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

JACOB WALKIN

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTERVIEW

[Note: this interview was not edited by Mr. Walkin prior to his death.

Q: Today is March 30, 2000. This is an interview with Jacob Walkin done on behalf of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training and I'm Charles Stuart Kennedy. Mr. Walkin, can you tell me when and where you were born and something about your family?

WALKIN: I was born in Brooklyn, New York in 1917 and my family was Eastern European. I guess there were many such families at that time of Jewish origin, who emigrated from Czarist Russia just before WWI. I have an older brother who was born in 1910 and a sister who was born in 1913. I was born in 1917 in New York and the only member of my family born in the United Sates. My father was an ordinary laborer and remained an ordinary laborer all his life. They were only semi-literate, and never fully learned English; the family language was Yiddish. Although my parents both spoke Russian, they only used it when they didn't want the children to know what they were talking about. The distance between me and my parents was so great that I could say in some respects that it was perhaps my older brother who really helped bring me up and helped me adjust to the world around me, because the first language I spoke at home was Yiddish, not English. But, as soon as I was old enough to talk with my brother and sister and to get into the streets, I began, of course, to speak English.

The natural evolution of a family like this is that my sister got no farther than the ninth grade before she had to be put to work. My brother got through high school and then got a B.A. right away and a law degree at night, both at night; I was the only member of the family who could go to college during the daytime. I had a very fine high school, Thomas

Jefferson High School, in east New York. Afterwards, I went to a very fine school; I couldn't have gotten a better education, I think, than I did at Cornell at that time, not only because we had Carl Becker – I don't know whether you know the name?

Q: Oh, I know the name. He was a very famous historian, American historian.

WALKIN: Very famous historian and a very fine lecturer. I thoroughly enjoyed his lectures. We also had Phillip Moses, who completed his studies at Harvard and joined the Cornell faculty in 1936, at the beginning of my junior year; I started Russian History and Diplomatic History with him. We also had a famous medieval historian, Karl Stafforsen. I feel, in retrospect that between the three of them and the other faculty members, that I had as good a bachelor's education as anyone could have gotten anywhere, in the field of history

Q: What other subjects were you interested in? Not history, but other subjects.

WALKIN: I took Latin, because I had had Latin in high school and I happened to be a good student in Latin. I took French, because I studied French in high school. I took Calculus, because I understood enough mathematics, because of what I had had in high school. I had the usual array of courses in English; I guess that was it. I had to take one science course, and I choose geology. By the way, geology also happened to be the department where I worked. I had to work my way through; I couldn't have done it otherwise. They had this program of the National Youth Administration whereby college students worked in a college department. I think it was for 50 cents an hour, up to a certain limit of hours; and I never waited on tables. I worked through my college years for the Geology Department on this NYA program; that is how I earned the money which enabled me to get through. So I had this fine education and a Phi Beta Kappa election; but, afterwards, I could get nowhere at that time.

Q: You graduated at 1938?

WALKIN: …1938…

Q: Was it at the end of the Depression?

WALKIN: Yes, the Depression was just ending and the best I could get was taking the Fulton Street El to downtown New York and delivering Women's Wear Daily to customers in the downtown area. But, I did finally get a job. It was with the Civil Service Commission in Albany. I spent six months in Albany, from June 1939 to November 1939, where I got a slightly higher salary, and a more interesting environment. Later, I got a job with the National Labor Relations Board in Washington. My title was messenger. This with my Cornell Degree, but I gradually moved ahead, both in the National Labor Relations Board and then later – after I had become a CAF-16, I think it was – in the War Production Board, which of course, nobody has heard of now, but it was a major institution during WWII. I worked my way up. By the time I was drafted, I had the title of junior economist. So, although I was a GS-7 and had a professional title, I was

drafted. However, even there, everything worked out to my advantage.

Q: What year were you drafted?

WALKIN: 1942.

Q: In 1942?

WALKIN: Yes, I was discharged in late October 1945.

Q: Where did you take your basic training?

WALKIN: Camp Lee, Virginia – not very far from here – near Petersburg. I was there for three months in the fall of 1942. This was, and I think still is, the quartermaster training center. I had very poor eyes, and I was limited. This was only because I lied about what I could see and, because, well, they needed people like me anyway. So I took my basic training at Camp Lee and then was assigned, as would be natural, to a quartermaster regimen – not as a truck driver, I couldn't drive, but because I was a good typist.

I had learned typing at home. My brother had bought a typewriter and then was smart enough to give me a guide on learning how to type. Typing is what I had done throughout Cornell. I typed so well for the geology department that they used their own funds to employ me for more hours than the NYA allowed at the time.

So I was assigned to a quartermaster truck regiment where I worked in the orderly room. As a result, just about everybody got to know me. Some of the sergeants began to give me driver training. I couldn't possibly afford a car at that point, but I learned driving well enough. In one exercise, our first destination was Camp Shelby which was just outside Hattiesburg. It was an exercise which was done on the gulf shore between Biloxi and Gulfport, if you know that part of the country. I was, of course, sitting around. I wasn't supposed to be a truck driver, but the opportunity came for me to get into a 2 and half ton truck, I forget if it was Biloxi or Gulfport, and to drive it alone to the final destination, where everybody applauded when they saw me bring it in and bringing it to a perfect stop. I was given, of course, a license to drive a two and a half ton truck. But something was wrong there. This part is peculiar but really interesting. The head of the group was a first lieutenant who for some reason took a dislike to me, not because I couldn't do the work; I still have no idea why. I ended the war, by the way, as a third grade sergeant. There was no occasion for me to go to….

