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Speech of Senator Mike Mansfield (D., Montana)

FOR RELEASE TUE AUG 2 7 1957 AM

AMBASSADORIAL APPOINTMENTS

Mir. President:

I wonder whether there is anyone in this country who can read who does not know the name of Maxwell Gluck. I wonder how many newspaper columnists have been provided with a free subject during the last month. I wonder how many recent jokes have used the name of Mr. Gluck.

Mr. President, I feel sorry for Mr. Gluck. He did nothing different from a large number of ambassadors who have been appointed under this Administration and previous Administrations both Republican and Democratic.

The fact is, however, Mr. President, that the trial of Mr. Gluck has placed the spotlight of healthy publicity on several long-standing problems in the conduct of the foreign relations of the United States and has made available to the public considerable new information.

I think a great many people now appreciate for the first time how important it is that we have good ambassadors to represent us overseas. I think that the proper policy on this subject is now pretty well agreed. The right policy is well stated in the words of the letter which was sent by the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, Mr. Green, to the Secretary of State on April 3, 1957, on the subject of ambassadors: "It should be obvious in each case, whether the nominee is a career man or not, that his record, his intelligence, his background, and his attitude are such that he will ably serve our country in his assignment."

The controversy over Mr. Gluck has, I think, dramatized another fact -- the fact that Presidents of the United States, both Republican and Democratic, in recent years have not been wholly to blame for some of the bad appointments which we have had. Republican and Democratic National Committees have not been wholly to blame either. The sad truth is, Mr. Fresident, that the Congress must share the blame for this unhappy situation. The fact is that if the Department of State had available to it adequate funds to pay the necessary cost of running our embassies abroad and doing the official entertaining which is unavoidable we could fill every ambassadorial post with an able man whether he happened to be a career Foreign Service Officer or a non-career appointee. If the representation allowances were sufficient it would be possible to make appointments of ambassadors strictly on the basis of merit and qualifications. I would like to say, incidentally, that I am not one of those who believes that we should never appoint a non-career ambassador. Career people are usually very able but there are also men and women -- such as David Bruce, BUNKER Clare Booth Luce, Ellsworth Burke, Douglas Dillon, and others -- of outstanding qualifications outside the career service. It is a very good thing for the career service to have brought in from time to time individuals of high ability who have had careers in business or science or education or labor which qualify them to represent the United States abroad quite as fully as a lifetime in the Foreign Service.

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I have said that the Congress must take a large share of the responsibility for poor ambassadors. The Committee on Foreign Relations must take a major part of the blame for having let some poor nominations become confirmed. But, Mr. President, we would not have had many of these poor nominations come before us if there were not the underlying problem of inadequate representation allowances for the Department of State. Those on the inside of Congress, so to speak, know where the fault lies here. The blame can be laid squarely at the door of the House Committee on Appropriations. Year after year the Department of State in presenting its request for appropriations asks for an adequate amount for representation allowances. Every year the House Committee slashes the request. This year the Department asked for \$1,200,000 for representation allowances. The House Committee cut the request to \$600,000. Every year the Senate Appropriations Committee does its best to restore some of the cut made by the House, but in the process of compromise the Senate cannot fully succeed in obtaining an adequate appropriation. I strongly regret this unhappy history, Mr. President, and I hope the recent education on the subject which we have had will make it possible to do something more constructive next year.

Mr. President, one of the other interesting facts which has come out as a result of Mr. Gluck's appointment has been the revelation that the most sought after ambassadorial posts are not being given to career diplomats, but to political appointees. London, Paris, Rome, Bonn, Brussels, The Hague, Stockholm, Madrid, Copenhagen, Dublin, New Delhi, and the North Atlantic

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Treaty Organization in Paris -- all these important posts, Mr. President, are now filled by non-career appointments. Some of these non-career people are indeed excellent people but the fact that a career person has not been appointed is almost invariably related to a question of money. These desirable posts are located in countries of the highest importance to the United States. We ought to have our very best people there. Because these countries are important, however, there is a great deal of official business to transact. We must have large embassies and there is much official and necessary entertaining to be done. Ambassadors without some outside income -- and even second or third ranking people in these embassies without some outside income -- simply cannot, under present circumstances, remain in these posts. The question again is whether the United States, the richest country in the world, is willing to pay what it costs to get the best men available in these jobs.

