reliable and steadfast ally should an attack be made on one of them. Based on these premises, the United Nations action was designed to be a limited warfare proposal. It's objective was to deny success to the aggressor and to establish in the minds of the Soviets and our NATO allies that such aggressive forays would be penalized.

During the tense days of the early successes by the North Korean invasion forces, the State Department initiated an Intelligence briefing for senior personnel on a daily basis. The briefings were scheduled for the morning hours, and invitations were extended to the members and the staff of the Foreign Affairs committees to participate. It was part of a greatly extended program of closer relationships with the individual members of Congress. Both Secretary Acheson and Assistant Secretary McFall had a depth of experience in dealing with Members of Congress and knew the value of keeping them advised on a timely basis.

During the restoration of the White House, President Truman resided in the Blair House, the official Guest House for State visitors, across the street from the White House. The government had leased an estate on the western edge of Georgetown overlooking the Potomac and Rosslyn to serve as a substitute Blair House facility. Through the Office of Protocol the Secretary used this setting for numerous evening receptions and briefing sessions for Members of Congress to keep them informed of legislative needs as well as reports on the success or failure of programs already authorized by the Congress such as

the Marshall Plan, NATO and the Mutual Defense Program.

The brilliant tactics of the “Inchon Landing” and the subsequent rout of the North Korean forces led unfortunately to an over confident chase of the invaders too close to the Chinese border. When the Chinese forces intervened, the result was a completely different kind of military engagement than the one entered into by the United Nations Forces to assist South Korea to resist the aggression of North Korea. As is well known, after years of military and political turmoil, a truce was negotiated that retained the division of Korea at the 38th parallel.

General MacArthur eventually was relieved of his command and upon his return to the United States and a heroes welcome, he was invited to address a joint meeting of the Congress in May of 1951.

There is a significant distinction between a joint *meeting* of Congress and a joint *session* of Congress. At that time, a joint session of Congress involved an invitation to attend to all Diplomatic Chiefs of Mission accredited to the United States. They would assemble in the House Foreign Affairs Committee room, across the hall from the Diplomatic Gallery. The Chiefs of Mission were escorted to the floor of the House for the session, and their family or staff members would use the Diplomatic Gallery. A joint meeting of Congress is not considered a State affair so no invitations go to the diplomatic community. Nevertheless, they are welcome to view the proceedings from the Diplomatic Gallery.

When I arrived at the Foreign Affairs Committee offices on the day of the joint meeting, I was told by the doorman at the Diplomatic Gallery that Mr. Miller, the Doorkeeper, had issued and given out passes to all the seats in the Diplomatic Gallery. I knew that this event would be of a lot of interest to the members of the diplomatic community and that we would have many visitors turned away. I went to see the Doorkeeper, who really was the equivalent of business manager for the House of Representatives, and protested. At my insistence we finally decided to ask Speaker Rayburn for instructions as to how to handle the situation. The Speaker agreed that the practical way was to admit ticket holders and diplomatic visitors until the gallery is full and then turn away late arrivals. The doorman was so ordered.

As the hour for the speech approached things seemed to be moving along in a satisfactory manner. However, a few minutes later the doorman came running to me and said that there was a man in the gallery trying to throw the Yugoslavian Ambassador out of his seat. Behind him was an obviously irate person who thrust a calling card in my face identifying himself as William Randolph Hearst, Jr. I asked him to wait a minute until I could find the Doorkeeper. It took me a long five minutes to find him, and I had visions of newspaper stories the next day saying that a State Department minion had ousted a newspaper publisher from a seat in the House Gallery for the benefit of a Communist Ambassador. This was a period when Senator McCarthy held full stage and we were wooing Yugoslavia which had just been thrown out of the Comintern by Stalin. I finally located the Doorkeeper who gave me a ticket for the Executive Gallery. I went back to

Mr. Hearst and took him to the Executive Gallery and, luckily, was able to seat him beside Mrs. MacArthur.

The Judge Kee Years

In October, 1950 Prime Minister Pandit Nehru of India made a State visit to Washington. Neither the Administration nor Congress was inclined to have him address a joint session of Congress. The compromise was to invite him to a Congressional luncheon hosted jointly by the Chairmen of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee. The affair was to take place in an annex to the Senate Dining Room and the check was to be picked up by State Department Protocol.

On the day of the luncheon, I went over on the Senate side of the Capitol and checked in at the Senate Dining Room. To my horror, I found out the menu entree was to be filet mignon. I protested that under no circumstance could that be done. The Dining Room manager suggested that perhaps they could serve chicken to the Prime Minister and the filet mignon to everyone else. I convinced him that it still would be offensive to Mr. Nehru. Chicken was substituted and later I was applauded by my friends on the nearby Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff, especially after the Senate chef let it be known that he was having a “fire-sale” on fresh filet mignons.

After the passage of the legislation creating the Mutual Defense Program, the legislative agenda for the House Foreign Affairs Committee was to focus on the oversight and annual renewals of the Marshall Plan and the Mutual Defense Program. During this period there would be a lot of interest in overseas travel for the members of the Committee.

Congressman Christian Herter, (R-Massachusetts) had started a real movement when he urged Congressmen to travel abroad. They rationalized now that they should visit foreign countries often to make sure that the legislative intents of the Aid programs were being carried out properly. Each year that I served in congressional relations, I escorted one or more study groups abroad. One of the more memorable was in the Fall of 1950. It was chaired by Congressman Laurie Battle, (D-Alabama) and was comprised of two members of the Foreign Affairs Committee and two members of the Armed Services Committee. It was a most congenial group and dominated by the personality of Congressman Thurmond Chatham, (D-North Carolina) whose frequently articulated philosophy was to “have an adventure every day.”

We used an Air Force plane from Washington, flying the usual route via Newfoundland and the Azores for refueling. We visited London, Paris, Bonn, Switzerland, Vienna, Rome, Athens and then back to Paris. At each of those stops there were meaningful programs and constructive exchange of ideas between the visitors and Embassy personnel.

The unusual aspects of the personality of Thurmond Chatham were manifest in

Switzerland where he walked into a jewelry store and picked up a Rolex watch and said that he wanted six of them - one for each member of the group.

In Rome we had an audience with Pope Pius. We all had purchased items to be blessed by the Pope. When he came down the line to do so, Thurmond reached in his pocket for the packet he had accumulated and held it out in his hand. Later he realized that what he had in his hand was an unopened package of Camel cigarettes. He indicated that he was going to have that package sealed in glass and send it to the President of the company manufacturing Camel cigarettes and label it as the only package of cigarettes ever blessed by a Pope.

When we returned to Paris and were making plans to return to the United States, Thurmond did not like the prospects of the tiresome ride home. He suggested that we return via an ocean liner. The other members of the party demurred saying that it would be an unnecessary expense to the Government. His answer was that he personally would pay for the tickets and the Government would not be involved. We were able to get reservations for the return trip on the French luxury liner *Liberté*.

One of the minor pieces of legislation to come before the House Foreign Affairs Committee was the creation of the Yugoslavia Claims Commission to distribute equitably the proceeds of a diplomatic settlement by Yugoslavia for earlier confiscations of properties of American citizens. The Commission was to consist of three members, two of which were fairly well indicated by the legislative history of the measure. It was expected that the life of the Commission would be relatively short and, as a consequence, the stipends for the members were somewhat above the level paid to Civil Servants.

Judge Kee wanted to recommend to the President that I be nominated for appointment as the third member of the Commission. At the time I still was thinking of returning to Florida to practice law. However, the stipend was attractive, and it would serve as a further diversification of experience for me, so I accepted his invitation.

In very short order, I had a glowing recommendation from Judge Kee, a strong endorsement by the Majority Leader McCormack and a letter of recommendation signed by all six of the Congressmen from Florida, the latter arranged for by George Young the then Administrative Assistant of Congressman Smathers. It was suggested by Judge Kee that I get also a letter from the Speaker. I thought that would be an "over-kill" and did not talk to him about the matter.

It was a mistake. If I had talked to the Speaker, I would have found out that he had already committed himself to another candidate, and we would have been saved a lot of time and trouble.

Judge Kee frequently asked Secretary Acheson to come to the committee and give them a briefing on a wide range of foreign policy issues. On one such occasion, after a ten o'clock beginning, the Secretary was asked at noon if he would be able to resume his appearance at one o'clock. He stated that he would, but obviously he was surprised. He

was invited and agreed to join some of the Members in the House dining room for lunch.

There is one iron-clad rule in the House dining room - no alcoholic beverages are served at any time. I told Assistant Secretary McFall that I would meet him in the House dining room. I hurried down to the office of the Speaker with a paper cup I picked up from the water cooler and told the Speaker's Administrative Assistant, Bob Bartley, that I had to have enough Bourbon for two drinks. He reached down into a back compartment of his desk, retrieved a bottle and poured out into my cup a sizable amount. I then went to the small office used by the managers of the dining room staff and asked them if I could have three glasses with ice, some water and the use of their office for a few minutes. They readily understood the situation and cooperated. I fixed two bourbons and water and a glass of water and went over to the table where the Secretary was just settling in with the Congressmen. I said to Mr. Acheson that there was a telephone call for him. He excused himself, and Jack McFall on cue, accompanied him. I led them to the little cubicle, shut the door, pointed to the drinks, and said: "Mr. Secretary, there is your telephone call." He looked at the drinks and said: "Gad, I'd like to strike a medal for you". He was considerate enough of the Congressmen not to make the telephone call a long one, but he did seem to relish the momentary respite.

For years Judge Kee had a heart problem, but it did not seem to slow him down. One day, during one of my frequent conversations with him, he spoke to me of his probable early demise. In such an event he asked me to do what I could to try to dissuade Mrs. Kee from becoming a candidate to succeed him. He indicated that he had enough retirement income and other assets to make it unnecessary for her to work after he was gone. He was afraid that she would lose a lot of their resources trying to get elected.

Judge Kee was another Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee to have a fatal heart attack while presiding. Jack McFall and I were designated by the Secretary to represent the Department at his funeral in Bluefield, West Virginia.

The political potency of the name Kee in West Virginia had been seriously underestimated by Judge Kee. Furthermore, my power of persuasion with Mrs. Kee had been grossly overestimated. Not only did Mrs. Kee win the election to succeed her husband, she won reelections until she was able to retire and support her son for election to succeed her. I was not able to persuade Mrs. Kee even to give me the silver tipped walking cane I presented to the Judge upon my return from the far eastern congressional trip. I wanted it as a remembrance of our close working relationship.

The Richards Years

The successor to Judge Kee as Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee was James P. Richards, (D-South Carolina). Chairman Richards was somewhat less amenable to Administration guidance than his two predecessors.

One of the reasons for his reticence was the problem of dealing with the "Dixiecrat"

movement in his district. This was the time in the South, and especially in South Carolina, when the movement was in full bloom. Foreign aid was tainted with the “liberal” brush.

Late one afternoon Chairman Richards was being de-briefed as to his day on the floor of the House, defending one of the annual renewals of the Marshall Plan. He said that he had been working for weeks to get lined up for the legislation the members of his delegation from South Carolina and the delegations of other Southern States where the Dixiecrat movement was strong. He indicated that he felt comfortable with the results of his efforts.

He then added that Congressman Jacob Javits (R-New York), a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee and one of the most competent and liberal legislators in the Congress, came over and sat down beside him. He said he looked at the Congressman and said: “Jake, I love you like a brother, but if I were a rich man I would give you five hundred dollars not to get up and say anything in support of this legislation.” The reply was: “Okay, Dick, I think I know your problem.”

In mid-year 1951 a most unusual pattern began to develop. It was more or less certain that President Truman would not be a candidate to succeed himself in the 1952 elections. There had been newspaper reports that President Truman had tried to entice General Eisenhower to run as a Democrat and had been rebuffed. Also there was a sense that General Eisenhower would be a candidate on the Republican ticket.

As the July appropriations deadline approached, members of the Appropriations, Armed Services and Foreign Affairs Committees were clamoring for the testimony of General Eisenhower to validate the budgetary and authorization levels for the year. Yet, there was a resistance to inviting General Eisenhower to Washington to testify. He had not yet been given his “hero’s” Wall Street ticker tape reception for his war time leadership, even though he had returned from time to time since the end of the war for specific purposes. Neither the competing Taft forces in the Republican Party nor the Democrats wanted to extend an invitation to General Eisenhower at that time which might precipitate such a public demonstration for him. What was the answer? The answer was to take the Congress to General Eisenhower rather than have General Eisenhower visit Washington.

