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CONTENTS

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NAVAL WAR COLLEGE
NEWPORT, R. I.

Department of Correspondence Courses

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INFORMATION SERVICE FOR OFFICERS

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Newport, R. I.

FOREWORD

Information Service for Officers was established by the Chief of Naval Personnel in 1948. It contains lectures and articles of professional interest to officers of the naval service.

The thoughts and opinions expressed in this publication are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the Navy Department or of the Naval War College.

VOICE OF AMERICA

A lecture delivered by
Mr. Foy D. Kohler
at the Naval War College
January 18, 1951

In talking with you this morning, I'm going to tell you about a very practical operation, and I'm going to devote a lot of time just to the purely physical description of the operation, because I find that few people are cognizant of it at all. Despite this, we have 100,000 people who think they know the job better than we do, and show no restraint whatsoever in saying so.

A day or so ago, I picked up a *Harper's* magazine which mentioned "The Mumble in the Voice of America". It wasn't really talking about the Voice of America at all. The Voice was mentioned a few items in the first paragraph and the only time the article did mention VOA, it made glaring errors in pure statements of fact. It went on to say that we have been missing the boat because the story to tell is that Communism stems from a very rambunctious minority, that it is minority controlled. Well, we have a lot of those people who learn in this late day the things that we have been operating on for a good many years now. They think they have made a great discovery.

I'm going to talk to you about the radio side of the Information Program. But I want to say, as a preface, that it is not the only side. At least in the free world, in those parts of the world that are accessible to us, we have an all-around program which includes the distribution of pamphlets and motion pictures, the setting

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Mr. Kohler is Chief of the Division of International Broadcasting, Department of State, in charge of all Voice of America programs.

up of libraries and cultural institutions, the publication of books in the local languages, and the like. Radio is the one medium which operates not only in this area but it is the one which we are depending on to get through the Curtain. During the course of my talk and during the question period, I shall try to give you as good an idea as I can whether we are accomplishing this and whether we are going to be able to do it.

Now, in just plain physical terms, what is the Voice of America? I have had a lot of ladies ask me where our station is and things like that; apparently conceiving the Voice of America as a radio station comparable to their local radio station, but with a few strange characters around who are multilingual and can say the same thing in many different languages. Well it isn't that; it is a colossal radio operation. NBC and CBS combined are pretty small, as radio operations go, compared with what is, and particularly with what will be, the Voice of America.

First of all, we will start with installations in the U. S. I asked for this map to be put up here to help me describe to you the system. The basis of the operation is short-wave signals from transmitters located in the States. We have 38 of these short-wave transmitters at the present time. Some are located up in the Boston area, some around New York metropolitan area, another center near Cincinnati, and two centers on the West Coast in California. Now those transmitters are not very powerful. They run about one hundred kilowatts, most of them, and they are capable of delivering a short-wave signal direct to the target areas; but principally they are relied on to deliver the signal to our relay bases overseas. They are really the heart and core of our system and they are necessary, principally, because of our geographical location which gives us certain handicaps in the international broadcasting field. So these signals go out from the continental U. S. to

relay bases abroad, with the exception of Latin-America. Latin-America is serviced by the Cincinnati and West Coast stations and all we have down there is our direct short-wave, plus local relays. This short-wave is picked up and relayed by about fifty local radio stations throughout Latin America. Other than that, the rest of the world, as far as we reach it today, is serviced principally by our relay bases.

The first of these bases is in England where we lease from BBC. That base has both medium and short-wave transmitters and covers the entire European area with short-wave deep into the Soviet Union. A considerable portion of Western Europe is also covered with medium-wave signal.

Our prize relay base—one we own ourselves, and I trust will continue to own after the turn-over to the Germans—is at Munich. There we have a very powerful medium-wave transmitter, generally known as Dumbo, plus a whole battery of short-wave transmitters.

Our newest base is down in Tangier, where at the present time, we have a battery of six short-wave transmitters which is going to be augmented in the near future.

Another base which has come on the air within the last six months is at Salonika in Greece, established and operated by agreement with the Greek government. We started out there with just a medium-wave relay transmitter intended only to cover the Southern Balkans; but actually our tests with that transmitter have been surprisingly good and we find that we deliver a very good signal to Warsaw and to the Black Sea area.

Now, the other side of the world is serviced principally by the California stations which, incidentally, are connected by land

lines to our New York studios; and then their signals are picked up by relay bases that we have in Hawaii and the Philippines. The Hawaiian base has only short-wave transmitters, for obvious reasons, and covers a considerable area of the Far East. The Philippine base, just north of Manila, has a good medium-wave transmitter, and again, a battery of short-wave transmitters. We use those for relay, not only for Far-Eastern programs but also for programs to the Soviet Union.

In the expansion program, which is now in progress, we are going to establish more bases. First of all, we are going to augment greatly the Philippine base with a very high-powered medium-wave installation, that is, with the standard broadcast-band transmitter. That will be of an order of 1,000 kilowatts. None of this type has ever been in operation there before. As a prelude, we have had intensive studies made by M. I. T. and a group of associated scientists. We are going to try a medium-wave with a highly directional curtain-wave of antennas, which will probably deliver a radio signal of a strength never before heard in that area.

I have a team over in Japan completing negotiations for another such station, accompanied by a battery of short-wave transmitters on Okinawa.

When those plants are installed, we will be able to cover the whole of the Far East with, we hope, a practically unjammable signal.

We have also had in our plans a relay base for the Middle East. We had hoped to have that base on the air this year but ran into difficulties in connection with site negotiations. Arrangements for the location are about settled; the base will be at Kuwait. Here we will have a medium-wave outlet with a couple of short-

wave transmitters, and also another one of these very high-powered medium-wave plants. Now the target area for Kuwait will be to cover not only all of the Near East but also all of Central Asia and Southern Russia. In this way, we can really try to get to those minority, suppressed nationalities of Central Asia and the Caucasus regions.

I should like now to return to the domestic operation. The 38 transmitters which we have in the U. S. are partly owned by the government and partly by private companies. The latter were in the field of short-wave broadcasting, more or less experimentally, during the last war. So it is a miscellaneous collection and it is not as powerful as it should be. Above all, it doesn't give us the rear-base security that we should have in case, let us say, we lose some of our outlying relay bases. So we are starting this year with two double megawatt short-wave plants. One will probably be located on the East Coast and the other out toward the West Coast. That, for all practical purposes, should give us a signal to our relay bases that is unjammable. Up to the present time, Soviet jamming has been able to interfere seriously with our original broadcast signal out of the States, so that relay bases do not get a good signal. We have been forced a number of times to have recourse to a commercial point of delivery for our broadcast signal.

Next year, if the Congress approves of it, we are going into a tremendous expansion program. The Bureau of the Budget and the President have already done so. We will complete what will, in fact, be a ring of very high-powered medium-wave and short-wave transmitters around the Soviet Union. That will call for an appropriation of something over $100,000,000 and I shall tell you in a moment how we expect to go ahead with it. But if that should go through and we are able to negotiate satisfactorily, we would hope to put another very high-powered medium-wave trans-

mitter in Munich. We would like to put another one in Tangier, one in Salonika, and one in Kuwait. Also, we would like another one on Ceylon, but of course, we have not negotiated for that.

We also have a working arrangement with the British at Singapore where they have built a new base and we can either trade them time or conceivably we would eventually go into Singapore with our own transmitters. We would also strengthen the home base with four more of these double-megawatt plants, which at that point would make our present 38 World War II transmitters pretty obsolete. But we are the kind of people who can put old equipment to good use. We would take these transmitters and use them to trade-off with other governments to get concessions for local relays and things like that. Then, in connection with the expansion program, we are also planning to put somewhere another one of these relay bases to cover the Latin-American region, so that we can really hit all over the world.