Q: OCS (Officer's Training School)?

WALKIN: OCS. I just didn't think of it. But I did, I think, do work in the army, which the army took notice of, when I was finally discharged. I will get to that in a minute. But, what happened initially was, I think, unusual and changed the whole course of the war for me and made it more dangerous – no question about that. But, the fact is that I was not wounded, I got through. I worked in the first army headquarters as a typist. But, I had

other skills as well, and I think my whole army record looks good, but not the part with this quartermaster truck regiment. I stayed with that regiment through Camp Shelby, and then we went to Camp Monroe in North Carolina, and to Fort William Henry Harrison just south of Helena, Montana. But, by this time, I was getting disgusted with the way I was being treated. Well, there is no need to prolong this; I just didn't like the way I was being treated. I had enough information; I don't remember what was now, that made it possible for me to transfer myself away from them without their permission, while I was in Montana, I put through the necessary papers for this transfer, and I was transferred to Fort Belvoir, Virginia, for about three months. But now, I was open to assignment. Fortunately, First Army Headquarters was looking for people and I was assigned there. This was in the summer of 1943. So, I moved from Fort Belvoir to Governor's Island and prepared to go overseas. I spent the rest of the war – 21 months – with the First Army overseas.

Q: Who was the commander of the First Army?

WALKIN: Omar Bradley, until the First Army grew. Then we had another general, a southern general, with nowhere near the reputation of Omar Bradley's. He saw me paying attention once and I saw him; this was in England.

Prior to that, our preparation in the U.S. was in Governor's Island. We got on a ship that no one knew anything about, the Queen Elizabeth I, and crossed the ocean to Scotland. Our first stint was actually in Bristol, in western England, where we planned Operation Overload. I did not have the highest classification. I knew we were going to be in Normandy, but I did not realize we were going to land there and eventually break out from there. Well, it was all fascinating for me, a history major who had studied French and Latin and here I was in Europe. I could site a number of instances where I could have been hurt or killed, but I wasn't. I got through the War, going all the way, as I say, from the beaches of Normandy to Weimar, Germany, where the war ended. I got two tours of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp. I could tell more stories about that, but I won't.

Q: The First Army was where in the line, that was next to the British?

WALKIN: There was a First Army under Bradley and a third army under …

Q: George S. Patton…

WALKIN: Patton that was the basic army that moved, as I say, from the Beaches of Normandy to Weimar in what was to become East Germany. But we had nothing to do there. For very good reasons, I decided not to go back to the United States at that point but to stay in Europe. I was assigned to the G-5 section, the military government section, in Luxemburg City, where I was in the summer of 1945. I developed some eye trouble there and as I had already been over there with the army for three years, I was just sent back. I spent the last months of the war in the eye center outside Philadelphia. I don't think it is an army camp any longer, but they treated all the eye ailments over there. Of course, I know that name but I can't remember it.

Q: That's alright.

WALKIN: It doesn't matter. Anybody who was in the army at that time would know this general hospital outside Philadelphia.

When I was discharged after three years and two months in the United States Army, there was no question about what I would do. I went to graduate school and got myself a Ph.D. in Political Science. I studied Russian at Yale, too, so that I could write a dissertation on Russia. I wrote what I knew would become a book eventually and would really establish me as a figure in Russian History, even while in the army. The book was published in 1962, while I was in Indonesia. It was important that when I finished, both my Master's degree and my Ph.D., the deputy head of the intelligence division came out to California to recruit and found somebody who had studied Russian and who the professors were praising to the skies. He eventually guaranteed me a job. I did get my Ph.D. when I left Berkeley in June. I was immediately hired by the State Department, and worked for four years on Soviet intelligence. I read Soviet papers everyday. As a Ph.D. student, I read thousands of pages of Russian, pre-revolutionary Russian. I can show you some of the books I bought in that period that I still have in Russian. But, this experience in State Department intelligence...

Q: You were in State Department intelligence from when to when?

WALKIN: I joined them in June and I left them when I was sworn in at Fort Meyer here and then assigned to Camp Lee, that was August 1942

Q: When you got out of the army, you went back? Where did you go for you Master's and Ph.D.?

WALKIN: Oh, I went first to Yale, from 1945 to 1947, to the International Relations Department, but, International Relations was not my subject. I got my best grades in other subjects, like the Russian Seminar and Russian language. Also, at Yale there was a former Englishman, Cecil Driver, who had had a commonwealth Fellowship and had remained in the United States as a professor. He taught Comparative Literature. I think the Russian History seminar, the Russian language graduate seminar, and Driver's course in Comparative Government are what I really got out of Yale. Well, I was not a particularly good International Relations student. I got my highest grades in these other subjects, and I think wisely, choose Berkeley to continue my Ph.D. Now, it's important also that I mention my relationship with George Renonski. He oversaw my dissertation from a distance. Every time I finished a chapter, I would give it to my committee at Berkeley, but also send it to Renonski in Yale.

