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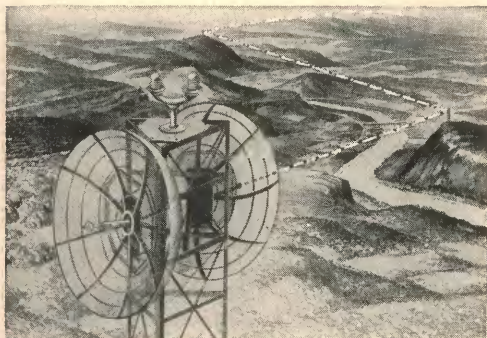
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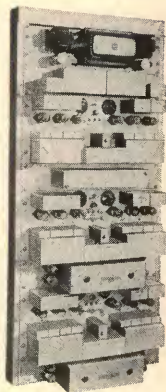


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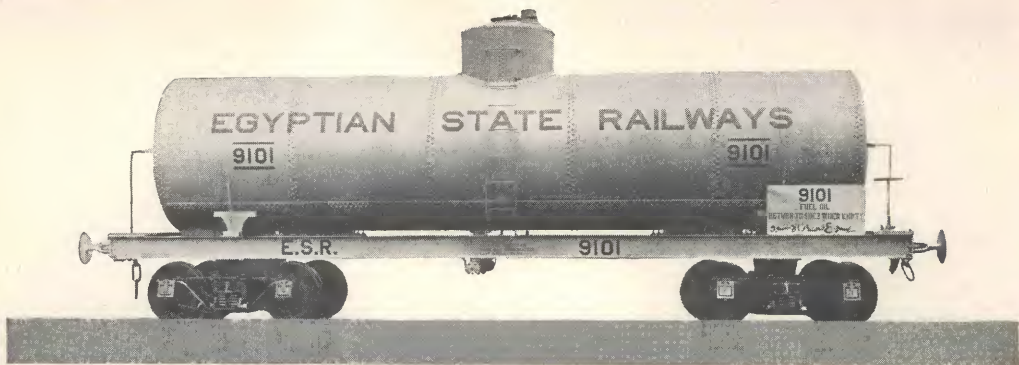
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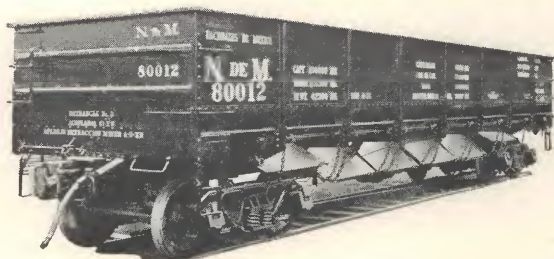
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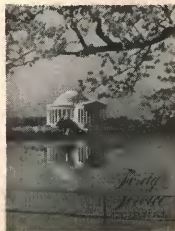
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COVER PICTURE: The Jefferson Memorial in cherry blossom time. Photo from *Amerika* magazine.

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TO NEW RECRUITS

Washington, D. C.

February 15, 1954

To the Editors,

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

I think you will be interested in the following exchange of letters between a student colleague and myself. My colleague wrote me as follows:

"Although we have never been introduced, I prefer to remember you as a distinguished classmate. I was a member of the graduating class at Brown University in 1952 when you received an honorary degree. At that time I was one of the Commencement speakers. Shortly thereafter, Dr. Bigelow requested a copy of my address to forward to your information officers in Korea. It is my hope that the copy arrived.

"During the past two years I have been continuing my interest in International Affairs at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy where I am currently specializing in Economic Relations. My academic career will soon conclude, and in looking toward the future I have thought seriously of the Foreign Service. I passed the written exams last September, and expect to take the orals sometime this spring or summer.

"In the past year my interest in the Foreign Service has been jarred (though not quite disjointed), by certain disquieting reports I've gathered from present and former officers and from publications. In essence these disconcerting reports concern: a lack of freedom for objective appraisal, reporting and recommendation on conditions at one's post, and a lack of security and opportunity for promotion on merit. Some of these objections were neatly summarized in the recent widely publicized letter of the five former diplomats to the *New York Times*. If my picture appears too black, I must add that not all the reports were so discouraging; many of the advantages of the Foreign Service were also included.