Now there are a lot of problems connected with this, some of which I have suggested to you. One of those is the question of sites. At Okinawa, we have territory under our own control and I'm glad to say that we had much less trouble with the Army than we had with foreign governments. In other places we have a lot of negotiating to do. Just for example, there is a Middle East base that has been on and off a considerable number of times between the Persians and the British. The trouble there is that Persia has certain claims to Bahrein which is, by all odds, the most ideal site for the station. We were pushing ahead on Bahrein, but we finally ran into a brick wall. Eventually, we should have an agreement in principle for using Kuwait. Fortunately, Kuwait has been dressed up some in terms of logistics, because an oil company has now started developing there. In addition to that, we hope to solve some of the site problems, or

at least get a headstart on them, by a method which I think will probably be of interest to you.

After talking with the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Navy in Washington, we had a firm of naval architects working on a plan for mounting these new transmitters on vessels, leaving them on the vessels but tying them into a shore antenna installation. That will save about a year in terms of how soon we can get them on the air, because even while we are building the shore antenna we can start broadcasting with a balloon rig. The other thing of course is that it will give us a very great security factor. We will be able to pull the thing up and move it out if we have to. Also, it will give us elasticity and mobility, depending on what direction events may take. So that if we wanted to strengthen our propaganda in the Far East, for example, we could arrange to do that by moving this floating relay base.

There is another great problem that is facing us; and I must say that two years ago I did not really know such a thing as a frequency existed. You have got to have a frequency for every transmitter, and that picture is about as black as it can be. There are not too many frequencies, I have discovered, especially in the band allocatd to international broadcasting. Moreover, the Russians, who are well ahead of us in this type of thing, had gone ahead and registered about half of those years ago, just on speculation I take it. Anyway they have them registered.

There have been a number of conferences to try to sort out and assign frequencies for international broadcasting. None of them have been successful. The claims of all the various countries have been unreasonable. They have been beyond anything that they could possibly hope to do. Moreover, in the midst of these conferences the Russians started jamming, which in itself amounts

to breaking all the international agreements there are on the subject. So we have just gone ahead and tried not to step on the toes of our friends on a more or less preempted unoccupied frequency.

It is even more difficult in the case of medium-wave frequencies. That is the type that comes out of the radios in your homes, standard broadcast frequencies; and they are very important in some parts of the world because that is the normal range in which the local citizen listens to his radio. So we are very anxious to penetrate with medium-wave signals, especially into Western Europe.

Under this fancy plan which they cooked up for the allocation of frequencies, we were frozen out of the medium-wave range. They had a conference in Copenhagen a year and a half ago called the European Regional Conference. It was supposed to include only European countries since medium-wave is not supposed to carry as far as short wave; especially with limitations on power of not more than 150 kilowatts per transmitter. They froze us out completely at the Copenhagen Convention so we said, "We won't play then." Thus by refusing to recognize Copenhagen we have been able to provide our own relay base in Munich, and the local German stations including the RIAS transmitter in Berlin, with frequencies which really don't belong to us but which are not being used by anyone else. So we are on the air at least, and we are going to stay there too.

I might add, to complete the picture of this international radio network, that we do have a lot of overseas relays. They are very important, particularly for Western Europe and other parts of the world where people are used to listening to the standard broadcast band and to their local stations. Fortunately, we are on

the French national network every day. Our French program, "ICI New York." is picked up by the French national network every day and for a half-hour any Frenchman who has his radio tuned to his local station is listening to the "Voice of America." The same is true in Germany. The same is true in Austria. The same is true in Greece. It was true in Persia, until recently, when a minor political turn caused us to be kicked off the air; but we now have information that leads us to believe that we will get back on the air when the political turn runs its full course. And that has been true off and on, with great variations, in Korea. It is true in various parts of Latin-America.

Now what does this international network carry? At the moment it is operating 24 hours a day, 365 days a year. It is carrying programs in 26 languages for some 30 program hours, some of them being simultaneous—we haven't found any way to stretch the day yet. The content of those programs is something over 200,000 words every day. Those 200,000 words are culled from, I suppose, at least ten times that many words of source material which comes to us from news services, from telegrams, from embassies all over the world, from intelligence reports, from the F. B. I. monitoring service, from publications and books, not only in English but in every language that exists both here at home and throughout the world. I might say in passing that one of the benefits of having this operation tied in officially is that we have full access to material, not only for our use but for our guidance, and it goes through all the categories of classification. Without it you couldn't do a truly effective job.

Now who does this? At the present level of operations, we are running with about 700 people in New York to man these 26 language sections, to carry on programming in those languages, and to supply all the central and operating services and policy con-

trols. We are about to go into an enormous expansion program, as you know. A year from now, we should be broadcasting in over fifty languages, if we can find the personnel. At that time we will have a staff in New York of about 1600 or 1700 plus about 400 more operating the relay bases overseas.

Each one of the 70 odd programs that goes out every day from studios in New York, supplemented by our Washington studio, is separately tailored for the target area. Everyone of them is written by the desks which have area experts and language experts, and are manned to a very considerable extent by American citizens, many of whom are citizens who originated from the area to which they are broadcasting. I might mention in passing that in addition to the central radio program service, we are in the transcription business. In fact, we are providing programs on a local basis around the world through the United States information officers in the Embassies and Consulates everywhere. We produce and send out to them about 15,000 transcribed platters of programs every month which they place on local radio networks. We send them some 3,000 scripts for use in the production of local radio programs which, you might say, are calculated to attain tactical objectives. That side of the service we want to expand a great deal this year.

In terms of the actual content, these programs vary a great deal. A summary figure indicates that there is about 30 odd percent news, about 60% analysis and features of one kind or another, and the balance music. But that doesn't tell very much because each program is tailored for its target area, making it a little hard to break down a picture of those 200,000 words. In categories, we might say that behind the curtain it is almost entirely news and commentary roughly on a fifty-fifty basis. There are a number of reasons for that. One is the difficulty of getting through

jamming. Another one is that there are risks to the listener in those areas; and when he tunes in he isn't likely to want to hear music, but what is happening and how we see it, and that is what we try to give him. Behind the curtain, therefore, our programs are pretty direct, full of news and straight truth and policy. We draw a strict line between the regimes and the people in all those countries, including Russia itself. At the moment, we are broadcasting in all the satellite languages of Eastern Europe as well as in two Chinese dialects, Mandarin and Cantonese. Our expansion program is going to put us into all the splinter languages. We have already added Ukrainian to that schedule, and within the next six months or so we hope to add Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Georgian, Armenian, and later, about three or four of the dialects of Central Asia. (Azerbaijani, Uzbeki, Turki). Then, on the other side, we hope to add Amoy and Swatow of the Chinese, during the next year, as well as a lot of the languages outside.

The programs of the free-world contain a lot less news because, generally speaking, the people in those areas have their own sources of news which are reasonably objective. First of all, we concentrate in terms of news in giving the full news from *our* side; and then, more generally, our features, calculated to overcome what we know to be attitudes and prejudices against the U. S. A., and to give them a better picture of our policy.

While most of these programs, as they go out, are specially written in the language of the people to whom they are addressed, we do have a great deal of central source material which has been adapted. We don't translate anything, we adapt it. Almost every program will have a regular weekly economic commentary in which we carry on what is a reasonable propaganda line. An example to which, incidentally, the Kremlin has shown itself to be very sensitive is giving the comparison of the

cost of living around the world in terms of hours of work for items that people really use; for shoes, food, clothing and for shelter. We have an agricultural commentary section which deals with the Mendelian and the Meturian Lysenko disputes and things like that. We have a very close working relationship with labor and with the labor unions in this country. And to this audience I can say that a great many statements which you read in the press in which Greene or Curran or Murray, or Reuther, or some of those fellows are sounding off on foreign affairs, or on the necessity for European labor to unload M. D. A. P., is written at 57th and Broadway in New York and properly placed.