When I was finished, my Ph.D. was entitled something like <u>State and Society in Old Russia</u>. It was an analysis of the institutions of the state and the institutions of society just before the Revolution, basically during the reign of Nicholas II. I still get compliments on it. It was never, by the way, a paperback, but it will eventually be, I feel, when full

attention is turned to that whole subject. Of course, I have a deep interest in the history of Russia and in their future and in what influence Russian history will have on this future. By the way, it was important that one understood the distinction between Tsarism and Communism, and I was perfectly positioned to do that.

I spent four years in the State Department intelligence service [Intelligence and Research, INR]. It was then the main producer of intelligence reports on Russia. I was promoted there, by the way. My later promotions were in the Foreign Service, but I was initially promoted there from a GS-9 to GS-11. We had a whole group of Russian speaking people and we all go to know what was going on in Soviet Russia.

Q: Now this was after the war, after you got your Ph.D.

WALKIN: That's right, in 1952, which is when I joined the Department.

Q: Who were the leaders in Russian research in the Department?

WALKIN: The head at the time was Moss Harvey – I think he was a southerner; the deputy head was Boris Carson.

Q: His son is, I think, in the historian' office now.

WALKIN: Oh, that could be. Moss Harvey and Carson were the heads of the whole division. I was in the Soviet Internal Division and the head was, I forget his name.

Q: It's all right.

WALKIN: I will remember it, of course, in due course. None of us were particularly well known. We were producing the reports on what was going on at that time, in the Soviet Union.

Q: What was your impression, at that time, of the information we were getting from our Embassy?

WALKIN: Oh, they were good. I was reading all the classified materials. I got the impression that they were quite good, but I have a different impression now. Actually, it is too long to talk about. I do want to mention to you that I, along with all my fellow researchers, really got to know, , what was going on in the Soviet Union at that time. We understood Russia, and we understood all the mistakes that were made about it outside the United States Government at the time and are still being made. I will give you one example of how it came out. One of my colleagues was in the Foreign Branch and was assigned to Moscow and I was in Soviet Internal. I don't know why I was not assigned there; most of our people went there. They needed somebody in Belgrade at a time when I was available, so I went to Belgrade. But I am glad of it, I don't regret that.

Q: Now when you were in INR, during the early fifties, did you feel that there was any

problem in the unit you were with, with McCarthyism at that time?

WALKIN: A few. I got into INR in the middle of McCarthy era, in 1952. I don't intend to brag; but even at that time, I knew that I had a special aptitude for current history. I knew it in high school. I got into no radical movements, which are all in the dustbin of history now anyway. My history teacher said to me, "Why didn't you become a socialist?" I didn't know what to answer him. I think socialism was and is a largely theoretical and empty ideology; and, it will never be revived again, I think. But, I had not been in any radical organization and I was left alone. We had no serious problems in intelligence. Some people, who may have been in minor-leftist organizations, maybe were looked into. But, I don't recall, at least in the division of research for USSR and Eastern Europe, that anybody got into serious trouble because of McCarthy.

Q: What was the impression that your group of analysts had of George Kennan?

WALKIN: Oh, that is a long story. I went to see Kennan in Princeton before I went to Belgrade, which was my first foreign assignment. Kennan was a very peculiar man in my opinion and illustrative of the peculiar weaknesses that people have. It doesn't matter what you have accomplished. Peculiar weaknesses can show up in anybody – anywhere, at anytime. Kennan, of course, was one of my idols, while I was in graduate school and I read his article. I forget what it was called.

Q: Mr. X article, I think it was called Mr. X.

WALKIN: Yes, it was written by Mr. X, right. I read that article many a time and I found it, of course, a first rate article, as all of us in INR that were working on the Soviet Union and reading Soviet papers every day did. But he was a man, apparently, of a very peculiar mental construction. He gave us, well, what is that name of his theory?

Q: Containment.

WALKIN: Containment Theory. He writes a wonderful article, then he joins a group which opposes everything that Containment called for.

Q: Yes.

WALKIN: Oh, you were aware of that? Everything that Containment called for, he opposed after he joined this group. How do you rate him? I don't know how to rate him. He was, on the one hand, as far as I am concerned, a very brilliant man and on the other, well, to put it frankly, a jackass.

Q: Well, he is a mixture.

WALKIN: There are more than just me who are aware of this. Well, that is the way it is, it was very peculiar indeed.

Q: What did he tell you about Yugoslavia before you went there?

WALKIN: No, I saw him in 1952.

Q: Oh, I see. He did not reach Yugoslavia until 1961. But you talked to him before you went to Yugoslavia.

WALKIN: Yes, but that was 1952.

Q: Did he have anything to say about it?

WALKIN: No, I forget what we talked about. I probably should have had in my head some idea of just what I wanted to discuss with him, but I was just not built that way. I forget now what we talked about.

Q: When you got to Yugoslavia in 1952, what was Yugoslavia like, when you got there?

WALKIN: It was not the Soviet Union. I knew the Soviet Union. I started to tell you about how all of us who worked in INR, at that time, learned it. One of my colleagues went to Moscow for three years. Afterwards, because he had worked on Chinese-Soviet relations, he was assigned to Hong Kong. So, here is my old buddy from INR in Hong Kong and he didn't know anybody and I knew everybody, so I arranged a cocktail party at his house and just introduced him.

Q: This is in Hong Kong?

WALKIN: In Hong Kong.

Q: Let's go back to Belgrade. Let's talk about Belgrade.