Mr. President, I wish to mention another cause of poor ambassadorial appointments which is not always related to the question of money. It is generally known that Presidents and Secretaries of State of whatever political party have in the past been under pressure from those who feel that an ambassadorship is a reward for past service to a political party. One of the purposes of sending from the Committee on Foreign Relations to the Department of State the letter, to which I referred a moment ago, was to try to take some of this pressure off the President and the Secretary of State. Far be it from me to discourage financial contributions to political parties, but I think that <u>any</u> President, if he has a mind to do it, can see to it that a financial contribution or

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a non-financial contribution to a political party is not of itself sufficient to obtain for a man a nomination to be ambassador. Frankly, I am of the opinion that President Eisenhower was either uninformed or just plain naive in disclaiming any knowledge of a connection between campaign contributions and ambassadorial appointments. This is silly. Of course he knows -- or ought to know -- about the connection and he can do something about it. We need more money for representation allowances, but even if representation allowances stay the same, the President of the United States has power to insure that those rich men whom he nominates are also men with outstanding qualifications to be ambassadors.

Mr. President, the travail of Ambassador Gluck has also focused attention on the problem of absences from duty of our ambassadors. It took me several months this year to get from the Department of State figures on absences from posts. I became interested in this matter because a former Ambassador to Luxembourg spent 264 days away from his post over a period of two years, for reasons which had nothing to do with foreign relations or illness.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the record at this point in my remarks a letter from the Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration to the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations on the subject of absences of chiefs of mission from their posts of duty and two tables showing the absence figures for each of our chiefs of mission during the calendar years 1955 and 1956.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, August 6, 1957.

Hon. THEODORE F. GREEN, United States Senate.

Hon. THEODORE F. GREEN. United States Senate. DEAR SENATOR GREEN: In the course of Governor Herter's testimony last week before your committee, Senator Mansfield requested that the Department supply information regarding absences of chiefs of mission from their post of duty during a period of approximately the past 10 years. The reference to the testimony ap-pears at pages 72 to 74 of the hearing transcript. — Senator Mansfield recalled correctly that he had asked the Department for was supplied to him on February 4, 1957, and subsequently on February 25 to your office in response to a similar inquiry from Mr. Holt of the committee staff The Department's records were not adequate and a very detailed investigation was required including checks with the posts in the field. In the course of this investigation, it was determined that the longest period for which this information could be obtained with any certainty of accuracy was 2 years. — I can appreciate fully the reason for Senator Mansfield's request having en-compassed a 10-year period, but I regret that the Department's records will not readily provide the information. I am supplying, therefore, as an enclosure opies of the information covering calendar years 1955 and 1956 in the hope that it will be of assistance to the committee and in the personal belief that if data were available for the 10-year period it would prove generally comparable. Follow-ing Senator Mansfield's original request the Department instituted procedures beined with stype of information would be available for any period beginning January 1, 1953. — Binerely yours.

LOY W. HENDERSON, Deputy Under Secretary for Administration.

Absences from posts of duty of noncareer chiefs of mission during calendar years 1955 and 1956