On June 9, 1951 about sixty Congressmen and staff members representing the House Appropriations, Military Affairs and Foreign Affairs Committees boarded a Constellation type aircraft which could fly non-stop to Europe. They landed in Paris to visit the SHAPE headquarters, which had not yet moved to Brussels. All subordinate NATO Commanders had been invited by General Eisenhower to converge in Paris to participate in the briefings and discussions with the Members of Congress. It was a very successful affair from the standpoint of planning to provide the Members of Congress first hand access to the people charged with responsibility for carrying out the legislative intents of the Congress.

Before departing Europe, the group made short visits to military commands in North

Italy, Brussels and Rhein-Main.

Later in the Fall of 1951 the Chairman of the European sub-committee Mr. Zablocki, planned a visit to Europe and invited me to be the Escort Officer. This time the SS United States was to be used as our means of transportation. The party would consist of Congressman Zablocki (D-Wisconsin) and Mrs. Zablocki, Congresswoman Edna Kelly, (D-New York) and Congressman Chester Merrow (R-New Hampshire), together with Mr. Roy Bullock, a members of the professional staff of the Committee.

We landed in Le Havre and took the boat-train to Paris. After a visit with General Eisenhower we visited Yugoslavia, Rome and Madrid. Within a couple of weeks we had met with Tito, Pope Pius and Generalissimo Franco.

Visit With Generalissimo Franco

On our return to Paris to pick up the boat-train to Le Havre, we found that there were two other touring Congressional delegations returning on the same ship. One was headed by Congressman Francis E. (Tad) Walter, (D-Pennsylvania) Chairman of the Immigration and Nationality sub-committee of the House Judiciary Committee. He was the co-sponsor of the 1946 Walter-McCarran Immigration bill. The other group was under the direction of Congressman John Rooney (D-New York), who was a member of the House Appropriations Committee and Chairman of the sub-committee handling State and Justice Departments budgets.

Mr. Rooney was the reason in the State Department that the Appropriations Committee in the House was considered a responsibility of the Under Secretary for Administration and not a part of the jurisdiction for the Office of Congressional Relations. The Department of State in particular was considered a fiefdom of Mr. Rooney. He had an unusual approach to legislative technique. In handling State Department appropriation bills on the floor of the House he berated its personnel unmercifully on the theory that the membership would trust him not to allow the State Department to “get-away-with” too much in the way of funding.

When the three groups were settled in their accommodations, I was aware that when John Rooney came aboard he was provided with an upgrade to a suite of rooms. In due course he asked me to do what I could to keep members of the other two committees from his quarters as the comparisons might stir up trouble. I was only too happy to cooperate, because I was sure that if the Chairman of my group were to see it, he would demand that I produce a similar set of quarters for him, which I had no way of doing.

After departing Le Havre for the United State the ship goes to Southampton, England to pick up passengers. There it is routine for the U.S. Consul to come aboard and talk with the officers to find out if there are any travel documentation or other problems among the passengers or crew with which he could be helpful. While we were in port, John Rooney came to me and asked if I would come with him to help out in a dispute Congressman

Michael Feighan (D-Ohio) was having with the American Consul.

The problem arose after Mr. Feighan asked the Consul if he would mind mailing a few postal cards for some of his constituents in Ohio. The Consul had agreed until the Congressman hand over a package to him of over two hundred cards. After some negotiation and the payment by Mr. Feighan of the cost of the postage, the Consul agreed to take care of the chore.

In early 1952 Washington was the host for the British War time leader Winston Churchill. While he was there, the Secretary of State gave a reception for him at the Anderson House on Massachusetts Avenue where the Members of Congress were the primary guests. My wife and I were invited and we went down the receiving line immediately behind Assistant Secretary and Mrs. McFall. When Mrs. McFall greeted Mr. Churchill she said: "I have loved you all my life" and she placed a kiss on his cheek. The security personnel standing behind Mr. Churchill did not seem to appreciate her enthusiasm. Later in the evening a call came over the loud speaker that Mrs. McFall was wanted at the carriage gate. When she arrived there was Mr. Churchill waiting for her. He said: "One good turn deserves another." With that he planted a kiss on her cheek and departed.

Decision

As the year 1952 arrived, I realized that the decision as to my future career could not be delayed. It was obvious that a new Administration would take over in 1953. President Truman would not be a candidate to succeed himself. I was then 40 years of age, and, if I were going to practice law it was time that I should make some move toward that goal.

On the other hand I had thoroughly enjoyed public service, so I thought I would review my other options. Among the many State Department personnel reorganizations, there had emerged what was known as the Wriston Lateral Entry Program. This program, among other things, would permit employees of Departmental Service to apply for lateral entry into the Foreign Service at appropriate levels based on age, education and practical experience. The written part of the Foreign Service Examination was waived for the candidates but they were required to sit for the oral examination. Based on the recommendations of the examining panels, the candidate would either be denied transfer or assigned to a Foreign Service level it recommended.

During the past year, there had been some changes in the personnel of the Office of Congressional Relations. Darryl St. Claire had moved on and a Foreign Service Officer, Horace Smith, had taken over responsibility for liaison on the Senate side of the Congress. Carl Marcy was now a member of the staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The enthusiasm of Jack McFall, a transplant into the Foreign Service, and that of Horace Smith, a regular, predisposed me to seek the Foreign Service option. In due course I made application for lateral entry into the Foreign Service. I sat for the Oral Examination and

the panel recommended that I be commissioned as a Foreign Service Officer, Class II (FSO-2).

Since mid 1949, our family had been occupying the home owned by Edward (Ed) Ward who was on a three or six year assignment as Consul General at Geneva, Switzerland. He had invited us to rent his home while he was away on assignment at a modest rental fee, because he and his wife wanted someone they knew who would take care of their home. In early 1952 Ed and his wife returned to the United States for Foreign Service home leave, which they spent mostly in their South Carolina family home. In transiting Washington they stayed with us for a few days. Apparently Mr. Nixon had traveled recently through Switzerland and had received what he considered a big favor from Mr. Ward in Geneva. He had asked Ed to call him when he next was in Washington.

The call was made while the Wards were with us. Mr. Nixon invited the four of us to come by his home in Spring Valley for cocktails and to join them for dinner at a private club downtown. At the time the New Hampshire primaries had not yet taken place, and there was much discussion about the probable line up of the Republican presidential ticket for the 1952 elections. According to media speculation, the likely candidates for nomination were General Eisenhower, Senator Taft and Governor Earl Warren of California. It is interesting to reflect on Mr. Nixon's comments about the prospects of each. He was sure that Senator Taft would not make it and that he had it on first hand authority that the only thing that Governor Warren would be interested in would be an appointment to the Supreme Court. That of course left the field for General Eisenhower, whom he favored. There was, however, not the slightest suggestion that Mr. Nixon had any idea that he would even be considered as a Vice Presidential nominee.

As the weeks dragged on in January 1952, one of my favorite Republican contacts, Congressman (later Senator) Norris Cotton, (R-New Hampshire) mentioned that he was in constant contact with Governor Sherman Adams of New Hampshire and that both were getting antsy about the delay in receiving papers indicating that General Eisenhower would enter the early New Hampshire primaries. We realized finally that it would be better for the General to be drafted into the Presidential race rather than be a petitioner for the honor. Accordingly, a letter was drafted to the General for the signature of the Governor stating that if the General did not object by a specifically stated time, his name would be entered in the New Hampshire primary.

National War College

The National War College course consists of a year of academic study designed to provide military officers with a better understanding of the political, economic and foreign policy framework within which inevitably they must work in the carrying out of their military responsibilities. In 1952 each Service Branch was entitled to send forty students. They were supposed to be top flight officers of the rank of colonel, or equivalent, destined for higher ranks and commands. There was also a policy of accepting fifteen or twenty students nominated by civilian agencies of the State, Commerce and

Treasury Departments as well as the CIA. The objective here was to give such representatives a better understanding of the role of the military in our society. It was hoped that the interactions of the groups would result in some enrichment of experience for each type service.

I was among those designated by the Department of State to take the course beginning in the Fall of 1952. It was a most rewarding experience. The mode of instruction consisted of reading assignments, lectures by highly quality staff personnel recruited from leading Universities for short and limited tenures, and problem solving and reporting solutions to the student body by teams composed of representatives of each Service represented at the College.

As an indication of the range of subjects covered, I still remember the thesis of one lecturer, a sociologist, whose name I have forgotten. He urged that professional politicians, such as legislators and administrators, especially at the level of governors and presidents, should enjoy a better understanding by the general public of their role in society and not be viewed cynically by their sometimes perceived ambivalence in the performance of their duties. He put them in a class by themselves and labeled them “our moral-go-between.”

He pointed out that in our individual lives we grow up pressured on the one side by our mothers and religious leaders to “never compromise on principle and hold the standards high” versus the pressure from Main Street, and sometimes fathers, to “be practical - compromise on occasion - a half a loaf is better than no loaf.” The theory of the lecturer was that society cannot endure in a static form. The consensus of values holding it together at any one time must change as human experience changes or rigidities will set in that will lead ultimately to explosions within the society.

The role of our salons is to perceive when and how society is changing at variance with existing consensuses and either try to arrest the changes or begin to condition the members of the society that certain changes must be made in the consensus. This social engineering can never go in a straight line. There is always some give and take - two steps forward and one step backwards - movements which should be tolerated as our “moral-go-betweens” do their work. He contended that no society could stay together with an excess either of rigidity or zealotry and it was the duty of our elected agents to see that neither prevailed.

On the National War College campus was located the Industrial War College. This institution was designed to give special training to military personnel who would be involved in the war production and the infrastructure creation required for the modern day armed forces. Noontime soft ball teams were organized to promote personal interrelationships between the two colleges and to provide competition between them. Late after class, golf games were encouraged. There was a par three, nine hole golf course integrated into the lawn areas of the two institutions. I participated in both activities. I was shortstop on the soft ball team and a duffer on the golf course. I soon discovered that

the soft ball swing began to scream at my golf swing, but I found a lot of pleasure in the participation.

At the end of the school year, the class was divided into two lots for an extended field trip either to the Far East or Europe. I opted for the group going to Europe.

During our short stay in England, I visited our Embassy. While chatting with the Counselor for Administrative Affairs he mentioned that about a hundred Congressional secretaries and administrative assistants were in London at the moment on their annual tour of Europe. I asked what the Embassy was doing about the visit. He said nothing. I told him he was missing a good chance to be helpful to the Department of State - that these were very important people for us to cultivate. With that information, he picked up the phone to see what the British Foreign Office was doing about the group. He was amazed to hear that his British counterparts had scheduled a tour of the Parliament with lunch at the dining room with tables for six and a Peer at each one.

With that information he quickly contacted the travel agency handling the tour to schedule something for the Embassy. The only time left on their schedule was for the buses en route to the evening boat train for France to stop by the Ambassador's Residence for an hour or so if it were the pleasure of the Ambassador to provide a reception for them. This was done and I was invited to help out on the occasion. Fortunately, I had not been away from the Hill long enough to be completely forgotten.

At graduation time a new Administration was in charge, with Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in office. There are two ways an employee can be ordered to the War College. One is incidental to a change in basic assignment, as in my case, or by a detail to the National War College and thereafter a return to the original assignment. I and one other State Department employee found ourselves at graduation with no specific forward assignment. The solution was that the Foreign Service Personnel Officer and the Domestic Personnel Officer would take on the responsibility for finding immediate on going assignments. By lot, I became the charge of the Domestic Personnel Officer. I was assigned as a Special Assistant to the Special Assistant for Mutual Security Affairs.

With the return in 1953 of the Republican majority in the House of Representatives, Mr. Chipperfield became the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. In the Fall of that year he asked me to accompany him on a tour of some of the countries of Western Europe. He wished to have private briefings with the Chiefs of Missions and their staffs so that he might get a better handle on his responsibilities as Chairman. He wanted to travel to England, Sweden, Finland, West Germany, The Hague, Paris and Belgium. I was detailed from my new assignment in the Department of State to accompany him.

The visit progressed routinely until we arrived in Paris. There we ran across Chip Bohlen who now was the Ambassador to the Soviet Union. He was on a routine visit to Paris. He invited us to visit Moscow for a few days. He indicated that the Air Force plane on which he traveled would be allowed to stay in Moscow for forty-eight hours before it would be

required to depart. We were delighted to accept his invitation for the forty-eight hour period. However, the timing was going to be critical if we were to make our scheduled departure time from Cherbourg on the Queen Mary. A visa was secured for us and we canceled the remainder of the European trip.

We were guests at the Spaso House, and our host was able to crowd a lot of activity in a small amount of time. We visited the Kremlin and the Armory with its fabulous art treasures, Red Square, a GUM department store, and attended a Russian ballet. We also visited the Chancery and were briefed on current problems, including particular security measures in effect there.