WALKIN: To Belgrade and how different it was. It obviously was not what I had been taught about the Soviet Union, which I started to tell you, that we all knew so well since we read Soviet papers everyday. And there was no doubt about what we were reading and reporting, but Belgrade was entirely different and it is important by the way that you know and understand the distinction which a lot of people overlook between Totalitarianism and Authoritarianism.

Q: How would you define the distinction?

WALKIN: Yugoslavia was not a Totalitarian state. Anybody could go abroad and come back, as they did in the millions really – if they didn't get work at home, they sought work in Western Europe. Then, when they had enough money, they went back home and no stigma was attached to them. You knew the Soviets; you know enough about it. Well the best illustration of the difference between the Chinese, which was also an open system, and the Russians at the same time, was that the Chinese were sending some 30,000 students a year to the United States and the Soviet Union were sending 30.

Q: Yes.

WALKIN: And that in part is the difference between Totalitarianism and Authoritarianism. I got a good taste of that, by the way, in Indonesia, because all sorts of things were going on in Indonesia which I knew would never happen in the Soviet Union.

Q: Well, what was your job in Belgrade?

WALKIN: Initially I was in the consular section, issuing visas. After a year, I was to be transferred to the political section. Everybody knew that I had a Ph.D. in Political Science, what my academic background was, and all this work I had done in the Department. Well, nobody really knew much about Yugoslavia at that time.

There was a USIS library. Anybody could go there. Nobody took your name. Nobody followed you. Nobody told you not to go. You could go there and read whatever you wanted to. There was nothing like this, of course, in the rest of Eastern Europe till years later.

The embassy had a military section. They gave the most cocktail parties, I think, and, of course, I went to a whole host of cocktail parties in Belgrade. But they were there and they remained there until shortly before I left two years later, giving military help to the Yugoslavs. This obviously had nothing to do with the rest of Eastern Europe.

Q: No.

WALKIN: They had a USAID section. They worked in the open. Everybody did. Everything was open and well, I looked around and said, "This isn't the Soviet Union." I did not hesitate, when I met this girl, with whom I decided I would sleep and eventually marry. But I won't go into details on how this was discovered. The Ambassador knew that I was living with a Soviet woman and that I had a daughter. It got to SY but nothing happened, except, well nothing happened, because there was no compromise.

Q: Who was the ambassador?

WALKIN: James W. Riddleberger...

Q: How was he?

WALKIN: Oh, he was a tremendous man. I liked Riddleberger greatly. He was replaced by Karl somebody. You may know?

Q: I think he came from China, Karl Rankin.

WALKIN: Yes Karl Rankin. He had been in China. I think you are right. I was with him for a very short time, but I was much more impressed with Riddleberger than with

Rankin. There were stories of Rankin sitting in the library sorting books. I don't know how true they were. I was not on that floor. I remained in the consular section, but this did not hinder my later promotions, I think, because of the fact that everybody knew that I knew more about issuing visas than anyone else. When a new head was put in, I remember all that vividly. Everybody turned to me for an opinion on what the Department would approve of or disapprove of. So I did not do any political work in Belgrade, but when I left the Foreign Service, knowing what I did, I felt that it would be much more pleasant to specialize in Yugoslavia than Russia. Well, I knew that when I went to Belgrade, I could speak Russian fluently. I haven't used it for years, but I could get it and Serbian back at any time. I can learn languages naturally and Maria Angelooch...

Q: Oh, yes, wonderful lady.

WALKIN: I am sure you know her.

Q: She was a delightful woman.

WALKIN: A delightful woman. She used to tell me that I was the only officer that had not gone to FSI for 8 months and could speak Serbian better than they could.

Q: Oh, yes; I am sure there is aptitude.

WALKIN: It was while I was on duty. I and one of my colleagues, and one of two locals, went on a two or three week trip, basically along the coast from one end pf Yugoslavia to the other. What is that port city at the entrance to Yugoslavia?

Q: Well, there is Rijeka.

WALKIN: Rijeka is what I am thinking of. I should remember it because of the name. We went from that end all the way to Montenegro. We also drove from Montenegro back up the hills toward Belgrade.

Q: They weren't very good roads.

WALKIN: Yes.

Q: They were bad roads.

WALKIN: They were dirt roads, but passable, as I recall. We had no unusual experience. I spent three days in Sarajevo during the Spring of 1958, during my last years there. The man in charge – I run into him occasionally – he says nothing to me, nor I to him, but it doesn't matter. I know I made trips to Zagreb, when my former associate Robert Kaiser was Consul General there, but I also got a scholarship later on, what is this group?

Q: Fulbright?

WALKIN: No, it was not the Fulbright – it was the other Eastern European Scholarship – Telex or something like that.

Q: It doesn't matter.

WALKIN: What they did was to put American students in Yugoslavia at a university to study whatever topic they wished and would give them rubles periodically from the university bursar so that the whole thing cost them nothing. I got one such fellowship and made six study trips to Yugoslavia after I left the Foreign Service; the best one was one I paid no money for.

Q: I want to go back to a time you were in Yugoslavia in the early 1950s. How about giving visas to Yugoslavs? Wasn't there a problem because many were associated with a Communist Organization?

WALKIN: No, it wasn't that so much; it was the fact that they had relatives in the United States and were not likely to come back. We were not so much concerned with subversion, but with the possibility that once they went there as tourists they would not want nor be likely to come back.

Q: They were going to Gary, Indiana and places like that.