"I can think of no one better qualified to offer guidance than you, and if your schedule will permit it, I would sincerely appreciate your views and advice on a career in the Foreign Service, as a guide to one who feels it is the spot wherein he can best make a contribution, but is not sure he'll have the chance to do this effectively.

"Thank you for your kind attention."

I replied:

"I have your letter of January 24 informing me that you are seriously looking towards the Foreign Service as a career, but that in the past year your interest has been jarred by disquieting reports concerning a lack of freedom for objective appraisal, reporting and recommendation on conditions at one's post and a lack of security and opportunity for promotion on merit.

"The Foreign Service and certain individual Foreign Service Officers have been subjected to tremendous buffeting since World War II. In view of their prominent role

(Continued on page 6)



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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS (from page 4)

in foreign relations, this special attention was probably inevitable with the violent debate under way in the United States as to the control and organization of foreign policy. None of the disloyalty charges, that have been bandied about in the press, have been established and nine-tenths of the other accusations are baseless and unwarranted. On the other hand, I do feel that the Foreign Service itself has thus far been remiss in making itself better and more favorably known throughout the American community and to the Congress.

"The Foreign Service has been subjected to unusual strains and stresses recently. However, we must bear in mind that although the drive against the Department of State and the Foreign Service has been accentuated it is only part of the grand debate enveloping the whole country as to the role of government in American life and the role of the United States in world affairs.

"There is no doubt in my mind that as a result of this special attention the American people and Congress will have a better appreciation of the Foreign Service. I am confident that before long it will be decided that, in the national interest, the Foreign Service must be maintained at a level of its responsibilities and that in view of the crucial world struggle going on, a disciplined professional corps of men and women, selected in the sternest competition from all parts of the nation and from every field of talent, must be welded into an effective disciplined organization.

"As you are undoubtedly aware, there have been no appointments to Class Six for a considerable period, promotions have been held up and a substantial number of Foreign Service Officers have been selected out at an accelerated pace. In numbers, the Service is today at rock bottom. I am confident the tide will soon turn and that the career service will have to be built up considerably. This is a very good time, therefore, for young, competent men who can and are prepared to face stiff discipline and competition, are content with modest material reward, with recognition which is less than general, in a life spent mostly far from home, to enter the Service. There is no other field that offers its members as rich satisfactions from service to one's country in a vitally important and expanding field."

John J. Muccio

MORE ON BOBBLE

Kuala Trengannau
December 31, 1953

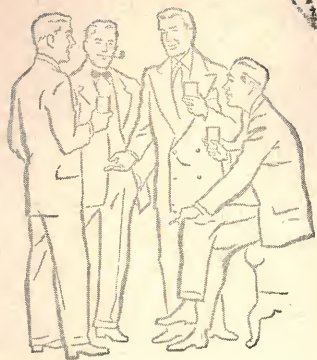
To the Editors,
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

It was with great interest that I read, in the October issue of the JOURNAL, Seymour I. Nadler's *Appreciation of the late George X. Bobble*. Although my own acquaintance with this eminent gentleman only began during his second (and final) stay in Isedivew, it was abundantly clear from his grand manner that he was a man of affairs. Not only *l'affaire seating of Mesdames Clup and Bunkle*, and the

(Continued on page 8)

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS (from page 6)

un-affair of his housekeeper Nina l'Amour; there was also l'affaire fleurie.

Mr. Nadler mentioned that in retirement Bobble had received honorable mention for his begonias, but his cultivation was of a much broader field. As was the case all during his career, his major efforts were devoted to reversing normal trends. In his garden he did not bother with the traditional collection of orchids, but occupied himself with such humble blossoms as the violet, the sunflower, the lady slipper. The first spring after he retired he attained some repute as a judge at some of the flower shows of l'sediwes, and yet he was greatly flattered when the rival cities of Pu and Nwod both asked him to judge plant material the following year.