We have handled the basic ideological question in the past on not too expert a basis. We have had some amateurs around like Charlie Thayer my predecessor, and myself who pretend to know something about Russia, but are not really profound students. Now, however we are setting up to go into that on a much firmer basis so that we can present the argument in the proper dialectical terms to those audiences which have been raised on it. We have Bertram Wolfe for example, who is the author of "Three Who Made A Revolution,"—a man who is probably more profoundly steeped in both the Marxist side and the American side than anyone else in the country.

We do quite a number of dramatic shows that we think will be effective. We have several, such as Orwell's books, his dramatic shows, which have had considerable acclaim—where we have been able to get acclaim. I don't know how they were behind the Curtain. We used the dramatic technique a lot to put on such things as: "Who Said It?" "Do You Remember?". The titles speak for themselves. And all the things they don't remember, when they read Soviet or Communist publications, we try to remind them of, as well as the things they have said which they have

later stressed. Another program that is something like that, was started in the Russian language. It is a calendar of notable events in Russian history that we consider useful.

We do a lot of what is known as Special Events. For example, we have had a team down in Mexico to cover the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions Meeting. We also covered the Congress of Intellectuals that took place in Berlin. The International and Social Council Meeting that will be held in Santiago next month will likewise be covered by our teams. Those are wonderful places in which we can get live material in practically all languages.

Of course we cover the U. N. very extensively. I might just add as a tribute to the domestic industry that there is a great deal of difference between domestic and foreign broadcasting, but we do get whole-hearted cooperation from the radio industry here at home and also from various organizations such as AFRA, the American Federation of Radio Artists and from Petrillo. We are the only people in the world, I think, who have carte blanche from him. We can use any music that comes off the air. As regards copyrights, we use at least 3,000 items a year. If we had to pay for all the things that we are given access to, it would cost us millions of dollars.

Terms of policy control that I have suggested to you, and the very fact that we are a part of the State Department gives us access to all the guidance and background material that is pouring in from all over the world all the time. I will also say that in the last year, especially since Ed Barrett and Joe Phillips have come into the State Department in Washington, and have devoted their time to this question, we have a much better policy liaison extending throughout the State Department, so that any time we feel the need of guidance we can get it.

For example, we start off the day with a meeting in my office at 9:30, which is a fairly convenient hour because the bulk of our programs go out in the afternoon and the evening. You can appreciate that by realizing the time factor. To get the best evening listening hours in Europe, we broadcast from noon on, here in the U. S. Programs to Latin-America come in the evening. I can never keep up with China. We broadcast the breakfast show at night and the night show at breakfast time. However, the bulk of the programs can get the pitch for the day the first thing in the morning. So about 9:30 every morning the heads of all the desks come into my office, including all of the principal writers, news-writers, commentators, etc. At this time, we have an overnight guidance from Washington rounding up things that they know are coming up, and deciding what kind of pitch to give them. By the time we get into the meeting, we have all been through all the morning news on our own board and we have looked at the Times and the Tribune and we are ready to decide what the pitch for the day is. All in all, I think that we now have the policy side working out very well. We have to double check on them. First of all we try to start with the selection of highly responsible people as the heads of all these desks. People who know what they are doing and who could only make one mistake. We have our own monitoring system, however, which spot-checks on all the programs that go out, to test whether they are in line with policy guidances, etc. And then of course we have a good many millions of people who are monitoring us all over the world and who don't hesitate to let us know if they think we are out of line.

There are still some shortcomings. As a matter of fact the thing that we don't have that gives the Kremlin a considerable advantage is this kind of policy guidance: When the President makes a major statement, nobody needs policy guidance, the policy is right in it. In a sense, policy guidance is a means of overcoming things

that are difficult to deal with because the material is bad. If we had a system whereby the policy would go out to all the sources of news, so that the President and the Secretary of the Navy would say the same thing, that would facilitate our job quite a lot. Then we wouldn't need policy guidance on anything, because it would be there automatically—the policy would be in the material. So there are a lot of things that we could do to get some improvement there and I'm glad to say that I think we are achieving it because, throughout the government at least, a great deal of the source of the news that we deal with comes from the government. Consciousness of the psychological and the propaganda factors of what we are doing is growing very rapidly.

Now who listens to these programs and what good do they do? Well, we start with a potential audience that we can reach with our transmitters, a listening audience of about 75 million, and with a potential audience of about 300 million. Nobody can tell you how many of those people listen to us. When we are very optimistic we sometimes like to "guesstimate" that perhaps 100 million are regular customers, but I would hate to have to prove it. However, that doesn't mean that we are without resources in that line; we have had to pioneer in some of them.

To start with, throughout the free world, the techniques and the tools that are used here at home by the domestic radio industry to measure its listening audience and the effectiveness of its programs on them are available to us. They are not very good as yet, because people are not accustomed to operating that way abroad. We have had to set up, for example, a training program in connection with a couple of universities to try to develop people who are capable of taking the techniques of the Hooper-Neilson rating, who have linguistic or area knowledge, and who are capable of going abroad and applying these techniques. In some places

we don't even have basic research done, such as knowing precisely the number of radios and what class of population has them, whether they are strategically located, what the secondary circulation is that can be expected from them. All of this was available to us here at home.

Out in the Middle East we are developing all that basic data. We are making some progress on it and we have under contract such outfits as the Gallup people, the Institute of Public Opinion Research (that is the Elmo Roper, Wilson outfit). A New York University school headed by the director of research of McCann-Erickson Advertising is doing content study for us, and the Russian Institute at Harvard is doing analyses of Soviet reaction for the Voice of America. We are able to apply valid research techniques and we have already made a number of studies. As an example, in France we have a valid study that our listening audience familiar with the Voice of America is 4½ million a day, and out of that, 2½ million are regular listeners. I think the regular listener, in technical jargon, is described as somebody who listens a minimum of three times a week, or something like that. Anyway, they are people who really follow the program. Well, 2½ million people in France is more than those who read the entire Metropolitan Press of Paris. That is quite a few people we are talking to every day.

In Sweden, we have 480,000 listeners of whom 194,000 are regular. Now that means, since we do not even broadcast in the Swedish language, that they listen to our English language programs, though secondarily, also, to German.

Then we have such tests as audience mail. At the present time, we get letters from all over the free-world at the rate of 30,000 a month. A tremendous job to handle, incidentally.

And then there is a demand for our program schedules. We are now mailing out about 700,000 of them. They are sent only in response to specific requests from listeners, and the indications are that we will have to be printing well over a million within the next month or so, even at the present level of operation.

Behind the curtain, of course, we have the least possibility of telling who listens, but we are not without resources. First of all, we have a number of missions back there and we do get a certain number of intelligence reports. Even more useful than the reports from inside where people are somewhat isolated, is the information we get from the interrogation of DPs and defectors as they come out. We have gone into that in a big way and it is extremely valuable in enabling us to tell what material produces results, what has had an impact, where these results are obtained, and what possible listening patterns may exist behind the Iron Curtain.

The most revealing source, I think, is the one I mentioned before, constant studies by the Russian Institute at Harvard. The attacks that are being made on us by the Soviet radio, in the Soviet and satellite press, and over the satellite radio are very revealing to us. They never fail to surprise me. They take issue with specific items in our program which indicates that, at the very least, they estimate that a lot of their people are listening to the programs, and they feel the need to combat what we have to say. In that sense, they fall into the old propagandist trap much more frequently than we do. We make a point of not engaging in direct polemics with Moscow, because one of the first rules that you learn in this game is: "don't let your opponent capture control of your output." They are much less savvy to that rule than we are, and very frequently we goad them into direct attempts at rebuttal with their own people, and these things appear in the mass media.