WALKIN: Yes. There were a fair number of students. Yugoslavs could go wherever they wanted to study or work freely, with no suspicion necessarily falling on them, and that hit me as soon as I got to Belgrade.

I often went to cocktail parties and met all these people from the United States. And we, of course, had a huge delegation there. And, as I say, I did something which, if this were Russia, would have forced me out of the Service immediately. But, as I said, there was no compromise. I was sent a mild reprimand from the then Director General. But there was no reason for them to throw me out.

Q: Where did you get married?

WALKIN: In Belgrade. After I was ready to leave, my wife and daughter came to Belgrade – my wife, of course, with a visa. I had had my daughter legitimized in Atlanta. Somebody from passport tipped me off on this. Georgia is the only state in the Union in which you can get an illegitimate child legitimized. One of my family's neighbors in the Georgia complex in which they lived, was a lawyer; he got this done. My daughter was legitimized under the laws of the state of Georgia. My daughter was also in conformity with the Immigration and Naturalization Act, once I married her mother. And she was under 18, so INS gave her a certificate not saying where she was born, but saying that she was an American citizen from the time she was born. On the basis of the legitimization given in the State of Georgia. What I got from the State Department was an acknowledgment saying that she was my dependent. So my daughter moved around with

a diplomatic passport as my dependent, and she came to the United States with a diplomatic passport to live permanently as my dependent

Q: Where did you go? You left in 1950…when, 1958 from Yugoslavia? Where did you go?

WALKIN: Home leave, of course, with my family base being in Atlanta at that time, and then I was sent as far away from my transgression as possible, Hong Kong. But I wouldn't change my years in Hong Kong and Indonesia.

Q: That's alright.

WALKIN: This was a kind of punishment, but I am delighted that I spent two years in Hong Kong and four years in Indonesia.

Q: We will pick this up the next time, when you were in Hong Kong and you got there in 1958 until 1960. Great, we will do that then.

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A little announcement here, today is the 21st of April, 2000. You were telling me something that happened with the military in Weimar, I think

WALKIN: Well, no. I spent 21 months of the military as a draftee with the United States First Army, most of it in Europe. We were initially based in Bristol, where we were planning Operation Overlook. Eventually, I wound up with the closed company, First Army, in Weimar, in what was to become East Germany.

What particularly struck me in those months in Europe was an incident in Paris, actually Versailles, where we were based for some months in September 1944, just a few weeks after the First Army entered the Paris area. I worked in the G-5 section of the First Army. The officer I worked for had some mission in Versailles, and since my work was apparently up to date in the office where I was working, he asked me to drive him there, which I did. When I got there, he went off somewhere. I was left to wander around Versailles, which I was doing, when two French women passed by and started talking to me. They were utterly astounded that I could answer them. I had had three years of French in high school and a year and half in my first years as an undergraduate at Cornell, where I took my Bachelor's degree; and, by that time I could speak French. When the women addressed me, I answered them in French. They had never met a GI who could speak French and they stopped and started to chat with me. Other people, coming by and hearing that we were talking in French, also stopped, until I had a crowd. It was fifty years ago, but it seems to me that I had a crowd of about 30 people…

Q: Good heavens!

WALKIN: Standing around and us chatting for, I don't know 20 or 30 minutes in French.

I have never forgotten this.

Q: Of course not.

WALKIN: It was quite an impressive affair, and they must have talked about it for days on end. It was probably one of the finer contribution I made as a GI stationed in Western Europe during that critical period.

Q: Well, let's move on. In 1958 you went to Hong Kong.

WALKIN: I was assigned as general investigator of Chinese fraud. There were quite a few of us, and this is what I did for one year. I made periodic trips into Kowloon and talked to various Chinese. I learned Cantonese, by the way, while I was there and that is what I did for one year. But they had a security officer who proved to be a drunkard, and they just sent him home. The Consul General at the time, Jerry Lewis Holmes, had to pick somebody to replace him. I thought nothing of it at the time, but it so happens that he picked me to replace him. That is what I did during my last year in Hong Kong. I was the security officer doing all the same jobs that security officers do, including, by the way, lecturing to newcomers on particular security problems that we had in the consulate general.

Q: What were the major security problems that we were concerned about?

WALKIN: There was a general question of general security and Chinese spies for the area, but also the usual security officer duties of investigating particular employees, and employees to be, to ensure that they were not spies or working in any way for the Chinese communists. I also gave periodic lectures on the particular problems affecting us in the Consulate General in Hong Kong. I got quite a crowd. It is worth mentioning that when we were through, they just didn't want to leave; they wanted to hear more of what I had told them.

Q: You mean the people who were being told the security problems?

WALKIN: Yes. The particular security problems to watch out for because they had come to work for the Consulate General in Hong Kong.

Q: Were you working on American and/or Chinese employees in the Consulate General or were you working on the visa/fraud side?