He so enjoyed being the common denominator for the two opposing cities that he decided to develop some special field flowers, in honor of the event, and as an example of what the two cities might accomplish. The work did not progress rapidly, nevertheless as a fitting climax to his years of botanical efforts, on the tenth anniversary of his first judging for those cities, Bobble presented to the town of Pu a sunflower, so bred that its stem arched and the flower always faced the ground during the daytime; while to the town of Nwod he dedicated a lady slipper whose rich mauve bloom always pointed to the sky. At that time, too, surprisingly little notice was taken of Bobble's remarkable achievements.

As regards the unidentified Frenchwoman, although I have no conclusive evidence on the matter, there can be hardly any doubt that it was the distinguished, only daughter of the brief union of the two great cultural dynasties: the Chinese Tnemyojne, and the western Ytilamrofni. Brought up in Shanghai, she was the confidante of Dorothy Eastshore Bobble, during the latter's anxiety-torn days there; suffered vicariously the unjust indignities heaped upon Dorothy. She maintained her sanity only by marrying an important American diplomat, who already had received his travel orders. The *coup de grace*, which made her vow to dance on Bobble's grave, came the first evening after re-joining her husband, the Ambassador to France, when she came down, excusably late, to dinner, to find Bobble, the Clups, the Bunkles and, already in effect, the now famous seating plan.

Trusting that the above information will prove helpful to Mr. Nadler in compiling his Book of Bobble, I remain,

Respectfully yours,
Piquée

RX FOR MORALE: CONSULTATION

Casablanca, Morocco
September 24, 1953

To the Editors,
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

Mr. Oakley, in his letter in the August JOURNAL, obliquely mentions a condition in the FS which is unique: the almost total lack of communication between those who make FS

(Continued on page 10)

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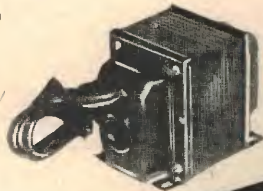
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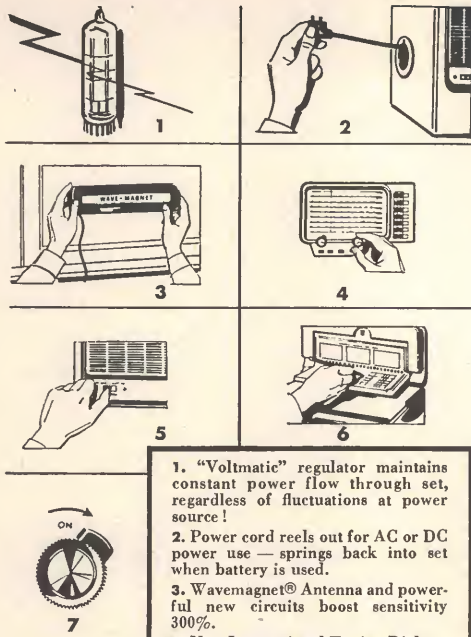
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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS (from page 8)

personnel policies and the FS employees who are affected thereby. So far as I know, there is no means by which the attitudes and morale of the FS are reported to the Department and to Congress, and I doubt if there is any group of employees in the world whose collective opinions and morale are so little known as the employees of the FS. Practically every progressive business firm considers its employees' attitude to the firm and their general morale as important, and the Armed Services' concern with morale is well known. Thus the FS is unique in its lack of knowledge of what its employees are thinking, and its equal lack of concern thereover. Perhaps it believes "Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise."

Nevertheless, the organizations which ascertain employee attitudes and attempt to harmonize their policies with such attitudes are basing their action on self-interest more than altruism. Personnel studies have shown that policies cannot be effectively imposed by management unless there is general consent by the employees. If consent is lacking and employees are generally not satisfied with the terms of their employment, the organization's efficiency will suffer. To assume that the carrot of promotion and the stick of "selection out" and "RIF" are enough to ensure optimum efficiency is to take a naive and outmoded view of personnel relations.

I believe therefore, it would be in the best interest of the Service if there were more consultation with the employees of the Service before personnel policies are adopted. The Association, even if it cannot act as the spokesman for the FS employees, can serve more adequately by reporting to the field proposed changes in personnel matters, and by reporting to the Department and Congress the facts regarding the consensus of opinion in the FS on vital personnel issues. Needless to say, it could not rely on occasional letters to the Editors, but would have to devise means of ascertaining accurately the views of the FS.