We departed Moscow at seven o'clock AM, Russian time. We flew in the Air Force plane to Berlin. There we were boarded on a somewhat smaller plane and flew to Rhein-Main. From there we were placed in a much smaller plane that could land on the small tarmac at Cherbourg, France. The U.S. Consul was there to meet us and we still had time to go by the Consulate for tea before boarding the SS Queen Mary for New York at five o'clock PM. The Consulate establishment in Cherbourg was housed in a building on Place de la République just a few doors down from the billets used by my Naval unit when we were there during WWII.

Upon my return to Washington, my first priority was to get an on-going assignment as a Foreign Service Officer. While I was waiting, Mr. Chipperfield initiated and had adopted a House of Representatives Resolution of Esteem and Good Wishes for me, signed by all the then members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

POLAD, USAREUR

In December, 1954 I received orders for my first Foreign Service assignment. Technically I was being assigned to the Office of the U.S. High Commissioner at Bonn, but I was to be a resident in Heidelberg, Germany as the Political Advisor (POLAD) to the Commander in Chief of the U.S. Army Forces in Europe (USAREUR). At the time West Germany still was in occupation status and the High Commissioner for the U.S. Occupation forces was Dr. James B. Conant, former President of Harvard University. It was not until a year or so later, when Germany was accorded full sovereignty over its affairs, that he assumed the title of Ambassador and the Office of the High Commissioner became the U.S. Embassy.

Our family set sail for the assignment on January 13, 1955 on the SS United States. We were just in time to hit an Atlantic winter storm of such ferocity that for one day we made no forward movement. All passengers were urged to stay in bed on the third day out, and should they have any appetite, to call the steward who would bring the meal to the cabin. It was not the best of initiations to the joys of ocean liner travel for the family on their first sailing.

We disembarked at Bremerhaven shortly after a heavy snowfall and found the new Ford

Fairlane which was on the ship with us. We were told that we would have to drive to our Consulate at Bremen to get appropriate documentation for the car, as the Army units there were not geared to supply it. On the way in freezing weather we found that the heater on the car would not work. Fortunately, the members of the staff at the Consulate were able to give us the diplomatic documentation required and fix the heater.

We spent the night at an Army facility on our rather long journey to Heidelberg. Upon arrival, we were billeted in a suite in the Europa Hotel where we remained until the residence designated for us was made available.

At this point of time, all senior officers at the Command were billeted in houses requisitioned at the beginning of the Occupation. The one assigned to us was available soon and with the arrival of our basic furniture from Washington, we moved into it. We were allowed to finish furnishing and decorating it with the full assistance of all the facilities of the Quartermaster Corps.

At USAREUR, I was considered a member of the Headquarters Staff as Political Advisor. I was given offices in a building adjacent to the Command Building and standing instructions were that any staff study that involved political issues with the German Governmental authorities would be processed through me before being presented to the Commander in Chief. I was to be the focal point of contact with the Office of High Commissioner. I was given simulated rank of a General officer for purposes of protocol and facilities. In addition, as a member of the staff of the U.S. High Commissioner I was urged to participate in as many Monday morning staff sessions in Bonn as possible.

A routine soon began whereby I boarded the train for Bonn on Sunday evenings after an early dinner, checked in at the Embassy Guest House and attended the Monday morning staff meetings. After lunch I made the four hour trip back to Heidelberg in time for dinner. The train ride along the banks of the Rhine was one of the most beautiful travel routes in Germany. I was able to make it at all seasons of the year. It was a special treat. Another feature of the assignment was that once a month the Commander in Chief held a meeting in Heidelberg of all subordinate Field Commanders. These meetings concluded with lunch at which time the U.S. High Commissioner (and later Ambassador) would join and give a round up of current political developments and/or issues involving the German Government. It was also the custom that the Field Commanders would bring along their wives who would be entertained at lunch by the wife of the Commander in Chief. On occasions Mrs. Conant would accompany Dr. Conant on his monthly visits, and she would be included in any program sponsored by the Command.

At the time the High Commissioner and the Commander in Chief each had two-car diesel trains available for their use. There were also two single car trains available for the use of other Officers of General rank.

The timing of our arrival was fortuitous in that we arrived in time for the retirement ceremonies of General Hodge and shortly thereafter participated in the welcoming

ceremonies for General Anthony (Tony) McAuliffe, the new Commander in Chief. General McAuliffe was the hero of Bastogne who responded “nuts” when the German commander demanded the immediate surrender of his forces during the Battle of the Bulge.

We accompanied General and Mrs. McAuliffe to their welcoming dinner hosted by Dr. and Mrs. Conant in Bonn. One of the more interesting aspects of this visit was a discussion between General McAuliffe and another guest, General Heusinger of the West German army, about the different uses of tanks in the conduct of the recent military operations. It was the thesis of General McAuliffe that tanks should never get too far ahead of the infantry; that the propensity of the Germans to use tanks for long distance spear-heading tended to make them night time sitting ducks for the infantry of the opposing forces.

During the first year or so of my assignment at Heidelberg there was an Admiral Schindler on the staff commanding the Rhine Patrol craft, which were the remaining residual naval responsibilities in Germany. He was most generous in letting the Rhine Patrol craft be used for representational purposes, as in the case when Dr. Milton Eisenhower, brother of the President, visited the area. On another occasion, the Office of High Commissioner received notice that a Congressional delegation was going to make a visit. I was asked to help plan the program for the visitors.

We worked out an arrangement whereby the Congressmen could have a nice cruise on the Rhine during their visit. We met the delegation at Rhein-Mein and drove them to Mainz where we boarded the patrol craft and cruised leisurely down the Rhine past the Lorelei, (the mythical home of the Sirens of the Rhine), to Koblenz where official cars were waiting to drive us on to Bonn. The delegation was headed by Representative Edna Kelly. (D-New York) and consisted of members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, except for Congressman Wayne Hays, (D-Ohio) who had joined them for the German part of their itinerary.

Congressman Hays seemed to enjoy playing the role of a maverick Congressman. His often articulated slogan was: “If you can’t take the lobbyist’s money; drink his liquor; eat his food and vote against him, you shouldn’t be here in the first place!” His international interest seemed to be the activities of the European Inter-Parliamentary Union. He did a lot of solo European travel on matters related to that organization.

During the briefing session the next day with Dr. Conant, Congressman Hays said: “I hear that you are too soft on the Germans.” The immediate inference was of course that the escort officer for the past 24 hours had been making complaints. However, as the topic was pursued and put into perspective, it developed that Mr. Hays’ source was the Judge Advocate General at USAREUR. This same source had caused me minor travail in my work at Heidelberg. Often, when the JAG had been asked for a legal opinion what came back was much more of a political than a legal opinion.

The social life in Heidelberg was very active among the military community. It centered primarily around their homes and the Officers Club. There were also available the recreational facilities provided by the Army at Berchtesgaden and Garmisch for week end and local leave enjoyment.

In Germany, the pre-Lenten season of celebrations, known as Fasching, was as enthusiastically embraced by the German population as is the Mardi Gras in New Orleans or Rio de Janeiro. Each year during such seasons the military communities go through a series of celebrations, generally costume parties, much more restrained than the celebrations held by most of the German population.

One of the high points in the Heidelberg summer tourist schedule was the simulated "Burning of the Schloss." It was a spectacular event as the Heidelberg Castle dominated the mountain top overlooking the city. The realistic burning scene could best be viewed from a boat floating in the Neckar River which runs through the city. It was billed as a reenactment of the burning of the castle by the French in an earlier century. The arrangement was very life like as the simulation looked like a real conflagration.

The Army-Navy football game schedule was firmly fixed around Thanksgiving each year. By some strange coincidence this was the timing when all senior regional military commanders had to attend an annual meeting in Washington. I was invited by General McAuliffe to accompany him to and from Washington during my first year of assignment at Heidelberg. I was able to combine a brief consultation in Washington with hurried visits to Atlanta and Jacksonville to visit with my and my wife's family during the holidays.

The issue of returning requisitioned property, especially residences, back to their private owners became more insistent as time passed. During my tour at USAREUR an arrangement was negotiated whereby the Army acquired a sizable tract of farm land just outside of Heidelberg and began to build what would become known as Patrick Henry Village. It included houses for senior ranked personnel; apartments for junior ranks; PX facilities; clubs and school facilities. Here again the magic of Marshall Plan counter-part funds enabled the German Government to finance the construction as a part of the costs of the occupation.

One morning I received a call from the Chief of Staff inviting me to a special luncheon for Mr. William Randolph Hearst, Jr. He said Mr. Hearst had been stuck in Bonn for a few days and would like to come down to USAREUR for a short visit. I accepted with pleasure. Upon meeting Mr. Hearst again, I asked if he recalled the incident at the Diplomatic Gallery at the time of the MacArthur joint meeting of Congress. He said he did, and he was of the firm belief that that incident was directly related to his delay in Bonn. He had been commissioned by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to visit all European countries where any form of aid from the United States had been given and report back to the Committee any recommendations he might wish to make. Yugoslavia was the last country on his list, but he had not yet been able to get a visa to go there.

The POLAD assignment was most interesting. I enjoyed being the go-between for such diverse strong personalities as Dr. Conant and General Tony McAuliffe. Fortunately, each had a healthy respect for the other. However, there was one time when things “almost got out of hand.”

About a week before one of the monthly regular scheduled Command Conferences, I was informed that Mrs. Conant would accompany Dr. Conant on his next visit. I routinely informed the Aide to General McAuliffe. Later in the day I received a call from my wife indicating that Mrs. McAuliffe had phoned her that she was not inviting Mrs. Conant to the luncheon on Monday for the wives of the Regional Commanders. This presented us with a dilemma as I was aware that General McAuliffe was out of town and was not to return until the Sunday before the Monday meeting.

That afternoon I attended a reception in the Command Building for the President of the German-American Woman's Club Confederation. She informed me that the Federation was having an annual luncheon meeting on the next Monday in Darmstadt, Germany. I asked her if she would be interested in having Mrs. Conant as a luncheon speaker for the occasion. I pointed out that I might be able to persuade her as she was scheduled to be in Heidelberg on that day. There would be no problem getting her to Darmstadt, only forty miles away, and the train could pick her up as Dr. Conant returned to Bonn. She was delighted at the prospect of having Mrs. Conant address the group. I phoned the Embassy and they secured Mrs. Conant's acceptance of the arrangement. All seemed to be in place and no one was upset.

On the morning of the conference a twelve inch blanket of snow covered the area. There was a prohibition on military vehicles going outside the city limits. The train and local traffic were the only things moving. At eleven o'clock my wife and I met the train and I took Dr. Conant to the Command building and my wife took Mrs. Conant to our residence. Since it was a Monday, when the Officers Club was closed, my wife was in a quandary as to what to do about lunch.

Before matters reached a crisis, Mrs. McAuliffe called and invited both to her luncheon. It was obvious that when General McAuliffe returned to Heidelberg and found out the state of affairs he had persuaded Mrs. McAuliffe that issues of protocol cannot be dismissed so lightly.

In late 1956 General McAuliffe retired from the military to become the President of a chemical company in New York. He was succeeded by General Hodes who earlier had been the Commander of the 7th Army stationed in Stuttgart.

Early in 1957 I was informed that my next assignment would be as Consul General at Stuttgart. In March I received orders for two months home leave and subsequent assignment to Stuttgart. Before going on home leave, we made a visit to Stuttgart, only two hours away, and made arrangement for the storage of our car and household goods

until our return later in the year.

To make things even nicer, General Hodes offered us the use of his two-car train to get to Bremerhaven. We were able to go direct from the train at ships side to the gang-plank of the SS United States. We arrived in New York and worked our way to the Penn Station where we boarded a train chair car for Washington. As the coach was being filled with late arriving passengers, our youngest daughter, age 6, asked why we were not having the use of this train by ourselves. It doesn't take long to get spoiled!

Colonel John Heil, a friend developed at USAREUR, had been transferred to head a Quartermaster depot in Richmond, Virginia. He offered us the use of one of his cars for the duration of our two months home leave. We headed for Jacksonville where we enrolled the children in the public schools in Duval County.

Stuttgart

One of the best kept secrets in the American Foreign Service is the quality of life enjoyment incidental to the assignment as a Principal Officer at a significant Consulate General. Most enterprising FSOs seek political or economic reporting assignments in an Embassy as a means of specializing their skills and getting faster promotions in the Service.

As a principal Officer at a Consulate General one has the privilege of directing the activities of all the components of the establishment. The supervision of the Embassy over the Consular posts is remote and often with benign neglect. You are on your own and are endowed by your constituency as being the Senior United States civilian representative in the area. Housing is always superb and staffing at the Residence is in keeping with the representational tastes and responsibilities of the incumbent Consul General.