Every week there comes to my desk a little book about a half inch thick that has nothing in it but attacks made on us by Soviet satellite media.

As regards jamming, which I may say that I consider the best testimony as to the concern of the Kremlin authorities about our reaching through to their people:—Jamming started on its present stupendous scale (I think the word is merited, as nothing else like it has ever taken place) in April 1949; and their efforts have been absolutely unremitting to keep us out of the Soviet Union since that date. To do that, they have built a tremendous jamming network. We have identified more than 250 short-wave transmitters and we calculate that there are up to 1,000 local noise-makers that can't be detected from outside. They are very carefully controlled from a central monitoring point and are able to shift frequencies within a matter of seconds.

How do we get through, and do we get through? We *do* get through and I will try to clarify a little more as we go along as to how much. In a general way, I think it is clear that we are getting through to a hard and, what the Kremlin considers, a dangerous core of listening. We have had considerable improvement in that since the first days. I was personally in Moscow when they commenced the jamming and they really put us off the air. As a matter of fact we are still pretty much off the air in Moscow. Our latest reports from monitors there are that it fluctuates a great deal, but around 20% of the monitoring time people are able to get the "Voice."

We have had luck in many areas by what is known as critical frequences. I won't go into the technical explanation, but I will say that the nature of short-wave is such that at certain times of the year and phases of the sun-spot cycle, we are able to put

a signal into parts of Russia from our bases where we have short wave transmitters. There is no place in Russia where you can put a transmitter that will block that particular signal. That is enough regarding critical frequencies. I had to memorize every word of that.

We do a certain amount of cuddling, which is to ride in close to frequencies they are using for domestic programming. But there are limitations on that. We are still trying to be reasonably legal, and at least we try to refrain from stepping on the toes of our friends. For example, if to ride on one of their signals means that we would block a signal in Sweden or in England, we don't do it.

We are broadcasting on a 24-hour-a-day-around-the-clock-basis, a slow-speed Russian Morse news file. I can't tell you whether anybody is listening to that, but we think it is a good bet. We know that the Soviet armed services have a great many operators who are sitting there listening on the air during breaks in their communication duties. We know that great efforts have been made all over the Soviet Union to train reservists who are capable of understanding Morse, and that these people are provided with equipment. We still think it is a good bet, but I couldn't prove to you that one single person is listening to it.

We are also doing slow-speed English and slow-speed German programs, which are beamed into the Soviet Union because we know that all over the Soviet Union the study of English or German is practically mandatory for anybody who goes beyond the sixth grade.

Above all, we are building up this new network because, in a sense, there is only one answer, and that is more power and more transmitters. In this way, you put a signal in either on so

many channels that they don't have enough transmitters to block it, or else with such power that it overrides the jamming signals. I might say in that connection that we, at the present time, cooperate very closely with the BBC. We are likewise trying to get other countries into it, though they are of lesser importance because they don't have the equipment. Twice a day we team up with the BBC and put into the Soviet Union a Russian language program simultaneously. At this time, we get through almost without fail because we over-saturate their system. When we get more transmitters we will be able to do even better.

TENSIONS

A lecture delivered by
Dr. H. M. Wriston
at the Naval War College
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Boswell quotes the great Samuel Johnson as saying, "A man, sir, should keep his friendship in a constant repair." That is the theme of what I have to say of international relations this morning. It has become particularly important for the United States because the world is convinced that the choice between peace and war will be fundamentally an American decision. This is a startling idea; we have been accustomed to believe that wars were made abroad and that we entered them not only late, but reluctantly.

The new situation is a manifestation of the altered balance of power. Whatever we may think, our allies and our enemies alike now expect the ultimate decision to rest with Washington. Once that concept is firmly grasped it is easier to understand both the virulence with which potential enemies denounce the United States and the nervousness of friendly powers when they believe their ideas, their intersts, and their hopes are not adequately taken into consideration.

In discussing the tensions between the United States and Great Britain the first thing to remember is that Britain has been a world power for some centuries. Her methods of handling international affairs were established in the days when Britannia ruled the waves with sailing ships. It is not an inapt analogy to say that in pursuing policy she keeps her weather eye peeled

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and moves from one position to another by courses which steadily take account of wind and weather; sometimes she goes off on a long tack and does not appear to be headed for her destination at all; ultimately she comes to port. In British domestic affairs this has been called "muddling through"; it is one of the reasons that in foreign affairs some have used the phrase "perfidious Albion." From the British point of view the method is justified because it gets them there—with patience. Time, they feel, is seldom of the essence in larger questions of diplomacy. The balance of power, for example, has a long history—and the prospects of a long future.

The United States, on the other hand, was not admitted to the circle of great nations until the Spanish-American War; it was not regarded as a world power until after the Wright brothers had lifted their frail kite from the sands of Kitty Hawk. American world diplomacy, consequently, is a modern development and more adapted to the age of speed. We have a feeling that the shortest distance between two points, if not a straight line, is along the great circle; therefore, we have a tendency to drive straight toward our goal, flying if possible above the weather, if not, plowing through it. This difference in mood, pace, and method makes us seem to others impulsive and impatient, while they seem to us devious and dilatory. That difference, which has grown out of history, has a subtle but significant effect upon international relations.

In the second place, Americans and the British have difficulty in understanding each other's governmental technique. This is not so troublesome for us, though we are occasionally insensible to political pressures upon the Prime Minister. On the other hand, grasping our methods is enormously difficult for the British. They do not understand how it is possible for a member of our Cabinet,

let us say, who has no responsibilities of a direct kind in foreign relations, to make a speech which deals with foreign relations. Secretary Matthews' preventive war suggestion in Boston is an illustration.

Such a statement is taken very seriously abroad; an official is supposed to speak officially. The assumption is that he must be voicing a view which the President wants explored; otherwise he would be "sacked" for making such a statement. We know that members of the Cabinet are often persons of no personal political potency; they are presidential appointees; they hold their power from him, at his pleasure. Their expressions of view, except when speaking directly on his behalf, are just like the views of any private citizen made louder by the fact of office. Even when the President has "cleared" a speech, he may repudiate it—and its author—as Mr Truman did with Henry Wallace, when he was Secretary of Commerce. Such an event could not occur in Britain.

It seems incomprehensible to the British that the chairman of a congressional committee can take a view quite different from the President without any sense of lack of fitness. That arises, of course, from our constitutional system of checks and balances. In nations which have what is known as "responsible government," an adverse vote on a matter of any importance leads the government to resign. Here the President loses something in prestige by an adverse vote in Congress, but he never has to resign. To us it seems the most normal thing in the world for Congress and the President to differ even on major issues. So common is this that the Senate has been called "the graveyard of treaties"—all of which are negotiated under the direct authority of the President.

In the third place, the Prime Minister seldom makes a policy statement outside of the Parliament. He does not have a weekly

press conference, speak off the cuff, or exchange banter with reporters. What he says, therefore, bears the weight not only of official position but of official utterance.

There is never a casual remark such as the statement of Mr. Truman that the Fulbright report on the RFC was "asinine"; or the statement about the atom bomb; or the statement the other day in which the President said that we would "press vigorously" in the United Nations, "with everything this country could bring to bear," in support of the American resolution branding Communist China an aggressor; or his statement last Thursday that renewed crossing of the 38th parallel lay within the discretion of General MacArthur.