				Absences (calendar days)						1955 and 1956 total absences, calendar days	
Name	Title and country	Period of assignment	1955			1956					
			Duty	Vaca- tion	Sick- ness	Duty	Vaca- tion	Sick- ness	Duty	Non- duty	
	rthur A. Ageton	Ambassador to Paraguay	July 28, 1954, to present	52	16	0	25	97	30	77	143
	Frederick H. Alger Winthrop W. Aldrich	Ambassador to Belgium Ambassador to Great Britain and Northern Ireland.	May 26, 1953, to present Feb. 2, 1953, to present	31 16	49 96	0	14 29	5432 73	3 0	45 45	1063
	Norman Armour	Ambassador to Guatemala	Sept. 15, 1954, to May 9, 1955	0	0	0				0	0
	Wiley Thomas Buchanan, Jr	Ambassador to Luxembourg	Sept. 2, 1953, to present	0	125	0	17	138	0	17	264
	Robert D. Coe	Ambassador to Denmark	July 29, 1953, to present	10	- 93	0	23	77	25	33	195
	ames B. Conant.	Ambassador to Germany	Feb. 7, 1953, to present	31	51	0	21	100	0	52	151
	ohn Sherman Cooper	Ambassador to India	Apr. 4, 1955, to Apr. 23, 1956	0	0	0	169	1	0	160	1 100
	Philip K. Crowe	Ambassador to Ceylon	July 9, 1953, to present	5	111 64	0	62 12	71	0 34	67 12	182
	Roy Tasco Davis Douglas Dillon	Ambassador to France	Feb. 27, 1953, to present	13	53	64	56		0	60	155
	Iomer Ferguson	Ambassador to Republic of the	Apr. 7, 1955, to Mar. 23, 1956	10	0	0	18	0	0	28	0
	Arthur Gardner	Philippines, Ambassador to Cuba	May 28, 1953, to present	9	13	125	31	74	0	40	212
	Robert C. Hendrickson	Ambassador to New Zealand	Feb. 10, 1955, to present	44	0	0	13	44	ŏ	57	44
	Iorace A. Hildreth	Ambassador to Pakistan	May 13, 1953, to present	17	75	ő	30	76	ŏ	47	151
	Robert C. Hill	Ambassador to El Salvador	Sept. 25, 1954, to Sept. 21, 1955.	30	-39	5				30	44
	Richard Lee Jones	Ambassador to Liberia	June 16, 1955, to present	0	0	0	62	17	0	62	17
	Villiam S. B. Lacy	Ambassador to Korea	May 8, 1955, to Oct. 20, 1956	0	0	0				0	0
	esse D. Locker	Ambassador to Liberia	July 22, 1955, to Apr. 4, 1955 (de- ceased).	0	0	0		fragment		0	0
	ohn A. Lodge	Ambassador to Spain	Mar. 18, 1955, to present	19	53	0	63	1 105	0	82	158
	Clare Booth Luce	Ambassador to Italy	Mar. 2, 1952, to Dec. 27, 1956	87	69	0	84	23	95	171	187
	Douglas Maxwell Moffat	Ambassador to Australia	Feb. 23, 1956, to Aug. 30, 1956 (de- ceased).				0	0	0	0	0
	Dempster McIntosh	Ambassador to Uruguay	Sept. 26, 1953, to Apr. 3, 1956	58	20	0	0	50	0	58	70
		Ambassador to Venezuela	Apr. 19, 1956, to present				2432		1	243/9	4
	efferson Patterson	Ambassador to Uruguay	Apr. 25, 1956, to present				3	2	0	3	2
	mos J. Peaslee	Ambassador to Australia.	June 15, 1953, to Feb. 16, 1956	51	55	0	3	. 0	- 1)	54	55
	William T. Pheiffer		June 2, 1953, to present	0	.97	0	10	58	0	10	155
	Harold Shantz	Minister to Rumania	Sept. 27, 1952, to Aug. 30, 1955	5	62	5				5	87
	oseph A. Simonson Raymond Ames Spruance	Ambassador to Ethiopia Ambassador to the Republic of the Philippines.	July 22, 1953, to present. Jan. 18, 1952, to Mar. 31, 1955	4	0	48 0	30	81		30 4	129
	Corrin L. Strong	Ambassador to Norway	June 24 1053 to present								
	R. Douglas Stuart	Ambassador to Canada	June 24, 1953, to present. May 28, 1953, to May 4, 1956	30 15	28	0	21 5	10 8	1	51 20	39 74
	William Howard Taft III	Ambassador to Ireland	May 2, 1953, to present	10 7	40	0	15	34	0	20 22	74
	ohn L. Tappin	Ambassador to Libya	Aug. 25, 1954, to present	14	40	ő	47	39	0	61	46
	Robert H. Thaver	Minister to Rumania	Nov. 4, 1955, to present	14	2	0	21	49	0	35	51
	Thomas E. Whelan	Ambassador to Nicaragua	July 28, 1951, to present	10	38	0	32	22	0	42	60
	Francis White	Ambassador to Mexico	Mar. 11, 1953, to present	36	51	θ	59	16	0	95	67
	Whiting Willauer	Ambassador to Honduras	Feb. 5, 1954, to present	9	75	0	45	76	0	54	151

¹ Figure included 15 days military leave.