If communication in both directions between Washington and the field can be improved, and a freer exchange of views achieved, both the employees and the government will ultimately benefit.

Neil M. Ruge

Editor's Note: We believe that Mr. Ruge is exaggerating the lack of means by which the attitudes and morale of the Foreign Service can be noted. Listed below are some of the means of communication now in existence:

1. Reports from principal officers;
2. Inspectors' reports;
3. Reports from other official travellers out of Washington;
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5. *Foreign Service News Letter*;
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BY
JAMES B.
STEWART

APRIL

*And not a girl goes walking
Along the Cotswold lanes
But knows men's eyes in April
Are quicker than their brains.
John Drinkwater (1882-1937)*

PORTUGUESE MEN OF WAR: "During the night an Irishman's gale had blown steadily, but with the rising of the sun this turned into a Portuguese hurricane." Thus did CONSUL GENERAL W. STANLEY HOLLIS begin his amusing account of the excitement on board when the lookout man announced some Portuguese men-o'-war nearby. "Old ladies of both sexes hurriedly disembarassed themselves of steamer rugs and other paraphernalia and rushed to the rail crying: 'Where are they?'" But our real interest in the story is in the terms "Irishman's Gale" and "Portuguese Hurricane" rather than in what Ebenezer Cork, the barman, said to the Captain about "the sun being over the fore yard and time to splice the main brace." Mr. Hollis asserts that the reader will not find either term in a dictionary and continues: "Perhaps some reader of the JOURNAL who numbers amongst his acquaintance some old salt-water sailor man may be able to get from him the definitions for these terms; also for the term 'Irishman's purchase.'"

"The original sailor men who first started the practice of using national names as adjectives would fare badly in these days of exaggerated nationalism if sundry patriots from the lands referred to could get hold of them. I refer to those who invented the following names: 'Welsh rarebit' (commonly called rabbit), 'Dutch Courage,' 'German Silver,' 'French Leave,' 'To walk Spanish,' 'Indian gift,' 'Dutch Treat,' and 'Castles in Spain.'" # The only salt-water sailor man I know is COERT DU BOIS. (JBS)

BRIEFS: A Conference of American Consular officers was held in Mexico City, February, 1929. It was the first general conference of consular officers held in Mexico in many years. Among the 21 officers who attended were AMBASSADOR DWIGHT W. MORROW; CONSUL GENERAL WILLIAM DAWSON; Counsellor of Embassy ARTHUR SCHOENFELD; Counsellor of Embassy STOKELY W. MORGAN; Vice Consul EDWARD S. MANEY (Tampico); Vice Consul GEORGE H. WINTERS (Mexico City); Vice Consul JOSEPH C. SATTERTHWAITHE (Guadalajara); Consul WILLIAM P. BLOCKER (Mazatlan); Consul HERBERT S. BURSLEY (Guaymas); MAJ. GEORGE WYTHE (Commercial Attaché) and MR. GEORGE RUBLEE. From the Department were ARTHUR BLISS LANE, Chief of the Division of Mexican Affairs; and MONNETT B. DAVIS, Inspector.

The Foreign Service Association gave a farewell luncheon to SECRETARY OF STATE FRANK B. KELLOGG at the Lafayette Hotel. MR. FRANCIS WHITE, Assistant Secretary of State, was the principal speaker.

(Continued on page 14)

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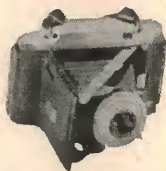
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TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO (from page 12)

Foreign Affairs for January, 1929, contains an article by Allen W. Dulles on "The Threat of Anglo-American Naval Rivalry."

"Gydnia, the port at present under construction upon the lagoon at Danzig, is among the most remarkable things in the Europe of our time," says Mr. Hillaire Belloc in an article in the *Nineteenth Century*.