Those are samples of the type of thing which goes on in the presidential press conferences which could never happen in Britain or France or, indeed, in most countries of the world. They occasionally give the impression that we are truculent, or that we are unstable, or that we are careless. From our point of view, because the President in a press conference may not be quoted directly, he is in a position to modify or even reject a report of such a conference; from the British viewpoint his statements are those of the head of the government and have, therefore, an aura of authority which they do not possess in this country.

Again, the British do not understand why we make broad statements of policy without consultation with our allies when there is to be a change. For example, last April Secretary Acheson said that he wanted "to make it clear that the United States stood by its international commitments for the disarmament of Germany and against its rearmament." Then, just at the most delicate moment in the negotiations regarding the Schuman Plan, it was rather abruptly stated that we wanted Germany to rearm in a hurry.

The result was enormous tension upon the part of the French, who are at least as much afraid of the Germans as of the Russians, and maybe more. It brought great dislocation, as I have indicated, into negotiations on the Schuman Plan and it put Germany in a strong bargaining position. Indeed, Commissioner McCloy found it necessary shortly thereafter to state that Germany would have to be treated as an equal. It was not until General Eisenhower went to Germany that he was able to extricate us from a very difficult situation and at the same time relieve the French and the British from embarrassment by taking the initiative, diplomatically, from Chancellor Adenauer and restoring it to the Western Allies.

Our manners occasionally have an adverse effect upon our allies. Recently, for example, in the United Nations Warren Austin used this language: "The United States will wish to have something to say; would like to get the floor and would not like to be forced off the floor by a gentleman who seems to think he has the right to assume the floor and talk many, many times." The situation in the United Nations must sometimes be annoying, but discussion does not move at such a pace that we need to exhibit irritability when somebody else talks. The record shows that the United States occupies its fair share of the time. It does not help to be snappish when we are seeking votes in support of our position.

Moreover, we sometimes take a high moral tone which others find irritating. One of the national magazines called Warren Austin the "conscience" of the United Nations. No one enjoys having a conscience outside himself; it gives the impression that he is holier than other people. We can illustrate this by our treatment of Greece. Last spring our Ambassador read a severe lecture to the Greeks upon their government, its shortcomings and the things it ought to do. His strictures carried a direct threat of reducing the amount of money available to them unless they reformed their

ways. His intervention was not successful; the Ambassador was transferred elsewhere. The same tactic was later tried by an officer of ECA. The substance of their complaints was sound, but the method of making them was one which seldom pays dividends. It betrayed a feeling of superiority which other nations find intensely annoying. When this method fails, we lose prestige; when it succeeds, it reduces the criticized nation in its own estimation and in the estimation of others to the status of a satellite.

We cannot fairly complain of the Russian habit of making satellites of those within its orbit and at the same time behave as though we were trying to make satellites. In the Greek case and in others, we gave the Russians an opportunity to speak of a "Marshallized" Europe. Some friendlier critics feel that in such instances we exhibit an unconscious imperialism while denouncing imperialism in others.

Last fall a distinguished Swedish scientist was visiting some of the universities of this country. In the most casual tone of voice he referred to Sweden as a "satellite" of the United States. I expressed not only surprise but shock and said that such a term was entirely inappropriate, that we had no such concept of Sweden. He said that maybe we had no such conscious view, but that our treatment of Sweden often was calculated to reduce it to that status and that, when pressure was put upon them, they sometimes regarded themselves in the light of an American satellite.

There is a great deal of restlessness among and within the Soviet satellites despite the severe discipline exerted upon them. We have no such means of discipline. We can, of course, withdraw dollar subsidies, but we should remember that there is no longer a serious dollar gap; the potency of the dollar as a means of pressure is greatly reduced.

That comment leads to another frequent criticism of the United States: we put the dollar sign upon too many things and overestimate its value. We total up the amount of money we have spent in Europe, or have loaned to Europe, or have given to Europe under the Marshall Plan. It makes a very impressive figure; then we act as though we had received no adequate return for such generosity.

Europeans see a different picture. We did not loan them the money or give them the money just out of goodness of heart and generosity of spirit; they know there was a quid pro quo. It was to our interest that the Third Force should prevail in France; America needed somebody other than DeGaulle or the Communists in control; indeed, it was of the first importance to the United States. Similarly, in Italy and Greece, the Low Countries, and Scandinavia the United States had a very great stake in preserving a Europe free of Soviet domination. Democratic nations in Western Europe acted to some extent as a shield.

As we now turn from the indirect type of defense to a more direct involvement we discover how enormously more costly it is. We have been tempted to underestimate how cheaply we have lived in the face of Soviet aggression during the past five years. When, therefore, we speak of the dollar in an over-serious tone of voice, our allies feel that we do not appreciate that we were buying time, that we did buy time, and that we bought it at a reasonably low figure.

Irritation among the allies is intensified by the fact that, aside from Russia, none of the great powers has a stable majority in control of its government. In Congress the party majority in the House is small and in the Senate amounts to only two votes. In both cases the parties have enough internal differences so that

the administration cannot be sure of majority support on any given issue.

In Britain the majority of the Labor government is only seven. That is not a working margin except on critical issues which might lead to the overthrow of the government and consequently to voting the members out of office so they would all have to stand for reelection. Moreover, the Labor party has its own factionalism. Its extremists are quite out of sympathy with many of the things in which the United States has lively interest. Mr. Attlee has to be extraordinarily tactful in dealing with that wing of his party.

As far as France is concerned, it is governed by blocs; the Third Force is not a solid majority; it is a shifting, wavering group that must be held together by compromise, by persuasion, and by external pressure. We know, for example, that the Pleven government actually felt it necessary to resign on the eve of Mr. Attlee's visit to Washington. It was a manifestation of parliamentary irresponsibility difficult to comprehend in times like these. In Italy the government is unstable, and in Germany Adenauer is sharply challenged by Schumacher.

It is a commonplace political fact that political tensions are always heightened in any democratic country whenever the government rules by a very narrow majority. The action of the government appears wavering because of compromises thought necessary in order to get a majority vote on a given issue. This may often lead to sharp distortions in action. We must continually remind ourselves of this dominant political factor in each great Western nation and make allowances for it.

Another point of great significance is that each of the three great powers feels that it should be the "leader" in Europe. The

United States, as the anchor man on the team militarily, industrially, in a fiscal and economic sense, and otherwise, feels that leadership belongs to it. We point with just pride to the Marshall Plan as one of the boldest and most successful moves of modern times.

The British feel that they have been the engineers of the balance of power for 150 years or more and that they have a knowledge of Europe which we do not possess. They point to our rather clumsy management of the Greek situation as a case in point. They feel that they need not surrender intellectual, moral, and diplomatic leadership merely because they can no longer bear the fiscal burden or undertake the major military tasks. They feel that France, having been defeated and occupied, with a large Communist party on the one hand and an authoritarian threat from DeGaulle on the other, is in no position to assert stable leadership of the Continent.

France is obviously determined to be the leader of Europe. The French concede that they were defeated and occupied, but they feel that they have made a wonderful recovery. They are not willing for the United States, which, from their viewpoint, came late into both wars, to seize the reins. Since the war Britain, they feel, has shown marked signs of "channel" psychology, a return to insularity and isolationism. It exhibits an overconcern with domestic issues and too little interest in real integration with the continent. Britain also takes more interest in the Commonwealth than in Europe. It offers clear evidence that a planned domestic economy is the persistent foe of international cooperation.

On all these grounds the French feel that the leadership of Western Europe belongs to them. Four bold positions mark an effort to achieve that end. The French backed the idea of a united

Europe in the Strasbourg Assembly; Britain has been represented primarily by a member of the minority party, Mr. Churchill, who has contributed great oratory and notable spiritual leadership, but has not had behind him the force of government. The French, on the other hand, have looked forward to its development as a potent factor in the life of the Continent. They regard it as a step toward functional internationalism—a gradualist mode of approach to European union.