1955 and 1956 total absences, calendar days Absences (calendar days) Name Title and country Period of assignment Duty Duty ness Duty Vaca-tion Sick-ness Vaca-tion Sick-tion Non-duty July 21, 1956 to Sept. 6, 1956, Oct. 6, 1956, to present. Apr. 2, 1953, to present. Aug. 22, 1953, to present. May 28, 1956, to present. Jan. 5, 1956, to present. Mar. 27, 1953, to present. Theodore C. Achilles. George V. Allen. John M. Allison. Willard L. Beaulac. Ambassador to Peru. Ambassador to Greece Ambassador to Japan. Ambassador to Chile. 0 68 48 0 45 0 30 53 23 Ambassador to Chile. Ambassador to Traentina. Ambassador to Thalland.. Ambassador to Union Socialist Republics. Ambassador to Portugal.. Ambassador to Colombia. 42 12 Max Waldo Bishop. Charles E. Bohlen. 42 151 78 5 70 of Soviet James C. M. Bonbright. Philip W. Bonsal. Ellis O. Briggs. $\begin{array}{r}
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 \end{array}$ 40 23 14 7 67 $\frac{19}{81} \frac{30}{58} \frac{30}{43} \frac{43}{43}$ 60 42 0 33 Feru. Brazil. $\frac{30}{58}$ 46 35 Ambassador to 0 0 77 0 16 Brazil Egypt Union of South Africa. Sweden Greece Morocco Henry A. Byroade. 0 44 20 16 John M. Cabot 14 20 Ambassador to Ambassador to 3 22 5 Selden Chapin. Panama 3 22 5 4 48 13 48 35 Ambassador to Fanama. Ambassador to Iran. Ambassador to Indonesia. Ambassador to Korea. Ambassador to Bolivia. Ambassador to Spain. Ambassador to Spain. 95 12 10 Hugh S. Cummings, Jr Walter S. B. Dowling. Gerald A. Drew James Clement Dunn. 0 13 $\frac{13}{20}$ 13 Joseph Flack_ Aldemar J. Galiman Raymond A. Hare Julian F. Harthyton Donald R. Heath John D. Hickerson. Joseph E. Jacobs U. Alexis Jones. Edward B. Lawson. Ceell B. Lyon. Lester DeWitt Mallory. Ambassador to Iraq. Ambassador to Egypt. Ambassador to Panama Ambassador to Lebanch 0 0 12 10 25 58 0 88 Ambassador to Lebanen Ambassador to Foland Ambassador to Poland Ambassador to Czechoslovakia. Ambassador to Tunisia Ambassador to Israel Ambassador to Chile. Ambassador to Jordan. Feb. 4, 1955, to present. Apr. 1, 1955, to present. Nov. 10, 1953, to present. Sept. 28, 1956, to present. Apr. 9, 1954, to present. June 13, 1956, to present. Aug. 13, 1953, to present. 18 8 11 321 0 42 105 123 29 20 0 0 0 70 173 0 34 105 22 Ambassador to El Salvador. Ambassador to El Salvador. Ambassador to Canada. Ambassador to Canada. Ambassador to Canada. Ambassador to Afghanistan. Ambassador to Afghanistan. Ambassador to Cambodia. Ambassador to Cambodia. Ambassador to Finland. Ambassador to Finland. Ambassador to Ingentina. Nov. 12, 1955, to present...... Oct. 1, 1953, to present...... May 22, 1956, to present.... July 2, 1956, to present.... June 25, 1952, to present.... June 29, 1954, to present... June 29, 1950, to Oct. 15, 1956 Sept. 10, 1952, to Nay 12, 1956 May 28, 1952, to May 12, 1956 May 20, 1956, to present... Thomas C. Mann Freeman H. Matthews. Livingston T. Merchant. Sheldon T. Mills. 