WALKIN: No, I was not in the visa/fraud side as a security officer. I did the general investigating work of a security officer, and, as I started to tell you, this lecture I gave periodically to newcomers on the particular security problems that they should look out for while they were employed in Hong Kong. I certainly remember the fact that this group – I don't know, there were quite a few people in my office listening to me talk about the particular security problems of Hong Kong – they just didn't want to leave. They wanted to hear more. I did general security work and I continued to make trips into

Hong Kong. I caught the attention once of Holmes when I reported back to my reporting officer, who was Sam Gilstrap, the Deputy Consul General, about an incident concerning an American Chinese in Kowloon who had probably been sent there as a secret agent to check on potential spies. He spoke Cantonese fluently. I probably started talking to him in Cantonese and when he learned that we were Americans, we started talking in English. He had been sent there without the knowledge of the Consulate. I reported this to Sam Gilstrap when I got back. When he reported it to Holmes, Holmes immediately sent for me. I told him in detail just what I had learned: that this guy was an American, and had been sent by some agency other than State and was working secretly there. Holmes exploded, because he had not been told about this. He just listened to me and I know that I never saw that young man again. He was probably withdrawn immediately.

Q: Were we concerned at that time with attempts by the Communist Chinese to place employees in the Consulate General?

WALKIN: Oh, no question about that. Before anybody could be employed, I as the security officer, engaged in long investigations of individuals and wrote reports on individuals who had applied to work in the Consulate General

Q: Did we get much support from the British?

WALKIN: Oh, yes. I personally didn't have much contact with the British, but I am sure we did. We were generally sympathetic to them and their own administration of Hong Kong as a colony of theirs.

Q: Well, you did this until 1960 and then where did you go?

WALKIN: I had home leave and then I was sent to Jakarta.

Q: And you were there from when to when?

WALKIN: I was in Jakarta from March 1961 to December 1963; then I was moved from Jakarta to Surabaya.

Q: What was the situation like in Jakarta in 1961?

WALKIN: It was a fascinating situation for me. Here I had been, as I think I told you, for four years in INR, working on the internal political conditions of the Soviet Union through reading communist papers everyday. We all had a pretty clear idea of the situation. Or, at least, we thought we did. This assessment was not done by the CIA at that time; it was done by this group in INR that did the basic intelligence on what was happening in Communist China which was one of their principle missions: to assess the situation actually in Communist China; something which the political section could not do since our Diplomatic Mission was rather restricted. A good deal of work was done through reading the Communist press right there in Hong Kong, instead of making contact with the local Chinese. But, what I was getting at, was the fact that our relations

with the Chinese were limited on the mainland in that a good deal of the political work was being done there in Hong Kong. Now, I had no direct connection with that.

Q: Now in Jakarta, in 1961, what job did you have when you came there?

WALKIN: I was chief of the Consular Section and I sat with the chiefs of other sections every morning with Ambassador Jones, for example.

Q: Yes, Howard Jones was the Ambassador. What was your impression of Howard Jones and how he operated?

WALKIN: I find that difficult to answer because my actual contact with him was limited. What I am bound to remember is his particular attitude toward Sukarno and his readiness to continue relations with Sukarno, regardless of what he did. I happened to be in Jakarta in the spring or summer of 1963, when Sukarno ordered the British Embassy sacked.

Q: Yes, it was sacked and burned.

WALKIN: Well, it was rather disturbing to all of us. We didn't know whether we would be next or not. I remember that day quite vividly. Well, we were not touched and I guess that I started to tell you that being assigned to Indonesia, Jakarta first and then Surabaya, I got an idea of the contrast between a totalitarian state, like the former Soviet Union and an autocratic state, like Indonesia, where all sorts of things happened that couldn't conceivably happen in a place like the Soviet Union. So my being for four years in Indonesia was a fairly enlightening experience for me, and also frightening at times, because, as I think you know, Sukarno declared us a mortal enemy.

Q: Wasn't this the year of living dangerously?

WALKIN: I confirm that. We could never be sure whether there would be a mob pounding rocks at us at any time.

Q: How did you find the other officers at the embassy? Did you find a split between the other officers at the embassy and Ambassador Howard Jones?

WALKIN: I wouldn't put it that way. Everybody understood this problem though Jones was more tolerant of somebody like Sukarno, who had basically declared political war on us in the summer of 1964, than we were prepared to accept. A typical example is what happened after the sacking of the British Embassy. We were all, of course, enraged with Sukarno; but not Jones. And, since we were enraged, and this was not the policy that he wanted the Embassy to carry across to Sukarno, he set up a cocktail party at which all of us met with Sukarno and shook his hand. I have a picture of me shaking his hand. It is a good thing that it shows the back of my head and not my face, because I am sure my face would have been contorted while I was shaking Sukarno's hand. That problem was endemic during all of the Jones years there and until he was replaced by Marshall Green.

Q: As chief of the consular section, what was your main work there?

WALKIN: I guess it was basically issuing visas. I have no exact recollection of doing anything else. We had a small consular section, and I was the chief.

Q: I was wondering if you had any Americans in jail or something like that?

WALKIN: We had no particular problems that I can recall that I worked on.

Q: Well, this was not a time when Americans were going to Indonesia as tourists and all.

WALKIN: Well it was, until Sukarno declared, more or less, war on us, and declared us one of the principal enemies of mankind, more or less in the manner of the Communist Chinese.

Q: When you went to Surabaya from what, 1963 to 1964?

WALKIN: 1965, I left in November of 1965.

Q: How many Americans were in Surabaya?

WALKIN: I'm not sure I can give you a figure.

Q: Probably just a few.

WALKIN: Yes, just a few. The visitors I can remember the most were those I met due to the fact that I, as the Deputy to the Consul, had a government house with a guest room. Americans from the region used to stop by and I would meet them and give them this guest room and also breakfast in the morning. That was my principle meetings with Americans. I did not see too many Americans.