In the second place, the French proposed the Schuman Plan for the integration of the coal and iron resources of Western Europe. It was the boldest, the most significant gesture of modern times toward healing the breach between France and Germany. In the judgment of the French a supra-national authority to manage a vital integrated industry would lay the foundations not only for very strong economic defense of Western Europe; it would also mitigate terror of German rearmament which is, negatively, so potent in French policy. They point to the fact that the British have not joined in the Schuman Plan; in fact, they have dragged their heels so badly as to be a serious barrier to its success. They point also to the fact that at the critical point in the negotiations the United States by sheer ineptitude set the arrangements back for a long time.

In the third place, France has promoted the Pleven Plan, which proposes an international defense force within the North Atlantic Alliance. It involves a supra-national parliamentary assembly, a council of ministers under that assembly, a single European defense minister, and the European army under that minister. There is now being held in Paris a conference on the Pleven Plan; France and the Low Countries and others have full delegates; Britain has only an observer, as has the United States. The French feel that in the Schuman Plan and the Pleven Plan they are laying

the functional foundations for a United Europe. They assert that the record proves that they alone have the boldness, the initiative, and the foresight to undertake such a great enterprise.

In the fourth place, Prime Minister Pleven and Foreign Minister Schuman recently met with Premier DeGasperi and Count Sforza of the Italian Foreign Office. They concerted measures upon a higher level of cooperation than any that has been known among the great powers. In this respect, also, the French feel that they have shown initiative, imagination, and European leadership far beyond that which can be claimed by either Britain or the United States.

In so active a competition among three great powers there are inevitable tensions and frictions which need to be held in mind as we think about the problems of international relations.

In an effort to recover the initiative, Secretary Acheson recently flew to Brussels. His visit opened the way for the appointment of General Eisenhower as supreme commander and for sending him on the investigative mission upon which he recently reported. The significant part of the report for our discussion this morning is where General Eisenhower said: "I personally think that there has to be a political platform achieved, an understanding that will contemplate an eventual and an earned equality on the part of that nation before we should start to talk about including units of Germans in any kind of army. Certainly I, for one commander, want no unwilling contingents, no soldier serving in the pattern of the Hessians, serving in our Revolutionary War, in any army of my command. It would only be a source of weakness. Therefore, until the political leaders, the diplomats and the statesmen find proper answer to that one, it is not for a soldier to delve in too deeply."

While that statement is cast in very modest language, it nonetheless performs the essential function of taking the annoying question of German rearmament out of the field of current irritations and destroys an excellent propaganda point for the Russians. It has quieted French fears and improved our relationships with England. As a practical matter, moreover, it probably has not actually delayed for any considerable length of time the employment of useful German forces. In short, the diplomatic gains are great, the military losses probably quite unreal. The realization of the Schuman Plan has been accelerated as a consequence of that report. Also the French have modified their pressure for the Pleven Plan in order not to complicate, at this time, the problems inherent in General Eisenhower's command.

Another issue among the powers relates to a conference at the highest level between Russia, Britain, France, and the United States. Russia took the initiative and proposed it in its own terms. We have not managed to take the initiative away from Russia. Indeed, the United States has been so cautious in the matter that our allies feel we have been "negative."

The French are eager for the conference. They feel that nothing is to be lost by conversation, that something might be salvaged by such a conference. In any case the longer talk is indulged, the longer the resort to arms is postponed. Since Western strength is now growing, relative to the Russian, conversation should work to our advantage.

Britain takes substantially the same view though with less vigor. The extreme left wing section of the Labor party has put Mr. Attlee under great pressure; some of them are fairly close to the Russian line, feeling that the United States is not merely preparing for defense but is planning for war.

The attitude of the United States has been that talk can hurt. Russia is a unitary power and there is no way in which it can be divided from itself. It is well known to the Russians that there are important differences not alone in policy but even more significantly in temper and feeling among the three Western allies. A meeting would give Russia an opportunity to exploit those differences. With absolute unity upon its side, it could make concessions of some minor kind to France and of some different kind to Britain and in that way accentuate the tensions which already exist.

Such a conference will probably be held. The United States will agree to it, but will try to postpone it. Arrangements have now been initiated for a meeting of the deputies of the foreign ministers in Paris on the fifth of March to work out an agenda.

If we can put Austria as the first item on that agenda, it would give an opportunity to test Russian sincerity at the very outset. There was a time when the Russians felt they had to have a continued occupation of Austria because on the basis of being an occupying power they had the right to maintain troops in Hungary and Romania. But those nations have now been reduced so completely to the status of satellites that Russia does not need the excuse of an Austrian occupation to maintain the military situation it desires in those two countries. It is well known that the forces of those satellites have been expanded and constitute a menace to Yugoslavia. If, therefore, we press for an Austrian treaty, Russia's yielding of that point would be evidence that it has a real desire to talk; if it is wholly intransigent on the subject of Austria, it will be a good indication to the French and the British that our reluctance has been justified.

The Far East also offers clear evidences of tension among the Western allies. This centers upon the recognition of China. There are two legal points of view and two political points of view.

To the British it seems obvious that Mao Tze-tung and the Reds have *de facto* control of China. They point out that the possession of power has been the basis of classical American recognition policy. They claim it is unrealistic to deny the legal claim of the Reds to what they have in fact, particularly since the predecessor government obtained its power through revolutionary means no less than the Reds.

The attitude of the United States, on the other hand, is that, at least in modern times, we have added a second test, namely that, in addition to *de facto* control, the government must have both the capacity and the will to discharge its international obligations. We assert that, on the record, whether the Chinese Reds have the capacity or not, they have not shown any readiness to discharge international obligations. As a consequence we are not obligated under any legal principle to recognize that government.

The political views are also equal and opposite. No one outside Russia and China wants Stalin and Mao to act as one. Some have great hopes that there will be Titoist deviationism on the part of Mao. Many of his past statements—even relatively recently—give grounds for thinking that he has deviationist tendencies. The British feel that, if we recognize Mao and work with him (as we have with Tito), we may weaken his ties with Russia and accentuate any tendency toward Titoism. They say that the present marriage is of the shotgun variety; as long as we are thought to menace China, he is driven into the control of Stalin; if we withdraw any menace to China, the divisive forces which grew out of the Russian rape of Manchurian resources and the obvious contrar-

iety of interests between Russia and China in other sectors would have opportunity to develop.

The view of the United States is that this contrariety of interests can be developed under its policy. Dependence of Mao exclusively upon Russia will show him the disadvantages of such a relationship. It is a lesson learned by the satellites of Eastern Europe; severe discipline is required to control their restlessness. Specifically, when a power deals solely with Russia two things happen. First, the Russians do not keep their promises; when they say they will send goods and supplies, they do not send what they promised. Second, the Russians employ a dual pricing system, buying what they want at prices they themselves set and selling what the other nation must have at prices also set by Russia. The nation which continually does business with Russia exclusively comes to see that it is steadily being shortchanged and, therefore, will be in a mood to make friendlier gestures toward the Western powers with a view to escaping such bondage.

This is a matter of judgment. Both Britain and the United States want to detach Mao from Stalin. Each thinks its method is more likely to achieve that end. There is no conceivable way by which one thesis can be proved better than the other. We shall have to find a compromise between the two. Compromise has occasionally been approached, but American public opinion is highly sensitized and has blocked every such effort.