139 5 12 6 11 45 41 32 164 25 5 12 21 11 49 64 59 26 0 69 9 0 69 9 23 2 34 James S. Moose, Jr. John J. Mucelo Robert McClintock. Jack K. McFall Albert F. Nufer.... 10 22 5 38 24 45 27 26 18 18 0 May 10, 1966, to present. July 27, 1966, to present. Sept. 15, 1954, to Aug. 12, 1965 (deceased). May 13, 1966, to present Aug. 8, 1956, to present Aug. 8, 1956, to present July 31, 1953, to present. May 3, 1955, to present. July 31, 1955, to present. May 3, 1955, to present. July 21, 1955, to present. July 11, 1955, to present. July 12, 1955, to present. Sept. 15, 1954, to Aug. 8, 1956 Nov. 2, 1953, to present. Sept. 15, 1954, to Aug. 8, 1956 June 27, 1953, to present. June 21, 1953, to present. June 25, 1953, to Feb. 15, 1956. June 26, 1953, to present. June 26, 1955, to present. Sept. 25, 1954, to Aresent. Sept. 25, 1954, to Aresent. Sept. 25, 1954, to present. Sept. 26, 1954, to present. Sept. 26, 1955, to present. Sept. 26, 1954, to present. Sept. 26, 1955, to present. Sept. 26, 1954, to present. Sept. 26, 1954, to present. Sept. 26, 1954, to present. Sept. 26, 1955, to present. Sept. 26, 1955, to present. Sept. 26, 1955, to present. Sept. 26, 1956, to J. Graham Parsons John E. Peurifoy 47 Ambassador to Thailand. Ambassador to Sudan Ambassador to Taipel Minister to Hungary Ambassador to Feuador Ambassador to Vietnam Ambassador to Vietnam Ambassador to Guatemala. Ambassador to Guatemala. Ambassador to Guatemala. Ambassador to Guatemala. Ambassador to Austria Ambassador to Peru Ambassador to Peru Ambassador to Peru Ambassador to Hungary Ambassador to Hungary Ambassador to Yenzuela. Ambassador to Yenzuela. Ambassador to Yenzuela. Ambassador to Yenzuela. Ambassador to Switzerland. Ambassador to Switzerland. Ambassador to Costa Rica. Ambassador to Laos. Lowell C. Pinkerton. Karl L. Rankin Christian M. Ravndal. 94 150 45 9 2 81 9 66 126 53 115 70 2 141 James W. Riddløberger. G. Fredrick Reinhardt. Joseph C. Satterthwaite. Edward J. Sparks. Carl W. Strom Lleweilyn F. Thompson Harold H. Tittman. George Wadsworth. Edward T. Walles 86 33 100 34 17 36 25 96 9727 0 20 35 56 114 18 2216 15 0 14 32 0 4 25 13 0 21 14 7 0 0 13 Angus Ward Avra M. Warren, Fletcher Warren, 0 10 20 35 0.0 $\begin{array}{r}
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 \end{array}$ 0 6 50 0 10 8 24 16 53 7 Frances E. Willis Robert F. Woodward Charles W. Yost Sept. 25, 1954, to present Aug. 18, 1954, to Apr. 27, 1956 16 14