Q: Did you have many dealings with the Indonesians while you were in Surabaya?

WALKIN: I knew quite a few of them, particularly since I spoke Indonesian. I had parties for them, that was something I was supposed to do. I went to cocktail parties whenever I was invited; that was also something I was supposed to do. I had a very pleasant relationship with a group of Indonesians in the Foreign Office back in Jakarta, where I had been for more than two years. Incidentally, as Consul in Surabaya and as an American there who did political and economic reporting, I achieved a certain reputation.

Q: This was a period where we were looking very closely at what Sukarno was doing, whether he was going to turn the country over to the Communists or not. You must have been doing reporting on that.

WALKIN: I certainly was. I was the only one doing reporting on that. When two inspectors came out there, I guess they publicly commented on the fact that I was the

only one doing reporting on that. But I also got compliments later, which I would have to repeat here that the political counselor in Jakarta at the time was Ed Masters, who later became ambassador. Marshall Green was at that time the Ambassador, and Jack Lydman was Deputy Chief of Mission. Masters was the third in line there. When I retired from the Foreign Service and went to teach at Auburn, I went to Washington every year and one of my first years, when I went from Alabama to Washington in the summer, I met with Ed Masters, who was back in Washington at that time. Later, of course, he was appointed Ambassador. But during the course of our luncheon, he said, "No one before or since you were in Surabaya has reported on East Java the way you did." And this, by the way, also led me, when I returned to the Department later, to take the dispatches that I had written, remove the classified information - I don't think any were classified more than confidential - and wrote an article which I called, "The Muslim Communist Confrontation in East Java, 1964-1965", which was eventually published with the approval of the Department. I got quite a compliment from the editorial board of the publication, Orbis, which is still a quarterly journal of international relations based in Philadelphia. They sent me a letter when I sent them a copy of the article: the editorial board unanimously and enthusiastically accepts your article.

Q: Did you run across Bob Martens?

WALKIN: Oh, certainly. I met him here, too. He's been here. He sat for you.

Q: Yes, I interviewed Bob Martens, and also Dick Howland, who I think he was there a little later.

WALKIN: I think a little later. I would know all the names of those who were there.

Q: Were you there the last day of September and the first day of October 1965?

WALKIN: I was. The article that was published was based on the fact that I was there.

Q: What happened in Surabaya, when there was this coup?

WALKIN: I remember many publicly monitored stations and of course I was talking to anyone I could as well as reading the local press. I also watched the Communists and Muslims in the marches they did in the streets of Surabaya. I deliberately left my post to go out and watch them. Remember that I could speak Indonesian fairly well. I had this opportunity, not just to see what both groups were doing and to see their street demonstrations, but to talk to many people.

Q: When Marshall Green came to Indonesia in early 1965 or in summer…

WALKIN: That's accurate, early 1965.

Q: Did that make a difference, do you feel?

WALKIN: Not to me, working in Surabaya, no. I had had very cordial relations with Howard Jones throughout and I continued to have them with Marshall Green. When I gave them a copy of my article, after I had retired and a couple of years after I returned to Washington, he was quite grateful. He was, I guess, himself writing about that period, and he accepted my article with considerable graciousness, for a man of his office.

Q: What was your orientation on the leaders in Surabaya? Were they on the Communist-Sukarno side or on the Nationalist side that joined up with Suharto?

WALKIN: They were on the Nationalist side. I don't really remember talking to too many pro-Communist people. I have no recollection of it now, but I probably did.

Q: When Suharto took over, was there any fighting in Surabaya?

WALKIN: Not in Surabaya, but you probably have heard of the killings of the Communists that took place, and the accusations against Bob Martens, that he instigated it. I really saw nothing of it from my position in the Consulate. I knew it was going on, of course, from reading the local press avidly, every day.

Q: When you left there in 1965, where did you go?

WALKIN: Back to the Department. I was assigned to the Office of Migration and Refugees and I remained there until I formally - this was the beginning of 1966 - left the Department in September of 1969 and became a professor of Political Science at Auburn University.

Q: Well, what were you doing in Refugee and Migration Affairs?

WALKIN: I was in charge of the Far East. In retrospect, when you ask me 30 years later, what I was doing, I say, I was in the refugee business. There were some very close relations I had with some Tibetans. I helped them stage some sort of reception at the National Gallery and I talked to the head of the Tibetan group in Washington quite a bit. I was also monitoring letters on refugee questions sent by Congressmen, that usually came to me from the political bureau. They were the ones monitoring this, and they were routinely sent to me personally, because I was the one who looked over Congressional replies on refugee problems for the section. My boss part of the time, was Graham Martin.

Q: Oh, boy. How was he as a boss? He has quite a reputation.

WALKIN: I think he was a remarkable man. One of the reasons is that I didn't realize at the time how much of a liking he had for me. Once, in 1969, I think it was, while testifying on the budget for the section in a Congressional subcommittee, he specifically mentioned two names as being outstanding officers under his command: me in Jakarta and I forget the name of my associate then in charge in Geneva. He mentioned these two names publicly. I have the volume of it somewhere here. If you like, I could call you

when I find it. I am a research person. I have all sorts of material here, and can't find most of it myself. But I probably will find it and I'll call you if you want to see it.

Q: Oh, good.