In Stuttgart all of the basic functions of an Embassy or Consulate General were relevant and significant. The State of Baden-Wurttemberg, of which Stuttgart is the capitol city, is second only to the Ruhr industrial complex in economic importance. It was governed by a stable coalition of the major political parties in Germany, with the CDU being the senior partner. Our Public Affairs program was large, there being three America Hauser (USIA libraries and cultural centers) in the consular district, and Stuttgart was the headquarters for both the US Seventh Army and the U.S. Seventh Corps which needed the services of an active consular program. Plus the normal visa issuance process for the population of one of the largest States of Germany.

The industrial importance of Baden-Wurttemberg is an anomalous fact because the area is practically devoid of natural resources and two mountain ranges cover the area. The rise to industrial importance is something of a Horatio Alger success story.

Although originally an agricultural economy, several factors brought about the change.

Since the rule of primogeniture did not prevail in the area, with each succeeding generation the family agricultural holdings became smaller and smaller. By 1950 it was estimated that 70% of all farms in Baden-Wurttemberg were less than 12 acres. The farm holdings became too small for livelihood. Between 1870 and 1890, 175,000 persons from this area immigrated to America.

The remaining population was driven to seek their living in subsidiary handicraft trades. This developed skills useful to later industrialization. Some local mechanics created inventions and by shrewd management built them into great industrial concerns. Robert Bosch developed his spark plug and ignition system and later became the largest single employer in the area. Also Mr. Daimler and Mr. Benz developed their automotive industry there. Both started out as cottage industries. From such other cottage industries came the watch and clock, wood carving, chemical and the textile industries.

The timing for my assignment to Stuttgart was just right. By this time some of my War College classmates had been promoted to be General officers in charge of units of the Seventh Army and Corps stationed in the Stuttgart Consular District. It made for very easy and good relationships between our two Services.

At the time of our arrival in Stuttgart, the Commander of the Seventh Army was General Bruce Clarke and his deputy was Brigadier General Harold (Johnny) Johnson, a War College classmate. General Clarke gave us a cordial welcome by setting up for me a Review of the Troops ceremony. He also put us on the distribution list for the early use of the latest American movie film reels for showing at the residences before passing them on to the Army general distribution channels.

We arrived in Stuttgart in late May of 1957. We were pressed for time to get the Residence in shape and all protocol calls made before the arrival of the Fourth of July. A Fourth of July Reception was a tradition that we were anxious to continue. On July 4, 1957 we adopted the custom of including the Commander of the U.S. Seventh Army and his wife in the receiving line for the reception. The Army reciprocated the courtesy and supplied us with an Army band to provide background music from the garden during the affair. This arrangement was repeated each year during our tour of duty there.

During our home leave before arriving in Stuttgart, West Germany had been accorded full sovereignty and the Office of High Commissioner was now the U.S. Embassy. Dr. Conant had retired and the new Ambassador was David Bruce. Ambassador Bruce was a non-career diplomat, but one of the few who enjoyed the complete confidence and acceptance of the entire diplomatic establishment. He served as the Ambassador to France in the Truman administration. In France, his objectivity and talent in the adoption of post-war policies for integrating Germany into some form of European economic union and military defense system greatly impressed German Chancellor Adenauer.

When the Eisenhower administration became organized, it was only natural that Ambassador Bruce would be succeeded by a Republican. This disturbed Chancellor

Adenauer to the extent that he asked that David Bruce be kept in Paris in some policy level position related to the future plans for European integration. The result was that Mr. Bruce accepted an appointment as a Special Assistant for NATO affairs with the rank of Foreign Service Reserve Officer, Class-1 and remained in Paris. Later, when Dr. Conant resigned his post in Bonn, Mr. Bruce became the Republican nominee for Ambassador to West Germany. He was destined later to become the Ambassador to Great Britain. He is the only diplomat who ever served successively as Ambassador to France, Germany and Great Britain.

Shortly after our arrival, an election in the Stadt of Baden-Wurttemberg resulted in the election of Kurt George Kiesinger as Minister-President (Governor). He and the members of his Administration were most responsive to the needs of the diplomatic community and created a climate of friendly cooperation. He later was elected as Chancellor of West Germany.

We established a continuing close relationship with the Kiesinger family. Their daughter, Viola, enrolled as a student at Georgetown University in Washington about a year before we were transferred back there. Upon our departure from Stuttgart we were charged with "looking after" her while she was at the University.

Shortly after our return, we found that she had become engaged to an American citizen, Kurt Wenzel. We gave her a bridal shower and maintained close contact with them for years. In the meantime, we enjoyed seeing her parents in Washington on their official and unofficial visits to the area.

In later years, Viola started up from her home a business arrangement to sponsor charter plane flights between Washington and Germany. She provided summer employment and room and board for our daughter, Judith, during her college days at Georgetown Law School.

It is difficult to comprehend how Hitler was able to get the German people so unified on the concept of a Germanic Nation, when the various element of the population are so different. It is almost impossible to describe a typical German, but no one would have difficulty describing a typical Swabian; a typical Bavarian; a typical Prussian or a Rhinelander. They are all so different.

Stuttgart is the home of the Swabian. The Swabians are the personification of the German belief in hard work. They are extremely industrious, even more thrifty, have a broad sense of humor and speak a dialect many other Germans find difficult to understand. It is a standing joke that the Swabians refuse to spend money before each other. One of the manifestations of that adage is that the Stuttgart metropolitan area with a population of over a million people did not have a single night-club in the city. There were various Nacht Locales where wine and beer were served with some background music, but no establishments which booked traveling entertainment groups. Concerts, operas and ballets were available, but no night clubs as could be found in Berlin, Hamburg and Munich. For

us, this was a plus.

We greatly enjoyed our two tours of duty in Stuttgart. While we did not master the German language, we developed enough proficiency to get along in uncomplicated circumstances.

The arts of communication sometimes take strange paths. The Vice-President of the Landtag Gehring and his wife were caught up in the activities of the Consular Corps. They did not speak English and both spoke German with a heavy Shwabish accent. I could not literally translate a word either would say. Nevertheless, whenever we both were in attendance at an affair, they would inevitably gravitate to us for a long conversation and we would communicate - they speaking Shwabish and we with our "gebrokener Deutsch," a pure "charades type" talk.

On another occasion at the home of the head of IBM in Germany we were the only non-Germans at a black tie dinner. During the latter part of the evening the German men began to tease me that all American men were "hen-pecked." I finally countered with the remark that I had been in Germany long enough to find out who was in fact the head of German households. It is not the Herrn, and it is not the Kinder. That produced a lot of "Ach Soos" and general agreement. At the end of the evening, I indicated to my wife that it was time to go, but she continued her conversation with the hostess. I went for my top coat and brought hers to her. She was still talking and some of the German men began to chuckle. I held the coat for her to put it on. As soon as she did, I picked her up, threw her over my shoulder and made the rounds to everyone to shake hands and say "Guten Abend." She went along with the movement and waved over my shoulder to the guests as we departed.

The German men were impressed. The most frequent responses were - one, I wouldn't dare, and two, I couldn't get her over my shoulder.

We also found some of the social customs tricky but interesting. The tricky part is to make sure you don't foul up the dates on your social calendar. Many Germans issue invitations with the prefix "vorabend" before the date, which means the day before. For instance an invitation to an affair marked vorabend May 19 will be given on the evening of May 18. Another thing to remember when visiting a private home, even for a cocktail party, is to tip the staff on departure.

At a dinner party there are tacitly accepted ways for the hostess to signal that the party is at a stage where the guest may depart without committing a social error. The two most commonly used methods were around eleven o'clock, or later, a new glass of champagne or wine would be passed around or you would be invited to partake of a wurst snack in the den. Immediately thereafter the guest is free to depart. To depart earlier is almost the equivalent of "eating-and-running."

Social life was most active, and revolved around the home and a few select hotels as there

were relatively few clubs available. The members of the Consular Corps were involved frequently with entertainment given by the State and local government officials and the observance of each others National Holidays as well as their standard representational programs designed to keep in close touch with the government, business and social leaders in their district.

Stuttgart was the home of the late General Rommel, the “Desert-Fox,” who distinguished himself as a first class military commander in the campaigns in North Africa during WWII. He later was forced into suicide because of his involvement in a plot against Hitler’s regime. U.S. senior Army personnel assigned in Germany held his memory in high esteem. At our second Fourth of July reception, we were able to persuade Mrs. Rommel to start participating in American sponsored affairs. Later she admitted that early occupation experiences had biased her in favor of the French. In the early occupation days the line separating the American Zone and the French Zone ran through Stuttgart, when the French apparently were most cordial to her. They endowed General Rommel with having been a great influence in the German military against the wanton destruction of Paris. Apparently, at that time she considered the Americans were too inquisitive and too demanding.

On one occasion Mrs. Rommel recounted her efforts to retrieve the Field Marshal’s baton from the German government. She indicated that it had to be sent to Hitler to establish beyond doubt that the General had accepted suicide rather than court martial and execution. It was considered a certainty that no Field Marshal would part with his baton if he were still alive. Their son, a teenager at that time, some years later, became the Mayor of Stuttgart.

In the Spring of 1960 the Foreign Service posts in Germany were inspected by a regularly scheduled Foreign Service Inspection Team. It was a time for reflection on our past performance and planning for future assignments. We had a feeling that our tour in Stuttgart had been most successful. Our economic and political reporting had received high marks from the Embassy and the Department. We enjoyed a good press and the Public Affairs programs had been marked by increased use by the German population of the facilities of the America Hauser and there was in progress the building of a new one for the City of Stuttgart. We had been most active in German American Friendship activities and had been instrumental in facilitating the effort of the local military commanders to get their personnel more involved in German American activities. These surmises seem to have been accepted by the Inspectors to the extent that they recommended me for promotion.

Later in the year I received a letter from the Deputy to the Under Secretary for Administration, John Burns, stating that Under Secretary Loy Henderson was in India for an extended visit. It was planned that upon his return to the States he would schedule a stop-over for a few hours in Frankfurt at the Rhein Mein airport. He wanted me to meet him there to discuss the possibility of a special assignment in Washington. I agreed to do so, but a few weeks later I received a message from New Delhi that Mr. Henderson was

being medically evacuated from India and could not meet me in Frankfurt.

Later correspondence with John Burns indicated that the special assignment was to be the head of the Federal Buildings Operation (FBO), the organization charged with responsibility for the purchase, building, decorating and general upkeep of Embassy and Consular establishments throughout the world. All discussions in relation to it should be considered as confidential as the incumbent was in the middle of a feud between Congressmen John Rooney (D-New York) and Wayne Hayes (D-Ohio) over policies relating to Embassy residence and chancery building and acquisitions. What was needed was someone who perhaps could get the warring parties together on a solution acceptable to the Department. I was told that I was being returned to Washington under orders nominally as a future member of the Inspection Corps, but that would be changed upon my arrival. I was also given a three month stint to serve as a member of the Foreign Service Promotion Panel.

An Army couple who owned a home in an area of Arlington, Virginia near where we lived earlier offered to rent their house for the remaining duration of their tour of duty in Germany. We accepted the offer. Upon arrival in Washington, we moved into these premises as soon as our household effects were received from Germany and entered the children into the schools in Arlington County, Virginia.

Inspection Corps

By the time we arrived in Washington, the impasse between Congressmen Rooney and Hayes had been resolved with Mr. Rooney as the winner. A decision had been made by the Assistant Secretary for Administration to appoint a member of his staff to be the head of the Federal Buildings Operation.

A literal reading of my orders back to Washington was that I was scheduled to become a member of the Inspection Corps. The Inspector General seemed to be determined to have me serve as such. I was made aware that great care went into the selection of personnel for the Inspection Corps and that it represented a great stride on the career escalator to be chosen. Nevertheless, I did not want to leave my family for about six or seven months a year for two years.

My wife considered the timing of the assignment to be unfortunate, but manageable. Neither of us correctly anticipated the extent of the trauma of adjustment to changes of schools for junior and senior high school age children. We thought that the broad experience of overseas living and travel would give our children a certain positive cachet with their fellow students. The opposite was true. They were made to feel initially like the “new kids on the block” and outsiders to all the cliques, customs, and friendships that had been formed locally over the years.

We do not consider that lasting damage was done to the personal outlooks of our children. However, their pain of adjustment had to be borne alone by my wife. It would

have been much better if I had been there to help cope.

The operating cycle for the Inspection Corps is from January to January. The month of January each year is occupied with briefings on the detailed duties of the inspectors with specific discussions of problems or expectations of performances at the posts on each inspector's itinerary. During the months of February, March, April, May, and June the first half of the itinerary is covered. In July all return to Washington for two weeks leave and two weeks briefings for the second half of the schedule itinerary. All inspectors generally return to Washington in December and given leave until the beginning of the next cycle.