Absences from posts of duty of career chiefs of mission during calendar years 1955 and 1956

Mr. President, these figures are shocking. They show that noncareer chiefs of mission in 1955 and 1956 were away from their posts of duty twice as often as members of the career Foreign Service. This bad showing, I believe, is a reflection of the respective attitudes of career and non-career people toward their jobs. If an ambassador regards his appointment as a reward for some past service, why shouldn't he be away from his job? In his mind he has already done his job and he is merely enjoying the fruits of it. A man with that kind of an attitude is always willing to let his career assistants in the embassy do the work for him. It may be, Mr. President, that the publication of the figures on absences of ambassadors from their posts will serve as a deterrent to unreasonable conduct in the future. I want to say, Mr. President, that I shall do my best to see to it that similar figures are published regularly from now on.

While these figures are shocking, it must be recognized in truth and in fact that they are, at times, misleading as well. I refer, for example, to the outstanding services performed by such brilliant ambassadors as Clare Booth Luce in Rome and Douglas Dillon in Paris. It is a well-known fact that both of these individuals were incapacitated for relatively long periods of time due to illness. It is also a fact, to my personal knowledge, that much of their time away from their posts on a non-duty status was in connection with their duties as ambassadors and was in the performance of responsibilities which were carried out in the line of duty and in accord with their responsibilities.

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We find, however, that during certain critical periods this nation has been without ambassadors to countries which were going through great difficulties. Last fall during the uprising in Hungary I called attention to the fact that there was no United States Ambassador on duty in Budapest at that time. In fact, some three months elapsed between the time that Ambassador Ravndal 1 ft his post and his successor, Ambassador Wailes, arrived. It is also my recollection that during disturbances in Poland last fall the United States was not then represented by an Ambassador in Warsaw.

Certainly during the past few months one of the major post-war crises in the Soviet Union has been in progress. Again, the United States had been caught without an Ambassador on the spot. Mr. Bohlen had left Moscow and the new Ambassador, Mr. Llewellyn Thompson, has only recently arrived at his post -- and then only because of the ousters of Malenkov, Molotov, and Shepilov. There were extenuating circumstances in this case due to Ambassador Thompson convalescing from an operation; there may have been in others.

Records which I have obtained from the Department of State indicate that we have been left without Ambassadors for substantial periods of time in the following critical spots: In Germany we were recently without an Ambassador for more than 6 months. In India we were without an Ambassador for more than 4 months in 1954 and 1955, and in 1956 and 1957 we were without an Ambassador for an interval of 10 months. In Iran in 1954 and 1955 we were without an Ambassador for 9 months. In Korea we were without an Ambassador for 9 months in 1955 and 1956. In Lebanon we were without an Ambassador for

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some 5 months in 1954 and 1955. In Viet-Nam more than 6 months elapsed without our having an Ambassador in the years 1954 and 1955.

Mr. President, I could add to this list other examples of protracted periods of time when the United States has been unrepresented in important foreign countries because of delay in appointing Ambassadors to succeed those who have retired or been reassigned.

It is my belief, Mr. President, that career and non-career ambassadors should stay on the job as long as it is necessary so that the contact between the outgoing ambassador and his successor would be well established, so that there would be as little a break as possible in the continuity of the position, and so that we would be assured of adequate representation at all times in all countries to which we send our accredited representatives.

I should like to conclude these brief remarks by discussing another result, a favorable result, of the flurry over Mr. Gluck. The Committee on Foreign Relations has now decided that it will hold public hearings on every ambassadorial nomination unless for good reason the Committee decides otherwise. The rule of the Committee used to be that nominees were heard in executive session unless some member of the Committee asked that the nomination be heard in public session.

I can appreciate the doubts which some Senators may have about this change in the Committee rule. I realize that there is some risk that

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questions will be asked and statements will be made which may embarrass us in our relations with some foreign country. I believe myself that it is possible to avoid instances of this kind to a large extent and I believe that foreign countries will be understanding about this democratic process, especially if they appreciate the fact that public hearings on ambassadors will help insure that we get better men. Mr. President, of course I have no intention of insisting upon hearing in public session those career officers whom the Senate has confirmed time and time again to be ambassadors and whom many of us know very well. I know that the new Committee rule will, even with these exceptions, cause an additional burden on the Committee on Foreign Relations. We must look forward to many additional hours each session in thoroughly examining in public ambassadorial nominees. In my judgment, however, Mr. President, this additional burden will prove to be well worth the trouble in the long run.

Mr. President, the United States has heavy responsibilities throughout the world. The importance of good foreign relations becomes greater year by year. The United States cannot afford to have less than the very best ambassadors. Let us hope that it will be to Mr. Gluck's unwitting credit that he made the whole country and the Congress appreciate this important requirement of our national policy.

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