A subsidiary of the Chinese question, but one of great intrinsic importance, is the status of Formosa. The Cairo Conference of November 1943 stipulated that "all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China"; that general statement of purpose was confirmed at Potsdam on the 26th of

July, 1945. Again we have the consequences of two points of view. The British say that the Reds, as the government of China, are entitled to Formosa. The United States can turn the argument around and say, if *de facto* control is the test on the mainland, why is it not the test on Formosa; certainly the Reds do not have *de facto* control and there is no available proof that they would have gained control even if the Seventh Fleet had not been there.

Quite apart from this politico-legal argument is the strategical one. I do not need to tell this audience how important Formosa has been in connection with the Korean struggle. As a matter of fact I do not think the British seriously believe that we could turn Formosa over to the Chinese Reds until after the Korean fight is over. Even when that episode is liquidated, our relationship with the Philippines is such that we cannot afford to let Formosa fall into the hands of the Reds.

General Romulo said the other day that on a clear day you can actually see Formosa from the tip of Luzon. The map raises questions as to the power of his eyesight. Nonetheless it is close enough so that in the light of our political commitments in the Philippines we would have grave difficulty if a hostile power were to control Formosa.

The British would be willing to have Formosa in the care of the United Nations or otherwise neutralized. That is all we deeply care about; but they have no proposal as to how that purpose is to be achieved. Chiang Kai-shek is there. He has 300,000 or more troops. Conceivably he could be starved out by a blockade, or he could be flushed out by a military expedition. Neither of those courses of action is within the realm of political possibilities so far as the United States is concerned. Unless somebody has a proposal for getting rid of Chiang Kai-shek and a practicable

method of replacing him with someone better, the British desire remains unrealistic.

There is a series of tensions over Korea. We have to concede as fact that the use of land forces was announced by the President a few hours in advance of the meeting of the Security Council of the United Nations. That may seem a minor matter, because the Council acted promptly to authorize the landing of troops. What might well have passed almost unnoticed if the military occupation had been an unqualified success took on a different color when a setback occurred. Often a flaw in procedure is overlooked if the operation proceeds according to the best hope; when hopes are dashed, it is easy to magnify the procedural flaw and intimate that a diplomatic trick involved the United Nations as a tail of the American kite.

The fact that the President made such an announcement before the Security Council acted lays a foundation for the Russians to claim, and even for some of our allies to feel, that the United Nations does not have real control of the war. The United Nations, Stalin intimated in his Pravda interview last week, is virtually a satellite of the United States. The unfavorable British view of General MacArthur adds still more tension.

Moreover, an occurrence before the beginning of the Korean imbroglio offers further occasion for disagreement. The United States was the occupying power south of the 38th parallel. Our military had to take possession some months before a political directive was received. The British feel that we backed the wrong horse in Syngman Rhee, in whom they have no confidence. Though there is some evidence to support their view, there is now no available cure because the other candidate is dead. There is no way to make a change in Korean leadership at this time.

As to the 38th parallel, from a military point of view it is incredible that General MacArthur should have stopped there. He was pursing a disorganized enemy and would have been derelict in duty if he had not sought to complete the destruction of the aggressor. Sanctuary beyond the Yalu was bad enough, but making the 38th a line of sanctuary would have been infinitely worse. We clearly made an error of a political kind in estimating the likelihood of Chinese intervention; we may have made a politico-military error in not agreeing to a buffer strip below the Yalu.

So far as I know there is no proof that the Chinese entered the struggle because we approached the Yalu, but we cannot prove that the contrary view of the British is wrong. Dean Rusk of the State Department has made it clear that the Chinese made shipments of arms and ammunition into the general region as early as April, before the North Koreans struck. It is possible for the United States to make a good argument that China intended all along to enter the struggle if the North Koreans did not accomplish their mission of taking possession of the whole peninsula. The British, on the other hand, can point to the fact that the Chinese Reds did not actually come in until we had passed well beyond the 38th parallel and approached the Yalu. Guessing what might have happened under different circumstances gives no definitive answers. No reconciliation of view is possible; we can only say that what is past is past; now we must look to the future.

Unfortunately, this issue has flared again. Mr. Attlee made a statement in the House of Commons which indicated that he thought the 38th parallel might well now become sancrosance and that we should not cross it again without full consultation with others involved. General MacArthur stated that the discussion was "academic," and Mr. Truman fed fuel to the flames by saying that the decision rested with General MacArthur.

Somehow they all managed, in my judgment, to be wrong. General MacArthur called it "academic" on the morrow of a landing by South Korean marines at Wonsan far above the parallel. Moreover, areas well above the 38th parallel have been bombarded by heavy naval task forces. Airplanes continually cross the parallel on missions of observation and destruction. That makes nonsense of the issue being "academic," because crossing the 38th does not have to be a land operation. Mr. Attlee's position is untenable, for the military problem would be insoluble if everything north of parallel 38 were sanctuary.

This matter should be promptly discussed on the highest level of both diplomacy and strategy, an agreement arrived at, and ratified by the United Nations. It is essential to do it before the issue becomes any more acute. While we do not see any likelihood of a crossing in force on the ground at the present time, with fluid warfare one never knows what might transpire.

Another source of tension among the allies arises from Britain's relation with the Commonwealth. France has colonies and dependencies such as Indo-China; yet it is "European minded." Britain, on the other hand, has an ambivalence in its policy. It seems to many that in the post-war world it has been more deeply concerned with the Commonwealth than with Europe. The influence of India upon British policy has been very great indeed. We have to recognize the boldness and courage by which the decision was reached to set up India and Pakistan and put an end to an imperial system which continuous tensions made no longer tolerable. When the die was cast, it became essential, if England did not want to lose all the advantages of more than 150 years of intimate association, to take great pains to be patient and understanding. That accounts for the fact that Britain has handled the Kashmir situa-

tion with such extreme caution and has managed other problems with like care.

India achieved national status under the leadership of men who spent years in jail or prison; they perhaps feel it necessary to over-compensate past colonialism by manifestions of independence that the circumstances do not really demand. They are supersensitive to anything which tends to place them in a secondary position. Nationalism is their key to everything in Asia; they do not see Communism as a threat in anything like the degree in which we do. We tend to overemphasize the Communist issue; one of the characteristics of democratic thought is that it completely shifts its focus from time to time. Just now our spotlight is wholly upon the Communist issue. India tends to think of nationalism as the dominant issue. It would rather see China independent, even though Communist, than China in a semi-colonial state. The slogan "Asia for the Asiatics" means a very great deal. As long as the Philippines have a relationship to us which India thinks verges on satellitism, as long as we are in occupation of Japan, are fighting in Korea, and control Formosa, it sees us as a dominant power in Asia; it does not like to have any Western power exercise that much influence.

The competition for leadership is very real in Asia as in Europe. India regards itself as the natural leader. We feel that in exercising that leadership it seeks to go too fast and too far in the liquidation of our interests and influence; therefore there is tension. That tension is reflected not alone between the United States and India, but also through London, where Nehru has so many ties and where the British must do everything possible to take account of his views.

In another Commonwealth nation, we have been somewhat careless in taking Canada for granted. Canada lies within our defense perimeter; we have had joint arrangements for some years. Indeed, ever since the Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817 we have had a virtually undefended border which involves holding Canada as within our defense perimeter. Nonetheless Canada has had many policies arising from the Commonwealth status which were quite different from ours. For example, it entered both world wars long before we did.

Canadians are tempted to say that during 70 years of their status as a dominion their wars were made in England. They worked very hard to achieve a position where they could decide the question of peace or war for themselves. Now they have the feeling that they have merely made a transfer and that wars are made for them in Washington. They feel that their interests and desires are given perhaps less consideration in Washington than they were in London.