PEOPLE: LLEWELLYN E. THOMPSON, recently appointed a Foreign Service Officer, reported for duty at the Department. Vice Consul W. W. BUTTERWORTH, JR. has completed his training in the Foreign Service School and sailed for his new post at Singapore. MR. LOUIS SUSSDORFF, JR., First Secretary at Riga, paid a flying visit to the Netherlands in February in order to take part in the famous Eleven Towns skating race at Leeuwarden, Friesland. This outstanding sporting event of Holland has been held only on three occasions since its inauguration in 1909 and Mr. Sussdorff is believed to be the only American who has ever taken part.

FROM SINGAPORE: Vice Consul TERRY S. HINKLE rescued this from the files: "Gentleman: I saw in the *Pathé News* a picture of Singapore, China. Gee, it sure is nice there. Please give my regards to all the Chinese and also the Emperor of China."

PETHERICK: This column for May, 1953, quoted a tribute to CHARLES JOHN PETHERICK who, in March 1928 completed his sixtieth year as U. S. Despatch Agent in the London Embassy. Mr. Petherick died in London on February 22, 1929, aged 78, and here is part of a tribute paid him: "Surely Shakespeare must have known the Petherick of his day when he put these lines into the mouth of Orlando in 'As You Like It':

'O, good old man, how well in thee appears
The constant service of the antique world,
When service sweat for duty, not for meed!
Thou art not for the fashion of these times,
When none will sweat but for promotion.'"

FROM POST TO POST: GEORGE D. HOPPER, Antofagasta to Department; THOMAS S. HORN, La Paz to Antofagasta; GEORGE E. SELTZER, Manaos to Rio de Janeiro; EGMONT G. VON TRESCHOW, Berlin to Rotterdam; OTIS A. GLAZEBROOK, Consul, Nice, retired due to superannuation.

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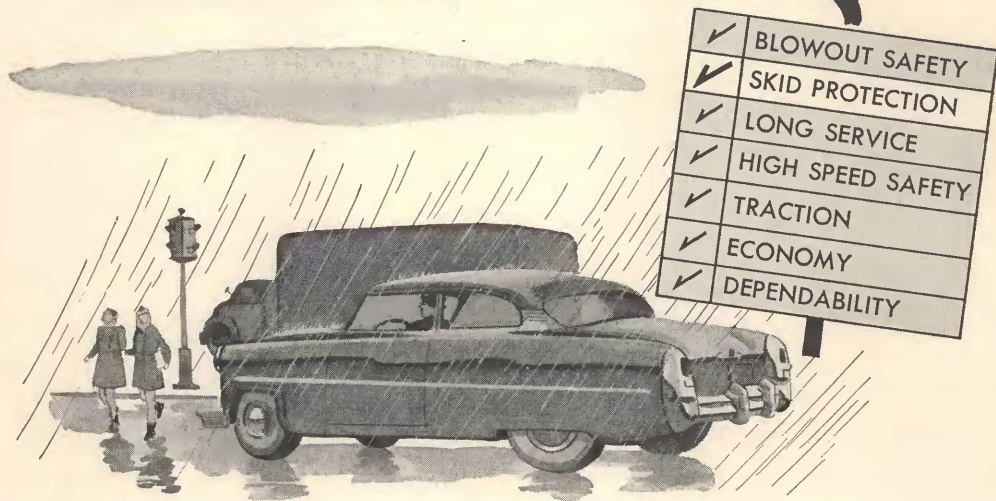
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NEWS to the FIELD



By Lois Perry Jones

New Assignments

Following the resignation of UNDER SECRETARY for ADMINISTRATION DONALD B. LOURIE, who will return to his position as President of the Quaker Oats Company, the following changes in organization and assignment of responsibility were announced:

THRUSTON B. MORTON, Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, was designated Acting Deputy Under Secretary, to perform duties hitherto assigned to Mr. Lourie.

EDWARD T. WAILES was designated Assistant Secretary for Personnel Administration, with responsibility, under the general direction of Mr. Morton, for all functions of personnel administration excepting those relating to security.

SCOTT MCLEOD, who previously had responsibilities for personnel, became responsible for inspection functions in the Department, in addition to security and consular functions. Designation of the Bureau administered by him was changed from the "Bureau of Security, Consular Affairs and Personnel" to the "Bureau of Inspection, Security and Consular Affairs."