For new members of the Corps, an effort is made to have them report to Washington in time to serve on one of the various promotion panels which convene each year during the months of September, October and November. This was considered important as one of the duties of inspectors, at least in those days, was to review the efficiency reports of all persons at the post being inspected and after local observation and interview, write a special personnel report on each. These Inspector's report presumably were given great weight in the Promotion Panel review process, especially at times where there was a great variance in the performance ratings of the inspectors from that of the post evaluators. I was assigned to the promotion panel for Class VI Foreign Service Officers who were eligible for promotion to Class V status.

It is the objective of the Inspection process to provide that each post will be inspected in three year cycles and itineraries are fashioned to accomplish that objective. Spousal travel, at the expense of the inspector, was encouraged. Since I would not have my wife accompanying me because of our school age children, I was assigned an itinerary that involved extensive and expensive travel.

During the first half of the year, I was assigned to inspect our Embassy in Quito, Ecuador and the consular post in Guayaquil, Ecuador. Later I would inspect our Embassies in Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay and the Consulate General in Nassau, Bahamas.

The second half of the year I was assigned to inspect our embassies in Canberra, Australia and Wellington, New Zealand and their consular posts in Brisbane, Sidney, Melbourne, Perth and Adelaide in Australia and Auckland, New Zealand. I also inspected our consular post at Suva, Fiji Islands.

Before the date of departure for the initial inspection site, the results of the Promotion Panels were announced. Fortunately, I was on the promotion list from Class II to Class I Foreign Service Officer.

An Inspection Team generally consists of a Senior Inspector and an Administrative Inspector. The post was required to provide office space and such local secretarial, communication and transportation assistance as might be required, as well as access to all their files. It was the custom for the Inspectors to visit the Embassy before inspecting any

consular post in its jurisdiction. If there were consular posts, the Ambassador and the Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM) would be consulted as to the existence of any particular problems which should be addressed there. The consular posts would be inspected first and inspection of the Embassy would be a wrap-up affair.

The life of an Inspector can be an isolating and sometime lonely affair even though the personnel at the post are under admonition to involve the inspectors as much as possible in their social and official activities as a means of demonstrating their total performance capabilities. It is still a somewhat artificial situation both for the inspector and the inspectees as both are aware that an important rating process is implicit in the relationship.

The rewards for the Inspector are the cases where he has the feeling that his actions have saved careers or his recommendations have resulted in a more efficient operation of the post. I do have the satisfaction of feeling that my personnel reports on two junior officers on their first assignments abroad kept them from being "selected out" of the Service. In subsequent years one rose to an Assistant Secretary of State status and the other became a Chief of Mission. On another occasion the Administrative Inspector and I were able to transform the administrative support at an Embassy for incoming secretarial personnel. This resulted in one Embassy being removed from the top of the list of overseas posts with the highest percentage of secretarial resignations before the end of their tour of duty.

There were some surprises in the South American part of my itinerary. At a social gathering at one post, I was more or less interviewed by the wife of a junior officer on his first assignment in the Foreign Service. She wanted to know if I had any recommendations for her husband that would involve an early transfer for him. Her concern was that she wanted to start a family and did not want the timing to be interfered with by the turmoil of a transfer to another post.

At another post there was a ground swell of resentment among the Foreign Service Wives that the wife of the Ambassador was demanding too much of their time and energy on her pet social and public relations projects. When I approached the Ambassador on the subject, he wanted to know "what else is new." He did promise, however, to try to persuade his wife to lighten up on her demands.

The most memorable subject of my inspection interviews was a young Staff Officer at Quito, Ecuador. He was relatively short and rotund and was of distinct Italian origin. He told the story of his arrival in Quito. He said it was a Sunday morning and it seemed that every single female employee at the Embassy turned up at the airport to see what the new arrival would look like. He remembered that as he descended the steps of the plane onto the tarmac, he heard a loud chorus of "Oh, No - Oh, No!"

At the time of the inspection he was one of the most popular members of the staff. He was an avid bridge player. In his baggage he had provided for an entire year supply of objects suitable as bridge prizes. He had become the friend of everyone and had

developed into a personnel asset that any Embassy staff would be proud to have.

The inspection of the Consulate General at Nassau, Bahamas was the last item on the first half itinerary. Fortunately, my wife was able to fly to Miami and join the inspection party for our sojourn there. It was a most welcome reunion, especially as it coincided with our twentieth wedding anniversary.

The second half of the itinerary involved a lot of travel. Fortunately, the posts inspected presented few real problems, and the inspection routine became easier to complete. There was a great contrast between Australia and New Zealand. The former was reminiscent of the United States in the mid-thirties and the latter appeared to be a bit of England transplanted. New Zealanders counted the number of sheep that an acre of pasture might support and Australians counted the number of acres required to support one sheep. In the urban areas, both Australia and New Zealand had a practice of shutting down at noon on Saturday and not returning until Monday morning. In fact, if hotels were not required to serve meals of their guests, transients would be hard pressed to find open restaurants over the week ends. In the early sixties, the urban shut down on week ends was almost complete.

Upon return to Washington, I let it be known that the inspection cycle was requiring too much time away from home and family. The posts in Canada were up for inspection in 1962. I indicated that I wanted that itinerary for the next year so that there would be a possibility of my returning to Washington for a few days at a time during the year and that on occasions my wife could join me while I was on my itinerary.

There was no problem about the assignment to inspect the Canadian posts. The difficulty was that it would start out in mid-winter. Because the World Fair would be opening in Seattle during the first week of April, 1962, I arranged the sequence of consular post inspections so that I would finish up in Vancouver the week end before the opening of the Fair on a Monday. That worked out as planned but it involved inspecting Montreal in February, which was a tough weather price to pay. After Montreal we inspected Windsor and then proceeded to Vancouver.

After finishing at Vancouver, the administrative inspector and I flew over to Seattle and attended the opening of the World Fair. As luck would have it, the administrative inspector was a good friend of the chief of the Security contingent accompanying the Shah of Iran. He integrated us into the Shah's party and we enjoyed priority treatment wherever we visited, including luncheon in the newly created Needle Tower which became the symbol for the Fair.

We resumed our inspection schedule at Regina and thereafter moved to Edmonton, where my wife joined me. Later we proceeded to Calgary and thence to Toronto. After her return to Washington, my next stop was St. Johns, Newfoundland.

At the time of the closing of our inspection in St. John, I received orders to report back to

Washington for possible reassignment. Upon arrival in Washington, I reported to the then Under Secretary for Administrative Affairs, Roger Jones. He informed me that the Assistant Secretary level Administrator of the Bureau Security and Consular Affairs had been transferred to Madrid and the Director of the Visa Office had resigned to take advantage of the benefits of a legislative program which provided retirement pay incentives for those who retired prior to a specific date. As a consequence, there was a minor personnel crisis in the Bureau. Under Secretary Jones offered me the assignment as Director of the Visa Office. I suggested that he consider my qualifications for assignment as the Administrator. After a general conversation as to my experience he seemed to be amenable to the suggestion. He asked me to give him until Monday to see what he could do about it.

When I returned on Monday, Mr. Jones informed me that unfortunately the assignment of a new Administrator had been filled. The nominee was James T. Devine, an Assistant Attorney General sent over by Attorney General Robert Kennedy. He was given the title of Special Assistant to the Under Secretary of State for Administration pending the sending of his name to the Senate for confirmation as Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs.

My choice now was to accept the Directorship of the Visa Office or return to the Inspection cycle. I had had enough of the latter with its continuing absence from family and the challenge of administering the visa program had some appeal. I accepted the assignment and helped the Inspector General find a successor to finish the inspection of the Canadian posts.

Before I could be introduced to the staff of the Visa Office and report to the new Administrator a significant change occurred. The Administrator nominee from the Justice Department had been jettisoned for a new appointee. He was a lawyer from private practice named Abba Schwartz. The exact circumstances surrounding these rapid contradictory personnel moves were never revealed. However, there were several rumors afloat about the sequence of events. Mr. Schwartz was a close friend of Congressman Francis (Tad) Walter (D-Pennsylvania), Chairman of the Immigration and Nationality sub-committee of the House Judiciary Committee, who was a respected conservative in the House of Representatives. He was the co-author of the restrictive 1946 Walter-McCarran Immigration Act which became law over the veto of President Truman.

According to the more plausible of the rumors surrounding the appointment of Mr. Schwartz was that it was the price paid to Congressman Walter for his testimony on the floor of the House of Representatives in favor of a congressional appropriation needed by the White House. In the early sixties Stalin threw Yugoslavia out of the Comintern, an association of approved Socialists "Republics." Thereafter, it became U.S. policy to wean Tito as far away from the Soviets as possible. When an Administration bill, which had the impact of providing some marginal assistance to Yugoslavia came before the House, it was felt that the testimony of a bona fide opponent of Communism, such as Congressman Walter, was needed to get it enacted.

Whatever the exact circumstances surrounding the nomination, he was confirmed by the Senate and became the Administrator, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs. However, before he took office, the Office of Security was moved to a separate Bureau although the title of the office was not correspondingly changed. The remaining offices in the Bureau were Visa Office, Passport Office and Office of Consular Affairs. To add to the mystery surrounding his appointment, Mr. Schwartz boasted frequently of his close relationship with Attorney General Bobby Kennedy. At any rate, the original Justice Department nominee, Mr. Devine ended up in Geneva as a FSR-1 with an assignment as an aide with the U.S. Mission to the European Office of the Bureau of United Nations and other International Organizations.

The Visa Office

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1946, the so-called Walter-McCarran Act, was passed over the veto of President Truman. The President objected to the continued use in the 1946 Act of the prior formulation of immigration quotas for the nations of the world. The formula provided that the proposed number of immigrants allowed into the United States be limited to a specific overall total. The size of the allocations of possible immigrant visas to the citizens of each foreign country was to be determined by the percentages of the national origins of the population existing in the United States as shown in the census of 1900, with a minimum of 100 to be assigned to all nations that did not score a percentage of population for a greater number.

Another objection to the Walter-McCarran Act was the listing of 29 specific grounds for the refusal of a visa which ranged from carriers of contagious diseases to homosexuals to Communist Party membership to saboteurs. These conditions were to be strictly enforced for immigrants while the extent of strict enforcement for short time non-immigrant visitors became a gray area. The statute provided a system of non-immigrant waivers of ineligibility at the discretion of Consular and Immigration officers; other exceptions required the concurrence of both the Consular and Immigration officials, and still other waivers required Washington approval at whatever governmental level was deemed appropriate by the action officer.

The so-called "National Origins" system, was deemed to be grossly discriminatory to Southern Europeans and Orientals as most of the immigration into the United States prior to 1900 came from Northern Europe, especially from Ireland, England, Germany and Scandinavia. This discrimination had been made an active political issue among the Italian and Greek communities within the United States, whose immigration surges came after the turn of the century.

The role of the Visa Office was to provide the visa issuing personnel stationed throughout the world with regulatory guidance and staff support. It involved issuing interpretive regulations for the guidance of the visa officers in their task of issuing or refusing visa to both immigrant and non-immigrant applicants; to provide advisory opinions as to the

eligibility of doubtful cases referred to Washington by the issuing officer, and, if deemed ineligible, whether a waiver of ineligibility would be appropriate.

The office also maintained and distributed to the various consular posts a "Look-out Book," containing a listing of persons who were presumptively ineligible for a visa because of prior refusals or other reasons such as membership in the Communist party or other proscribed organizations. The primary source for these names was the Security Office of the Department of State, which worked closely with the FBI and the Intelligence Community. The presumption of ineligibility for a visa could be overcome by the applicant if he or she could present to the consular officer clear evidence that the facts warranted it.

When I arrived at the Visa Office, I found that the staff was split more or less down the middle into Hawk and Dove camps on the questions as to how stringent the regulations should be and how rigid the waiver rules should be interpreted, especially for the non-immigrant visa applicants. At the time the Hawks were more or less in charge as they were in charge both of writing the regulations and deciding the flow of advisory opinions from the issuing Consular officers.

One of the first things I was asked to do upon settling in at the Visa Office was to appear before the Immigration and Nationality sub-committee of the House Judiciary Committee and urge the complete waiver of non-immigrant visas for applicants from the countries of Western Europe. Such an arrangement had been in effect for a few years for the native born Canadians, but it was not available to Canadian immigrants from other countries (so called "Landed Immigrants").

The Secretary of Commerce, Luther H. Hodges, was trying to stimulate a higher level of tourism into the United States. He had persuaded the White House to propose ways to cut down on the red tape involved in the visa process and the White House staff had arranged a hearing with the committee to consider such a move.

Based on my experience in congressional relations and as a Consul General, I felt that a complete waiver of visa requirements would not be acceptable to the members of the Congress. Nevertheless, I was hopeful that something could be accomplished to reduce the red tape. In developing the testimony for the committee, it was impressed on my mind for the first time that under the then rules and regulations, except for native born Canadians, the only non-immigrant visa applicants exempt from a personal appearance and interview with consular officers were the diplomatic personnel nominated by the various foreign governments for assignment in the United States.