WALKIN: I'll be glad to call you and actually show you the volume in which he mentioned me.

My feeling is that I met two Foreign Service giants through my 10 years overseas: Julius Holmes in Hong Kong and Graham Martin in the Department. A number of us ate in the State Department cafeteria, which was and probably still is, open until seven, because there are people there all the time. A number of us used to eat our dinners there. Whenever Martin came down there and saw me sitting alone, he always came to sit with me. There were a number of my associates who could confirm that, particularly Henry Heymann, who was also in Jakarta in that time. Well, I think it was a great privilege to know Graham Martin and to have been admired by him. If I had been conscious of how much he admired me... I don't regard it as anything unusual, but I just failed at that time to grasp the extent of the admiration he had for me. But then it was too late when I finally spoke to him in his hometown: Winston Salem, North Carolina. If he had been well enough, he would have invited me to his home to watch me spar with faculty members with whom I disagreed. I, of course, have been a hardliner on Soviet Russia throughout my life; you wouldn't expect me to be otherwise, especially after working four years on Soviet intelligence. He would have loved to see me taking apart faculty members with whom he used to meet periodically. I would have had an opportunity to talk to him about Vietnam, because I followed Vietnam quite a bit; I do not agree with the public statements made about it now, and I know he would not have agreed with them either, if he were alive. But, I reached him near the end of his life. It was such a trip to Winston Salem. It just never became possible, though I would have enjoyed it immensely.

Q: Did you get involved at all, when you were in Refugees and Migration, with this sort of American domestic politics involved in that bureau or not?

WALKIN: No. I have no recollection of that.

Q: Well, the main exodus from Asia during the time you were responsible for, was the result of the Chinese invasion of Tibet, was that it?

WALKIN: Yes, I vividly remember my association with the chief of the Tibetans in Washington and the party we gave together at the National Gallery. I was busy and even talking to Graham Martin every day, but I have no strong recollection of exactly what I did during the three and a half years I worked at the State Department. My work in INR was at the old SA-1 building, across the street from the main building. But I was now in the main building when I came back from Indonesia and was assigned in the Bureau of Migration and Refugee Affairs.

Q: You left the Department of State in 1969 and you went to Auburn. Auburn is where

now?

WALKIN: It's in Alabama. It is the old land grant institution and the sister institution of the University of Alabama. It is located in the Eastern part of Alabama, about 35 miles west of Columbus, Georgia and Fort Benning. The University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa was the liberal arts college in the old days, while Auburn was the agricultural and engineering college; it was completely integrated by the time I arrived there. The rivalry between the University of Alabama and Auburn is, of course, well known throughout the South.

Q: You started there in 1969 and this is the height of the anti-Vietnamese protests; but, you were in the heart of the Deep South, which was not particularly strongly protesting, from what I gather.

WALKIN: That is correct. I have very strong views on Vietnam because I followed it. I think that what is publicly stated – the Lehrer program [The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer, Public Television program] the last three days – is one-sided and, well, useless. This sort of traditional way of looking at Vietnam is not the way to understand it. Put briefly, I would put it this way: no President in office would have allowed the North Vietnamese to intervene in South Vietnam and ensure that the South Vietnamese Communists won. If we did it in one country, we would have done it in all the countries. No President would have accepted this, including Kennedy. There is overwhelming evidence that Kennedy did not accept it, even though there are people who say that he was ready to get out. This is nonsense.

Q: Of course it's nonsense. Well, you were at Auburn from when to when?

WALKIN: The fall of 1969 until I left to come here, which was July 1993. We stayed there after I retired, because it was really a pleasant community and I was strong enough to live there by myself, which I did. My daughter took my place in the State Department. Have you seen this poster I have here on Milosevic?

Q: I will take a look at it in a minute.

WALKIN: She got some copies for me. I stayed at Auburn because it was a pleasant community in which to do my research and writing; I also had the help to be there alone. I could be visited alone by my daughter there. I guess it was she who realized that she could not take care of me properly while I was there. In 1992 to 1993, we arranged for me to move to this apartment as a "condominium home," if you know the lingo of senior living communities. Incidentally, I was not actually discharged from the Department when I left in 1969. They told me this and I know no details, "We are going to put you on leave without pay," because this would increase my pension. I don't know what the details were, but I was not formally separated from the Department until February 28, 1970, although I actually left in September 1969. When I got to Washington as an Auburn professor that first summer of 1970, in which I told you about the luncheon with Ed Masters, I had been formally separated from the Department. But I was on leave

without pay from 1969 to the end of February in 1970.

Q: Well, you certainly had an interesting career.

WALKIN: I did. I regard my career in my old age as having been unusually successful. The key to it, probably, was the fact that I was drafted in World War II and spent over three years in the United States Army. I knew nothing about the GI Bill, I did not object to being drafted. I felt it was proper to serve in the Army, but I had four years of eligibility under the GI Bill. For the first time in my life, I could go to graduate school.

Q: So many of us owe our future to the GI Bill. I have a GI mortgage on my house. I got a master's degree because of the GI Bill. I met my wife because of the GI Bill. So the GI Bill was very useful.

WALKIN: I would regard it as an essential part of my career. I could not have become either a Foreign Service Officer nor a professor without it, without my advanced degrees, and I made the right decisions – with that I had a very successful career.

Q: Well, I'll just sign off here. I want to thank you very much.

End of interview