JOHN M. CABOT, Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, was nominated Ambassador to Sweden, replacing the HONORABLE W. WALTON BUTTERWORTH, now Minister at London.

Appointments, Resignations

HENRY F. HOLLAND of Houston, Texas, was nominated by President Eisenhower to be Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, replacing the HONORABLE JOHN M. CABOT. From June, 1942 to September, 1945, Mr. Holland, as a member of the Foreign Service Auxiliary, was assigned to the Embassy at Mexico City, where he served as special assistant, assistant to the Counselor of Embassy for Economic Affairs, and as labor attaché. In September, 1945, he became responsible for the Latin American matters of the law firm of Baker, Botts, Andrews and Shepherd of which he is a member.

CHARLES F. BALDWIN, until recently Consul General at Singapore, was appointed Economic Coordinator for the Far

East. A Foreign Service Officer, Mr. Baldwin served at Santiago, Oslo, Trieste and London before his Singapore assignment.

CECIL B. LYON, a Foreign Service Officer since 1930, was appointed Director of the Office of German Affairs. His last assignment was Director of the Berlin Element and Deputy Commandant since June, 1951. Prior to that time he attended the National War College and served at Warsaw, Cairo, Santiago and at posts in the Far East.

JOSEPH CAMERON HICKINGBOTHAM, JR., a Rhodes scholar and graduate of the University of California, was appointed consultant to ASSISTANT SECRETARY SAMUEL C. WAUGH, with broad responsibilities in the formulation of economic programs and policies.

WARREN E. HOAGLAND of New Canaan, Connecticut, was appointed U. S. Representative in the negotiations with the Federal Republic of Germany provided for in the Surplus Property Payments Agreement.

WHITING WILLAUER was confirmed by the Senate as the new United States Ambassador to Honduras, succeeding the HONORABLE JOHN D. ERWIN. Prior to this appointment, Ambassador Willauer served on the legal staff of the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice, with the Federal Power Commission, China Defense Supplies, and as Director, Near East and Special Territories Branch, Foreign Economic Administration.

BRUCE C. HOPPER, Professor of Government at Harvard University, is lecturing in a number of European countries under the International Educational Exchange Program of the Department of State.

ARTHUR H. DEAN resigned as special deputy to the Secretary of State in charge of plans for a Korean peace conference. His letter of resignation said he had stipulated when he took the assignment last summer that he had committed himself to court engagements that would not permit him to continue actively on the conference work after March.

(Continued on page 44)

JOURNAL CONTEST CONTRIBUTIONS

Mail received by the JOURNAL and the Association over the past year would indicate that many members of the Association and readers of the JOURNAL are eager to contribute not only time but money to projects promising to maintain and improve the quality and effectiveness of our American representation abroad.

The 1954 JOURNAL Essay Contest was designed to further this cause; it differs from contests held in previous years in that manuscripts are being actively solicited from groups outside the Service and in that the underwriting was undertaken by a larger group of persons than those who financed the contests of the 1940's and 1930's.

In addition to this broader base of underwriting commitments and contributions received from friends of the Service, the Editorial Board of the JOURNAL would like to receive contributions toward contest expenses in amounts of from \$5 to \$50 from the much larger group of persons who comprise the Association membership and the JOURNAL readers.

The expenses of the contest include the prizes, extra printing costs for brochures, extra clerical and secretarial help, mailing costs, etc., and money to be spent for professional help in screening manuscripts for the Judges.

A special "Contest Expenses Account" has been established, and the account will be audited by a Certified Public Accountant and a balance sheet of expenses and receipts published at the close of the contest. Money remaining in the account over and above actual contest expenses will be turned over to the Foreign Service Association Scholarship Fund.

Elements of Modern Peacemaking

What Caused The Peacemakers To
Succeed in 1815 . . . What Caused Them To Fail
In 1918 and 1945

By LOUIS J. HALLE, JR.

Twice in this century leading statesmen of the world have undertaken to end a great war conclusively by the establishment of an international peace. Twice they have failed. No one can feel confident today that, as a consequence of these failures, another great war will not offer still another challenge to the peacemakers of our century.