Two illustrations bring out the point. First, in making allocations of steel our authorities in Washington did not take Canada into account. The very fact that we have so much across-the-border trade and so many interests in common has to a large degree integrated their economy with ours. We had an obligation in making allocations to be extraordinarily sensitive to their interests. Otherwise we would be treating them as though they were one of the states within the United States rather than as an equal and sovereign nation to the north. Frankly, we did not exercise that care.

Even before this latest flurry, there was the question of the St. Lawrence Treaty. It was negotiated in 1940. Canada, under her system of responsible parliamentary government,

promptly ratified, but here it went to that "graveyard of treaties," the United States Senate. Now Canadians feel that the St. Lawrence waterway is essential to their nation's development; as the Masabi Range is exhausted they must bring in Canadian ores which are available and which may best be water borne. Yet the United States is doing nothing effective to make possible the St. Lawrence waterway. Canadians feel this shows an insensitiveness upon the part of their great southern neighbor to their real interests and needs. They do not want to have any sense of satellitism toward the United States.

Similarly Australia has come to a point of irritation with us which affects our relationships with the British Commonwealth. When Percy Spender became the Minister for External Affairs for Australia about a year ago he said, "As far as possible, it is our objective to build up with the United States somewhat the same relationship as exists within the British Commonwealth." Yet within the year our handling of the Japanese situation, which the Australians described as "playing with dynamite," has brought a sense of strain. It is significant that on his way home from Japan Mr. John Foster Dulles went by way of Australia in order to make such explanations as seemed feasible to mitigate tension.

I am indicating that the ambivalence of British policy with reference to Europe on the one hand and the Commonwealth upon the other can have the effect of doubling the possibilities of irritation in our relationships. There are problems enough in Europe, there are other problems in the Americas, and still more in the Far East, and all of those somehow get drawn in because of the Commonwealth connection.

We have surveyed some of the sources of tension among the Western allies. Among them have been the differences in gov-

ernmental processes and tempers, the current political status of each of the governments involved, competition for leadership in Europe and in Asia, and the intermingling of the problems of the Far East and of the West through the ambivalence of British policy. All these make harmonious relations between the great allies difficult.

The picture has its bright side as well. An extremely hopeful feature is that there are no basic policies in question between the United States, the British Commonwealth, and France; none will permit the engrossment of Asia by the Soviets; none would let Russia take over Europe, or the Middle East, or Africa. In other words, the fundamental items of policy are well laid down and there are no significant differences of basic attitude. The differences are as to means rather than as to ends; while they are irritating, they are not fundamental.

The second aspect is also a hopeful one: within the United States, while there are differences of view as to programs of action, there is no fundamental difference with regard to policy. Neither Mr. Hoover, nor Mr. Taft, nor any other critic of present plans for implementing policy is suggesting the abandonment of Europe or of Asia. Again the differences have to do not with ends, but with means. There is universal agreement that we must have a strong naval force, and very strong air forces; there is also a determination to have substantial ground forces. The accent is more on their deployment than upon their existence. Matters of judgment divide us.

Some feel that, if we put too many land troops in Europe, insist upon German rearmament, and press our allies too hard to rearm too fast, we will irritate the Russians. We may increase Russian fears or suspicions, or, at least, will give ground for the appearance of increasing their suspicions and fears which are already at the breaking point. Thus we might precipitate a war

which we are trying to avoid. Other people accentuate the fact that, if we do not send ground troops to Europe, we do not give the French the assurance that we will prevent them from being overrun. Surely they do not want to be occupied, overrun, and redeemed again. The different estimates, therefore, are of the psychological reactions of the French, the Russians, and the British to different programs. There is no scientific way to determine which is correct; it must remain in the realm of judgment.

Interestingly enough it seems to me that General Eisenhower again showed us the sound pattern. He called only for relatively modest American commitments upon the land mass of Europe with a highly mobile armed force within the continental United States, ready for deployment when and if the demand became urgent. That came as near splitting the difference as is practicable. When General Marshall, in accordance with that recommendation, made his statement on Thursday, February 15, as to the size of our commitment in Europe, it showed the participants in the Great Debate that the issues were not so vital as they had at one time seemed. We may be on the verge of vindicating the democratic process by discussing matters with much vigor and then coming to a general consensus of view.

In his report General Eisenhower also touched on another essential—patience. He said: "It takes some time for our purposes, no matter how plainly we may think they are written on the wall. It takes some time to understand those purposes and to gain faith in them. Remember, we have our own doubts, as individuals, and we have our own debates. Think how that is multiplied in Europe, where there are ten of these nations in this organization and they have all the nationalistic factors to increase the intensity of the debate."

Having a position of great leadership we must learn to exercise it with vigor, but at the same time with enormous restraint as to method and temper. There is no doubt in anyone's mind that China is an aggressor in Korea. Why then did it take three months to the day to get a resolution through the United Nations to make that declaration? It was because of a belief upon the part of those associated with us and those in a somewhat neutral position that the United States had got so deeply involved that we were losing our perspective and pressing for unrealistic ends. It is interesting and significant to note what led finally to the passage of that resolution. There were two things.

One was a statement by Mr. Austin which was mild in temper and which did not call for immediate sanctions against China. Our desire had been *thought* to be a "limited war." Most people have long since lost faith that in modern times war can be limited. They have lost belief that what Bismarck did again and again can ever be repeated. Therefore, when Austin took that temperate attitude, they saw sanctions reduced to the possible and not involving war which, though it might start in a limited way (like the Korean embroilment), might become total.

The second thing which led to the passage of our resolution was the acceptance upon the part of the United States of an amendment proposed by Dr. Malik, the representative of Lebanon. It is extraordinary how so slight a gesture of deference to the wisdom of a state whose power is as dust in the balance affected the thinking of the rest of the world. The readiness of a great nation, most powerful in every respect in the world, to accept a rational proposal from one of the least of the powers had a profound influence in the adoption of the resolution.

That incident, which by itself would be trivial, is something upon which we should reflect. Just as the fact that we were care-

less in making the United Nations appear to be our instrument rather than our guide in going into Korea (and that slight error in tactics has had unfortunate repercussions for months thereafter), so some constructive move of this kind, even though of minor substantive significance and scarcely noted in the American press or in public discussion, may have significant results in easing the tensions among our allies.

The problems of politics are never solved, they are simply exacerbated or ameliorated, they move from one form to another. We cannot, therefore, hope for quick, ready, and patented solutions that guarantee success or peace. As the greatest nation in the world we must learn to combine energy with patience, directness with understanding, and readiness to act with awareness of the remotest implications of our actions upon other peoples.

I shall conclude, gentlemen, as I began: A nation, sirs, should keep its friendships in a constant repair.

RECOMMENDED READING

This section lists material published in current periodicals which will be of interest and value to officers of the Navy, Marine Corps and Coast Guard.

"Why the Germans Hesitate."
By Carl J. Friedrich. The Atlantic. April.

"American and the Russian Future."
By George F. Kennan. Foreign Affairs. April.

"The International Imperative of Mobilization."
By Eliot Janeway. The Yale Review. Spring Issue.

"The Mediterranean — Strategic Road to Russia."
By William H. Hessler. The Reporter. April 3.

"We Can Win in Europe."
By Major General William J. Donovan. The New Leader. March 26.

"Sea Power at Cost."
Fortune Editors. Fortune. April.

"Anti-guerrilla Operations."
Officers' Call Editors. Officers' Call Vol. 3, No. 3.

"North Korea Jumps the Gun."
By Wilbur W. Hitchcock. Current History. March.

"Special Report: Communism in Europe."
The Reporter. April 17.

"The USSR — Economic Strengths and Weaknesses."
By Howard C. Gary. Foreign Policy Report. April 1.

"The Jets Come of Age."
By Commander Harvey P. Lanham, USN. U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings. April.

"Planes and Men of the Air Force."
Flying. May.