I was welcomed by the members of the sub-committee, most of whom were acquaintances from my Congressional Relations days, and warmly applauded by Congressman Michael Feighan (D-Ohio), with whom I had earlier made two Congressional Study Mission trips. These kudos later turned into a big negative for me as Director of the Visa Office.

As the hearings proceeded, it became evident that there was no possibility that the Committee members would accept a complete waiver of visas for such a large proportion of total non-immigrant movements. There did appear to be some hope that they might approve some relaxation of the personal appearance requirements for non-immigrant visa applicants.

Upon my return to the Visa Office I formed an ad hoc committee of the Hawks and Doves and told them I wanted them to come up with a visa application form which would elicit all the required data for a consular officer to determine, after checking the Lookout Book, the applicants eligibility or ineligibility for a non-immigrant visa. Furthermore, I told them that the application should be flexible enough for use in trade magazines and other forms of public media and that it was my intention to have their handiwork approved by both the staff and members of the I&N Sub-committee of both the House and Senate Judiciary Committees.

I was delighted with the speed with which the Ad Hoc Committee came up with an agreed draft of an application form. I had little trouble in getting the form approved by all the interested parties having legislative oversight jurisdiction for the Visa Office. Thus was born the "Visa-by-mail" program. The next step was to put it in effect. I was somewhat surprised at the various pockets of resistance to the simplification of the visa issuing process. The timing turned out to be very good as the efforts of the Government to expand tourism into the United States were highly successful, and the increased volume of non-immigrant visa issuance required no increase in personnel to take care of the flow.

The next step was to separate the Advisory Opinion function from the writers of the regulations. This was not done without travail. One of the consequences was the establishment of a direct *sub-rosa* line of communication between some staff members of the Visa Office and the office of Mr. Jay Sourwine, a very conservative member of the staff of the Senate Judiciary Committee. The result was that I was destined to spend hours before the then Senator Thomas Dodd, (D-Connecticut) (not Senator Christopher Dodd of the 1990s) and Mr. Sourwine explaining: "Why was I more interested in admitting into the U.S. aliens instead of keeping them out." I had to reassure them that I was concerned only with a simplification of the process rather than a redefinition of their statutes.

It was obvious that the Kennedy Administration was going to call for a revision of the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act to eliminate the "National Origins" criterion for the allotment of immigration visa numbers. Based on my experience in congressional relations, I knew the insatiable appetite the Members of Congress had for statistics and specific numbers. One look at the Visa Office statistical unit told me that I had a real problem and not too much time to work myself out of it.

The unit consisted of one lady, reaching retirement age, in a small room dominated by a standard sized conference table on which was spread an enormous report form onto which she posted each day the data from the various statistical reports from the issuing posts.

As luck would have it, the answers to my mechanical problems in the Visa Office were available, requiring only the asking for assistance. In 1962 computers were just being introduced into the Government Agencies. The then Assistant Secretary for Administration William (Bill) Crockett had been able to install a mainframe computer into the Department of State and had completed integrating all the financial and budgetary aspects of the Department into the computer. There was a lot of capacity still left in the computer and he was looking for new uses for the unit.

I outlined my problems for him and he offered a small task force to work with a similar group in the Visa Office to revise completely the statistical forms used by the Consular Officers and to establish in the Washington office a central register for the reported data. About a year later when legislation was sent to the Congress to revise the Immigration Act, we were able to send to each member of Congress a fifty page book of statistical data showing the immigrant and non-immigrant visa issuance in every country in the world for the past 10 years. I do not have a recollection of a single request from the Members of Congress for additional statistical data.

Another big assist from Mr. Crockett was a staff project to incorporate the data in the Lookout Book into the computer so that the basic document could better be maintained in a current status. Too, it enabled us to provide micro-fiche readers to the various visa issuing posts so that more frequent up-dates of the look-out data could be mailed in a small envelope to the posts instead of shipping voluminous printed material.

One Wednesday morning I received a call from a reporter from the New York Times who said he was at the LaGuardia airport. He wanted to know the story behind his report that a Mr. Cunningham, retired Chairman of the Communist Party in Great Britain, would be arriving in New York on Friday. I told him that I was not aware of the event and thanked him for alerting me. I promised to check it out.

I called the newly established Head of the Advisory Opinion Section and asked him if he had approved a waiver for Mr. Cunningham's visit. He said yes because he considered it an open-and-shut case. Mr. Cunningham was retired; he was 84 years of age and he was destined to go to Chicago to see his sister who was recovering from a serious operation. It was a humanitarian and not a business trip for him. I chided him for not circulating his waiver approval message for concurrence by all Departmental interested parties, such as the Director of the Visa Office, the Administrator of the Bureau for Security and Consular Affairs and the Bureau for European Affairs. I reminded him of the prevailing political climate in regard to communist travel and activities. We both agreed that if he had circulated the message of approval it probably would have received concurrence by all concerned.

I immediately reported the matter to Mr. Schwartz and recommended that we answer any press inquiries by stressing the humanitarian aspects of the visit. While I was sitting at his desk, Mr. Schwartz had his secretary put through a call to the Consul at Glasgow,

Scotland who by that hour in Scotland was at home. The Consul was ordered to proceed to the home of Mr. Cunningham and cancel the visa.

Mr. Schwartz was upset further with the fact that there was not a standard procedure for a Departmental investigation of each and every reason given by the visa applicant as a basis to justify a request for the waiver of ineligibility. He directed that such a procedure be set up.

The Consul was able to reach Mr. Cunningham and cancel the visa. The next day the story of the cancellation of the visa hit the British press. It created an uproar which was taken up immediately by the American press. Within a few days word came to Mr. Schwartz from the White House that he rescind his order and reinstate the visa.

The procedure ordered for the investigation of the accuracy of the statements made by applicants pursuant to a request for waiver of ineligibility lasted only a few months. It was considered that it was too man-power costly for the meager contribution to the security of the non-immigrant visa process.

Unfortunately for Mr. Schwartz, his travail did not end there. Within a few weeks Congressman Francis (Tad) Walter died. The successor to the chairmanship of the Immigration and Nationality sub-committee of the House Judiciary Committee was Congressman Michael Feighan (D-Ohio). Mr. Feighan was a man of intense likes and dislikes. He had the feeling that Mr. Walter had both ignored and imposed on him during his years on the committee. The practical result was that any friend of Mr. Walter was no friend of his. Mr. Schwartz was classified as a friend of Tad Walter which meant he would be ignored by Mr. Feighan and the Committee.

In late 1963 the Secretary of Labor, Willard W. Wirtz signed an order abolishing the Mexican "Bracero Labor Plan." The Bracero plan worked many years to regulate and supply the short term farm labor needs of the fruit and vegetable growers of Southern California. The Immigration Service of the United States undertook the task of collecting workers in Mexico and delivering them to the specific farms where their services were required and then picking the workers up from the farms when their service contract expired and returning them to Mexico. This was accomplished by liaison with U.S. Labor Department field offices in California to identify specific labor requirements and the Mexican Government Immigration offices which recruit the specific number and types of laborers required.

This practical plan had worked satisfactorily for a number of years. However, it was opposed by the California Labor Movement led by Mr. Caesar Chavez.

The immediate impact of this decision was to create a crisis in the U.S. Consular establishments in Mexico. Now each member of the farm labor migration would need an immigrant visa. Within a few weeks the Consular establishments near the border of the United States had a five to six year backlog of immigrant visa applicants (measured by

the immigrant visa issuance capacity of the existing staffs).

After extensive consultation with the Labor and Agriculture Departments and a visit to our Embassy in Mexico and the consular posts near the border, a plan began to emerge which was designed to offer at least a temporary solution to the problem. By this time it was assumed by all that the next session of Congress would be asked to revise extensively the basic Walter McCarran Immigration Act.

The procedure established to work around the crisis was to require all immigrant visa applicants in Mexico who were destined for farm work in the United States to have their prospective employer provide them with a certificate issued by the Department of Agriculture field office that their offer for employment in the United States was bona fide. This imposed very little effort on the various farm groups requiring seasonal labor and it was practical insurance against wide spread fraud.

The Consular officers were required to return all current farm labor visa applications and outline the new procedure which must be followed for a renewal of the application. This was most successful as a device to get the visa issuance task back in manageable proportions. It was never anticipated that about a year later during the final stages of enactment of the new Immigration and Nationality Act we would have to fight to keep the Congress from adopting this or a similar formula for all immigrant visa applicants.

After the assassination of President Kennedy and the arrival of President Johnson, the watchword was to have enacted the full legislative programs of the late President. The promise to eliminate the “national origins” system from the Immigration and Nationality Act became a priority in the White House. The White House General Counsel Matthew J. Connelly was the moving force. Partly because of Mr. Schwartz’s difficulty with the House Judiciary Committee, the White House elected to utilize the resources of the Department of Justice rather than the Department of State for the presentation of the legislation to the Congress. This is not as illogical as it may seem. The Immigration and Naturalization Service is a unit of the Justice Department and that Service is bound by the same law, rules and regulations relating to immigration as is the Consular Service Bureau of the Department of State. In fact both Services were under the same oversight jurisdiction of the House Appropriations sub-committee, chaired by Congressman John Rooney (D-New York).

The revision of the Walter McCarran Immigration Act eliminated the “national origins” allocation system but barely touched the restrictive provisions on eligibility for immigration. The allocation of quotas was approached on a pragmatic basis, assuring most large nations at least a quota of 20,000 and smaller nations were given stepped up numbers at the expense of Great Britain, Germany and the countries of Scandinavia.

The issue that caused the most consultation and discussion was what to do with the Western Hemisphere nations. It is hard for the Americans living in the 1990s to comprehend that before 1964 there were no numerical limitations on immigration into the

United States from the Western Hemisphere nations. The simple device applicable to all immigrant visa applicants of requiring a sponsor and requiring the applicant to establish that he or she would not become a public charge upon arrival in the United States had controlled immigration from the Western Hemisphere without noticeable problems.

The decision finally was to require quotas of specific sizes for Canada and the Latin American world. The mass migrations in recent years from Cuba and Mexico are unrelated to the size of the immigration quotas of each. The Cuban immigration into the State of Florida is a product of the failure of the Bay of Pigs adventure and the refugee stream it produced. In California the problem has been one of dealing with illegal immigration from Mexico, especially since the ending of the Bracero farm worker program.

Our continuing liaison with the task force operating the Department of State computer program was about to take a new turn. We began to think in terms of what would be the contribution to efficiency in the visa issuance process if the large non-immigrant visa issuing posts had a direct on-line connection with the main frame computer for the search of the centralized Lookout Book. This move was to have an impact on my future assignment.

During the Christmas season of 1964 we planned to return to Florida for part of our annual leave. A Foreign Service couple we knew well were given the use of our home for the holidays provided they would keep house for our three children for about four days and, when their school Holidays began, take them to the airport to board a plane for Florida. We had planned a leisurely trip to Florida, a short visit in Richmond with our USAREUR friends Colonel John and Lucy Heil and a longer stay with relatives in Florence, South Carolina.

At Richmond I received a phone call from Assistant Secretary Crockett asking that I return to Washington for a day of consultation. I agreed to return the next day and then return to Richmond. Upon my arrival in Washington I was informed that a decision had been made to retire Mr. Schwartz at the end of the calendar year. Mr. Crockett wanted to make sure that I was interested in being the successor. I indicated that I was interested and asked if I needed to return to Washington immediately or if I should make any contacts on the Hill on my behalf as a candidate for the position. I was assured that nothing further needed to be done. I was to enjoy my leave and be prepared to take over in January.

Upon my return in late December I was informed that Secretary Rusk had second thoughts about releasing Mr. Schwartz. He indicated that if Mr. Schwartz had been appointed originally by the State Department there would be no problem, but that the President had on more than one occasion indicated that it was his policy to keep the personnel appointed by President Kennedy. This was not only a great disappointment, it posed a problem for me to continue serving as the Director of the Visa Office. I was assured by Mr. Crockett that the departure of Mr. Schwartz was only a question of time, and that I would be his successor. I was urged to continue my tour as the Director of the

Visa Office, which I did.

After the distribution of the regulatory material related to the changes in the Immigration and Nationality Act, things settled into a calm routine procedure. I had the feeling that things were more or less on “automatic pilot.”

The more we studied the concept of connecting the large non-immigrant visa issuing posts into the computer in Washington the better we liked the idea. We thought it would be useful to try it out at one post to see how well it would work. Toronto was selected as the ideal place to start. While native born Canadian citizens did not require a non-immigrant visa to visit the States, there was a very large demand from the so-called Landed Immigrants in Canada. The proximity to Washington had the advantages of smaller connection cost for the system and ease of monitoring the nuts and bolts of the experimental operation. It was decided that I would be transferred to Toronto as Consul General and institute the system. The assignment had to await the normal rotation of the incumbent to another assignment.

Toronto

At the time we arrived in Toronto in very early January, 1966 our family was scattered. One daughter was at Yale Graduate School, another in her second year at the University of Florida and the youngest was a high school sophomore in Arlington, Virginia. Our first disappointment was the impossibility of a rational basis for a transfer of our youngest daughter into the Canadian high school system. The Canadian school system of 13 grades instead of the 12 grade plan in the United States made a smooth transfer impossible. The price would have been an impossible overload of course requirements or the loss of a full school year of credit. It was decided finally that she would remain in Virginia with friends of the family during school terms until her graduation.

Otherwise, Toronto was an excellent career assignment. The city was a thriving metropolis, recognized as the hub of economic and political power in Canada. In addition, the people were friendly, the English language was spoken and the climate was much more moderate than in other parts of Canada. At the time of our arrival we were showered with kindness bordering on affection. The media gave us a warm welcome, and, on a few occasions I had to remind our governmental and private hosts that the Dean of the Consular Corps had protocol precedence over me, a new arrival. The necessity for this was brought home to me in no uncertain terms one evening shortly after our arrival in Toronto. We were invited to a theater party. The guests arrived early for the especially reserved seats. The host placed us in seats on his right side. As the hour approached for the performance, there was missing one invited couple. They were the Dean of the Consular Corps and his wife who were found in an ante-room of the theater refusing to enter until they were give the “seat of honor.” The host explained the matter to us and we were moved to less conspicuous seats.

We were given honorary memberships in a variety of clubs, including the University Club

and the Royal Canadian Military Institute, which were located in the same block as the Consulate General, and the Hunt Club with its golf privileges. The full impact of our involvement in Viet Nam was not yet a negative factor. The mood was dominated by the positive factors of the success of the first space walk on the moon.

At the time one of the most prestigious luncheon forums in Canada was the Empire Club. I was given honorary membership in the organization and became a regular head table resident. At least once a month the organization would have a speaker of national or international stature to give a luncheon address.

The installation of the computer assisted tie-in to the visa application process worked smoothly and required only a minimum of return visits by the electronic technicians required to set up the system. It did serve to speed up the visa issuance process and had the advantage of providing the issuers with the latest visa look-out material available to the Government.

As time moved on and the resistance to the involvement in Vietnam grew in the United States, the atmosphere in Ontario began to change. A lot of the change was nurtured by the flow of academics from the United States into Canada. Not only were United States students coming to Canada in droves, the Canadian Colleges and Universities were actively recruiting activist American professors to teach in their colleges and universities.

One morning the Senior Canadian staff member reported to me that he had a call from the Dean of a college in southwest Ontario asking him to intervene with the Canadian Immigration authorities. The problem was the fact that the College had recruited a professor from a state side university who had been arrested three times and the Canadian authorities had refused to admit him into Canada because of his police record.

In retrospect, it seems to me that the assassination of Attorney General Kennedy, the police confrontation with the protesters at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago and the Kent State incident were watershed events. Each event brought about louder press opposition, an increase in the number of scheduled college and university teach-ins and organized demonstrations against the war before the front doors of the American Consulate General.

The Consulate General has a prime location in the heart of Toronto not far from the Ontario Parliament building and the City Hall. It was a convenient and favorite place for the demonstrators and the press photographers to meet. In later years when things began to calm down, I have a distinct memory of looking out of the window and seeing a full fledged demonstration going on. The demonstrators were chanting "Get Canadian Banks out of Trinidad," an issue without a shred of United States interest or involvement.

Only on rare occasions were our American or Canadian personnel intimidated or their property attacked. Twice there were rashes of smudging of the windshields and bodies of automobiles owned by our Canadian staff members. We made it a policy that all graffiti

would be cleansed as quickly as the vehicle could be brought to the Consulate General garage.

Perhaps the tensest moments came after the confrontation at Kent College, where a student demonstrator was killed. At the time we were guests of friends at their weekend home on one of the lakes of northern Ontario. We had left our daughter, who now was a student at the University of Toronto, at home with our housekeeper. Upon our return we found the Ontario police guarding our residence around the clock. They had received a report that threats had been made to make "one of them" pay the price for the death of the student at Kent State University.

At the time of my routine home leave, the Under Secretary of State for Administration asked me to take time out in order to head a technical delegation to several posts in Europe. The intention was to initiate plans for the installation of the computer tie-in to the visa issuing process.

We visited the larger non-immigrant visa issuing posts at London, Paris, Rome and Frankfurt Germany. I explained the procedures we had established in Toronto, and the technicians were ready to supply the hardware and the connections. All were agreeable, and the tie-ins became effective a short time thereafter.

Mr. David Bruce was now the Ambassador in London. He invited me to be his Consul General in London. I expressed my appreciation but indicated that I had only a few more years before my mandatory retirement age and also that I had the possibility of a contingency opening up back in Washington which would permit me to continue to serve beyond my retirement limit.

Upon my return from home leave in 1968, Mr. Nixon had not yet been nominated on the Republican ticket and the Democrats had not yet endured the Chicago confrontation. One of the early speakers at the Empire Club forum was Mr. Nixon. His topic could only have been about our involvement in Vietnam. The speech he gave could have been written in the Pentagon or in the Johnson White House. He held strictly to the line that the stakes were well worth fighting for and that we should prosecute the war to victory. The message was well received and the response was enthusiastic.

Some months later, after Chicago, Mr. Averell Harriman was the guest speaker. I was with the delegation that met him at the airport. During the ride into Toronto, Mr. Harriman chided the Toronto news media for their pessimistic reporting on the Vietnam situation.

When he was introduced at the luncheon, he was given a hero's welcome. There was a noisy and a long standing ovation for the man and for his distinguished career of service for his country and, incidentally, the British Commonwealth in World War II. He had no alternative but to address the subject of Vietnam. When he finished he was given a polite round of applause. The contrast between the mild applause for the speech and the ovation

before the speech came as a visible shock to him. There were no complaints, but he was much less talkative on the road back to the airport.

Another distinguished speaker to appear before the Empire Club was Mr. Justice William O. Douglas. After the luncheon was over, he had a few hours to kill before his scheduled plane departure later in the afternoon. I offered to show him around Toronto and take him back to the airport. He was interested in the University of Toronto in particular. Through a friend of my daughter, who was now a student there, we were able to arrange a group to interview him.

On the way to the airport I mentioned that during the height of the McCarthy era I had undertaken to develop a legal treatise on the subject of the rights of private citizens who were called before Congressional Investigation Committees, but I had not done much yet about getting it published. I asked him if he would be interested in reading it. He said that he would be delighted to do so. The next day I mailed him a copy and within a week I had a telephone call from him saying that he liked the paper very much and would I mind if he had it published for me. I said be my guest! He sent it to the Southern California Law Review and it was published as a lead article entitled *Congressional Investigations and Private Persons*.

As was long expected, Mr. Abba Schwartz resigned as Administrator, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs and almost immediately thereafter a successor was named. It was a retired New York judge, a constituent of Congressman John Rooney (D-New York). It was a great disappointment for me that the Under Secretary for Administration had allowed Mr. Rooney's marginal political interest to override his promise to me when I was assigned to Toronto. Nevertheless, I had the feeling that I was a pioneer in introducing the Consular establishment to the new world of electronics and the efficiencies made possible by instant communication.

Fortunately, in recent years, enabled by the sophistication of digitalization, scanning processes and the Internet, the Consular visa and passport functions have been transformed into very efficient operations by a centralization of functions outside of the Consular establishment. I have the feeling that they are my progeny.

At the time I was two years from mandatory retirement age and I had no desire to end my career quietly in Toronto. I had enjoyed aspects of my tour as Foreign Service Inspector and now that my family situation was such that my wife could accompany me, I elected to return to the Inspection Corps so that, among other reasons, she could enjoy some extended travel.

Inspection Corps II

My return to the Inspection Corps was in the Fall of 1970. The inspection itinerary was for the Consulate General in Hong Kong and the Embassy in Rangoon, Burma plus the Consulate in Mandalay.

From Washington, Burma is the “point-of-no-return,” a way of saying that once you get this far from home it is less expensive to go on around the world than it is to retrace the outbound route for a return to Washington. Accordingly, we were armed with round-the-world tickets. I was pleasantly surprised to find that the ticket I had to pay for was substantially less expensive than a round trip ticket to Rangoon would have been. We proceeded to Hong Kong via Tokyo. We arrived on a Friday and did not have to report in to Hong Kong until Monday. The Administrative Officer in Tokyo suggested that we utilize the time to go up to Kyoto and visit the gardens there. His staff made reservations for us on the famous Bullet Train and for a stay at an authentic Japanese Inn. He also had a member of the Japanese staff to give us slips of paper on which were instructions in Japanese for use with cab drivers in getting us to the inn and later to the various sights we were to explore, including the intellectually stimulating Sand Garden. (One stares at the sand and muses to himself as fancy directs).

We slept on pallets and our quarters were equipped with a Japanese Bath and an interestingly planted atrium. Meals were brought to us. I was practical and ordered from the menu western dishes as I could recognize, such as steaks and eggs. My wife was more adventurous and ordered oriental dishes, in some cases much to her disappointment.

We returned to Tokyo the next day and had a short visit with a former Japanese Consul General who had served in Toronto with us. On Sunday we went on to Hong Kong. We were given quarters in an apartment assigned to a Foreign Service Officer who currently was in the States on home leave. It was in an apartment building about half way up the mountain which is Hong Kong overlooking the bay with a magnificent view of the city and the activities in the bay.

We were there about six weeks and enjoyed the hospitality of the members of the staff and honorary membership in the American Club with its excellent cuisine. One of the more memorable events was a visit to Macao via a two hour ride in a hydrofoil craft. Out on the open ocean the ride was as smooth as silk.

The timing of our visit was an added bonus for my wife. It was a period of the turn of season sales. Regular reasonable prices were cut in half on all feminine wear. She enjoyed the shopping very much.

Our next stop was Burma. In Rangoon we, including the accompanying Administrative Inspector, were billeted in a fully staffed and equipped free standing house assigned to a Foreign Service family, currently on home leave.

Personnel assigned to such posts as Burma in 1970 learned to fashion their interests to simple things such as reading, bridge, sports and local travel. One of the regular diversions was an afternoon, after office hours, softball game between Embassy personnel and members of the Marine detachment assigned there. The field on which the softball game was played was equipped with bleachers to accommodate the family spectators. The bleachers were the favorite place for the local black crows, somewhat larger than the

State side variety, to assemble and fuss at us and each other. They made much more noise than the spectators at the game. I could well understand why it was the practice in Burma to have a “forward caddie” in golf. In addition to the caddie to carry the golf clubs, someone needs to be forward to protect the driven white golf ball from being picked up by crows.

Burma is the land of Pagodas. The dominant part of the landscape of Rangoon is the gold covered dome of the central Pagoda. Between Rangoon and Mandalay is the city of Pagan with its hundreds of Pagodas varying both in size and state of maintenance or decay. Apparently it is the tradition in Burma that anyone can build a pagoda and earn credit to be used in his or her after life but credit does not accrue to heirs, even if they commit themselves to maintaining the Pagoda in excellent condition. However, the Pagoda maintains its holy status and visitors are expected to be bare-footed when visiting the Pagoda and its surrounding grounds. This presented a real problem for my wife but her enthusiasm for sight seeing outweighed her reluctance to walk barefooted in areas frequented with fowl and domesticated animal residues. Pagan is an established tourist “must” when visiting Burma.

We had to use Burmese airplanes to get from Rangoon to Mandalay. That can be a once in a lifetime experience. In 1970 there was no radar equipment outside of Rangoon, which required that all schedules must be completed before nightfall. The rules for carry-on baggage were very lax. Frequently travelers boarded with wired crates of live poultry and bundles of farm produce.

However, the operators were quite accommodating. On our visit to Mandalay the plane pilot stopped off in Pagan for us to visit the Pagodas even though it was not a scheduled stop, promising to return and pick us up at 4 PM and take us on to Mandalay. Embassy personnel had arranged for us to rent a jeep and driver during our visit to take us around to the various points of interest. Much to our relief, at 4 o'clock the plane came in on schedule and we completed our trip to Mandalay in time for the radarless plane to return to Rangoon before dark.

The return trip was almost as eventful. In the first place the airport personnel had no information about the status of any flights. There were established days and approximate hours of flights in and out of Mandalay. There were no requirements for the pilots to file daily flight plans. As a consequence no one could fine-tune the time to arrive at an airport for a particular flight. “Come out and see what happens” was the rule.

The Consul took us out to the airport shortly after lunch and we were placed in what was described as the VIP Lounge. There was no air conditioning and the large window was neither glassed or screened. During the wait we watched a veritable parade of little Burmese faces pop up over the window sill to see us. The real object of the curiosity was the blond, fair skinned female alien who was my wife.

At three o'clock there was no plane and no word as to when it would arrive. At four

o'clock a plane came in but it was a local rather than a non-stop flight back to Rangoon. We were advised to take that flight as it would get us back after about three intermediate stops. We loaded our baggage in and just as we were preparing to board for take-off, the scheduled plane put in an appearance. We were able to retrieve our baggage and take the non-stop flight but it was a close call.

A few days before our departure from Rangoon, we were somewhat surprised at the request by each member of the house staff for a letter of job recommendation signed by my wife - there were the cook, the house-keeper, the gardener and two watchmen - all male. Apparently, such personnel lived or failed by their cumulative dossiers of attestations of work satisfactorily done. Time gaps in their work history were looked upon with suspicion.

Unfortunately, the scheduled arrival of our plane for departure from Rangoon was 4 o'clock in the morning. On the way to the airport we were surprised to note that the entire route was lined with armed military personnel. When we arrived at the air port we were even more surprised that the Dictator of Burma, Ne Win, was to be a passenger with a destination of London where he would undergo medical treatment. His party had taken over the entire first class passenger compartment which forced an absolute fully loaded tourist compartment, Every seat was taken. To make matters even more tense was the fact that at the scheduled stops - Bangkok, New Delhi, Karachi, Teheran, and Beirut - only departing passengers were allowed to leave the plane. At each stop the plane was immediately surrounded by the local military personnel to make sure Mr. Ne Win would be given a safe and rapid passage through the port.

One of the results was that for nineteen hours we were on an overcrowded flight from Rangoon to Frankfurt, Germany. We were met by representative of the American Consulate General and taken to American NATO transient facilities. There we met our youngest daughter who had just graduated from Duke University. She had written a paper on Czechoslovakia and was most interested to visit Prague.

The Plan was that I would proceed direct to Washington for briefings on the next inspection itinerary and my wife and daughter would remain and do some traveling in Europe. They traveled together to Belgium and England where they visited in Kent with the former British Consul General in Stuttgart and his wife. Later our daughter took the train in London and went to Prague for a few days and returned to Stuttgart and visited the Mark Hoovers who were able to take her to Frankfurt to connect with her return charter flight to Washington. My wife later was taken by her hosts to London to catch her flight to Washington.

Our itinerary for 1971 was to include our Embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan and the consular posts at Karachi and Lahore; the Embassy in New Delhi, India and the consular posts in Madras and Bombay and our Embassy in Kabul, Afghanistan. Before I departed Washington I was told that I should add Phnom Penh, Cambodia to my itinerary. This presented complications as it was not exactly on the travel route of my itinerary and all

wives of the Embassy personnel there had been evacuated because it now was in a war zone. I considered it would be bad for local morale there if I were to take my wife, even though I was told to limit my visit to a week and make a summary rather than a detailed report.

We found the answer in Bangkok, Thailand where we had to go to get a plane connection to Phnom Penh. The Embassy had made reservations for us at a new Intercontinental Hotel in Bangkok. It was arranged that I would go alone to Cambodia and my wife could remain at the Intercontinental which was equipped with all the services and trimmings of a western world hotel. The Embassy contacts promised to provide transportation and any other service she might need or request in my absence.

The visit to Cambodia was uneventful, but it did serve the useful purpose of providing a conduit to Washington for the Embassy personnel if there had been any overriding problems.

Our next stop was Islamabad, Pakistan for consultations with the Embassy as to possible problem in the Consular establishment under their jurisdiction. At posts the size of Pakistan and India it is the policy to assign two inspection teams to work together on the assessments. We both met in Islamabad and our team was assigned the inspection of the consular posts at Karachi and Lahore.

Pakistan has an unusual record of varying Embassy locations. When Pakistan was first formed after its partition from India, the capitol city was Karachi. Later it was moved to Lahore and after Bangladesh was created out of the remains of East Pakistan, the capitol was moved to Islamabad.

At Karachi we were quartered at the new Intercontinental Hotel which enjoyed the statistic of 105% occupancy. This figure was made possible by the fact that the international plane schedules provide mid-night arrival and departure times. The departing guests are charged for a nights stay and the early arrival also is hit for a full night visit.

The Consul General and his wife were most cordial and invited us to move into the Residence where he assured us that green vegetables and salads could be eaten without suspicions of dire after-effects. There was a garden available to the Residence to grow its own vegetables and the household staff was especially adept at cooking without infecting the food with outside bacteria. We declined the invitation but we were frequent guests there.

The Consulate did provide us with bottled water and urged that we eat only that which had been cooked recently - and preferably still smoking. It was good advice. I was able to survive the entire tour in southeast Asia without incident. However, my wife had to cope with recurring bouts of digestive difficulties. In fact, she performed a valuable service by checking out the various health units at the Embassies and Consular establishments.

Some of the members of the Consular staff had pooled resources to rent a beach cottage which they could use on the weekends. We were guests there and were introduced to the local hucksters in the persons of a snake charmer and a vendor of rides on the back of a camel. A lot of the fun seemed to be the price bargaining process with the vendors. It was a long and drawn out affair which seemed to please the vendors as much as it did the Urdu language specialists at the Consulate.

On our move to Lahore we had impressed on our minds the baggage control procedures which prevailed throughout Pakistan, India and Afghanistan. The baggage we had checked for the flight was deposited beside the departing airplane. It was necessary for the traveler to personally identify to the airline attendant his or her luggage. Items not so identified never get on the plane, the theory being that if you are willing to travel with your luggage it is not apt to be an instrument of sabotage of the flight. Briefcase and hand and tote bags were personally examined by airline attendants. It was amusing to see the reaction on the faces of some of the female attendants after an examination of the array of contents of the handbags of western women.

We were billeted in a flat assigned to a Foreign Service Officer on home leave. Late one Friday afternoon we sat down for a glass of wine and refreshments. My wife started to open a tin of assorted nuts and in the peeling off process the sealant delivered a long and deep gash across the middle finger of her right hand which would require a few stitches to promote healing. The Health Unit was closed for the day, but the personnel on duty made an appointment for us at the emergency ward of the Lahore Hospital.

It was a most unusual experience. The hospital emergency ward was an open window affair without screens or glass and very few signs of equipment and sanitation. We were taken to a small cubicle to wait. In an adjoining cubicle a local burn victim was apparently suffering much pain. In view of the fact that we were not locals, the head of the hospital had been alerted to come down and take charge. He came on schedule and showed obvious embarrassment for the lack of facilities. It developed that he had just returned from serving an internship at Johns Hopkins University Hospital in Baltimore. He indicated that he would have to take several stitches in the finger. After being assured that my wife had had a tetanus vaccination just before she left Washington, he spread a newspaper on the table in the cubicle, bathed her hand and arm up to the elbow with alcohol, applied a local anesthetic and stitched the wound. He indicated that she should use aspirin if she experienced pain. She never had a moments pain or trouble with the operation, and there was no scar left after it healed.

At the end of the inspection as we were being picked up to go to the airport for departure, there was some minor reason for us to drive by the Consulate General on the way to the airport. We decided against it for the reason that there was a demonstration in progress against the Americans. The chants and the articulated reasons for the march were that on the night before in the United States Muhammad Ali had lost a prize fight bout on points. It was reported that Ali was contesting the decision and had made the statement that he

would never fight again with only American judges and referees, all of whom would be prejudiced against Muslims.

Islamabad was a city somewhat lacking in sight-seeing characteristics. Never the less morale was high at the Embassy, and there were few problems to focus on. We were invited along on an Embassy review of a project to build a massive dam which would generate power for the entire area. Later we made an excursion to the Khyber Pass, the historic route between Europe and Asia for such ancient military leaders as Alexander the Great and Genghis Kahn.

We reached New Delhi in early April before the real heat of the summer months and the monsoons. After consultations as to problems in the consular post in India, our team was scheduled to inspect the consular establishments in Madras and Bombay while the assisting team inspected the facilities in Calcutta. For many persons an assignment in India with its climate, poverty and tempo would be something to avoid. Our inspection revealed however that the mystique of India is most appealing to many Foreign Service personnel. Some were on their third non-connected two year tours in India, the second and third tours having been requested.

No visit to India would be complete without a visit to Agra and the Taj Mahal. As a boy I dreamed of one day visiting Alaska, Japan, the Red Square in Moscow and the Taj Mahal. The only visit that by far exceeded my wildest expectations was to the Taj Mahal. We stayed overnight in Agra and visited the Taj in the early morning. The entrance to the grounds are arranged so that when you turn a corner there is an unobstructed view of the total scene, including the reflecting pool. It was a breathtaking experience.

Later in the inspection, the members of the two inspection teams decided to take a long week end in Kashmir, a northern province of India. The Embassy arranged for us to rent a house boat which was permanently attached to the shore of a large lake in the city of Srinagar. We were the only occupants and had arrangements with the local management for meals to be served to us and for transportation for exploring the scenic beauty of the surrounding mountainous area. We made our way to the heights where one has an advertised unobstructed view of five countries - India, Pakistan, China, Nepal, and Iran.

After the completion of the inspection of India, our team moved on to Afghanistan and the other team went to Nepal.

Kabul, Afghanistan had a much more primitive aura than the other cities in the Far East such as Islamabad, Mandalay, Rangoon, and Calcutta. On a tourist's itinerary very few would devote more than a couple of days to it. We were destined to be there four weeks. After the inspection, I was to return to Washington, and during the second half of the year, made inspections of personnel who were attached to regional offices within the United States. Most of them were located in Denver, Colorado and San Francisco, California.

Our return to the States from Kabul was via Moscow and Warsaw. The flight from Kabul to Moscow had an intervening luncheon stop at Tashkent, a city in a Province in southeast Russia. Since this was the first stop in the Soviet Union, we had to go through all the formalities of having to have permission to visit Russia. We were holders of diplomatic passports and the Russian In-Tourist organization did not know exactly how to treat us. They had received no prior notification of our arrival. After some time we were permitted to go to the dining room for lunch. Apparently this type of luncheon service was preferred to serving meals aloft. After we had finished our lunch the In-Tourist personnel came to us and escorted us to the plane for pre-boarding. It was obvious that they were taking no chances that we might get lost in the crowd and miss the plane and become a problem for them later.

When we arrived in Moscow we were treated as passengers who had made an internal flight within Russia. We were met by Embassy personnel and taken to a hotel. The next day we were taken on a tour of the city, including the Kremlin and the Armory with its treasures of gems and art. That evening we had reservations for an opera as there was currently no ballet being presented at the Bolshoi Theater.

Upon checking out of the hotel, we found that we were being charged for an extra day for "room preparation." We wanted to protest, but the Embassy representative said it would be futile. He explained that there was some sort of convention in Moscow and most of the rooms formerly available to foreign diplomatic personnel had been filled. We had been housed in a room that was not already wired for diplomatic guests. We had to pay for our own "bugging!"

In Warsaw we had a sense of more openness and a freer society than we experienced in Moscow. The people on the streets seemed to have a more cheerful and optimistic outlook on life and the windows of the stores in the downtown areas were more filled with consumer merchandise than those in Moscow. It was somewhat like coming out of a pressure cooker into the open air. Nevertheless, we did have the feeling that our baggage had been thoroughly searched through during our absences from the hotel.

The Charge had us for luncheon and later we attended a ballet at the Polish State Theater. From Warsaw we flew to London and took a few days off before starting back to Washington.

From Washington we were soon sent to Denver, a city second only to Washington in its Federal employee population. It seems most of the Departments of the Federal Government had a Regional Office there. The State Department had a regional Passport Office and a regional Security office there and liaison personnel attached to regional offices of the Commerce and Agriculture Departments.

After the completion of the inspection process, we spent a long week end with General Robert Hackett and his wife in Colorado Springs. General Hackett and I first met at the National War College when he was a student next door at the Industrial College. Our

paths had crossed again in Heidelberg when I served there as POLAD.

General Hackett was currently serving as the Head of the Army element of the North American Defense Command but was planning retirement within a relatively short time. They had bought a home in Colorado Springs and expected to retire there. They were aware of a house a few doors away for sale. They urged us to buy it and spend our retirement there. We were very much impressed with the area, but nature intervened. In mid-September we experienced a freak snow storm, and that ended our speculation about such a move.

We then moved on to San Francisco to inspect the State Department elements attached to the various Regional Offices located there.

Upon our return to Washington there was a round of activities incidental to the retirement process, including the presentation to me of the Superior Service Award.

End of interview