When modern peacemakers sit down at the peace table they confront a mass of practical dilemmas calling for practical solutions. Problems of reparation, international boundaries, rights of navigation, voting procedures, control of arms, allocation of radio frequencies, and the like absorb their attention. Their success in making a peace must seem to them, at the time, to depend chiefly on their ingenuity as international tinkers. A more detached view suggests, however, that at bottom the issue of peace depends rather on the respective notions about the contemporary world that the peacemakers represent at the peace table. Their views of why the war came about, of who was to blame, of who may be held accountable for national behavior, and of what constitutes justice in international affairs, as well as their conceptions of the job they have to do, must determine their practical ability to make a peace.

The following contains a partial examination of the modern historical record to find out what it suggests of a practical nature with respect to the fundamentals of peacemaking.

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

At the conclusion of every major war of modern times the task of the peacemakers has been twofold: (1) to establish the conditions to which the defeated side agrees or submits, and (2) to re-establish, amid the wreckage of the war, a general international order for the maintenance of peace and security. It is hardly necessary to argue that the primary task, to which the treatment of the defeated side should be subordinated, is that of re-establishing an international order. Nevertheless, the animus of the victors in the moment of their victory is likely to represent a more immediate desire to avenge their sufferings on the loser. to

enjoy the bounty of his table, and to prevent the renewal of his opposition by disabling him. This animus disposes them to find the cause of war in his behavior alone, rather than in more general and fundamental conditions, and thus to beguile themselves into believing that his disablement removes the cause of war. Even when the statesmen themselves hold the larger and more realistic view they may find themselves constrained in their acts by a public opinion which is still under the sway of the emotions that support the conduct of a war.

The record made by the peacemakers since 1814 suggests that this opposition of motives is a principal factor in success or failure. It should be examined, however briefly, in these terms if we are to achieve an understanding of what the peacemaker's job is. In doing so we shall find the problem illuminated by observing at the same time the various identifications of the enemy that the peacemakers may choose to accept as a premise of action. It makes a practical difference in the final resolution of a conflict whether guilt is attached to a government, a people, or a country. While it was quite feasible, for example, to exile Napoleon to St. Helena, any attempt to dispose in some like fashion of the French people, say, or of the abstraction, "France," would have encountered difficulties. We may find that failure to limit the locus of guilt offers one clue to the peacemaking failures of our times.

1814-1815

"War before the French Revolution," it has been observed, "was essentially a clash between rulers. Since that event it has become increasingly a clash between peoples, and hence has become increasingly 'total'."* In the pre-revolutionary polity of Europe peoples tended to be politically inert. They were so little involved in the struggles among their rulers which went on over their heads that, as one recalls from "A Sentimental Journey," Laurence Sterne had actually departed on his visit to France before he

*R. R. Palmer, in "Makers of Modern Strategy."



"Napoleon" or "France"?

recalled that England and France were at war with each other. This gave him no serious concern, however, nor did it suggest to him that he ought to change his plans. Only some minor inconveniences incident to his travels in France showed that he was a tourist in what, today, we would call enemy territory. As in Shakespeare's historical plays, when one said "England" or "France" in the context of European politics one meant the individual sovereign. "During the 19th century," however, "the fundamental principle, the fusion of government and people, which may or may not be democratic, was built into the political system of most European states. The wars of kings were over; the wars of peoples had begun."^{*}

There is nothing to indicate that the victorious allies, when they rode into Paris on March 31, 1814 and disposed themselves to make a peace, saw with the clarity of our own hindsight that they had passed the threshold of a new era. Alexander I of Russia, who led the group, appears not to have thought much about who or what represented "France," the vanquished enemy. He even considered, for a moment, accepting a Bonapartist regency. Still in his "liberal" period, Alexander was opposed to a restoration of the *ancien regime*, and the notion of putting the Bourbon heir back on a French throne, so far from having been his idea, had to be urged upon him by Talleyrand, who had managed somehow to identify himself as the spokesman of whatever, at the moment, was France. Czar Alexander, Talleyrand, the French Senate, and the French marshals all participated in bringing about the abdication of Napoleon and the Bourbon restora-

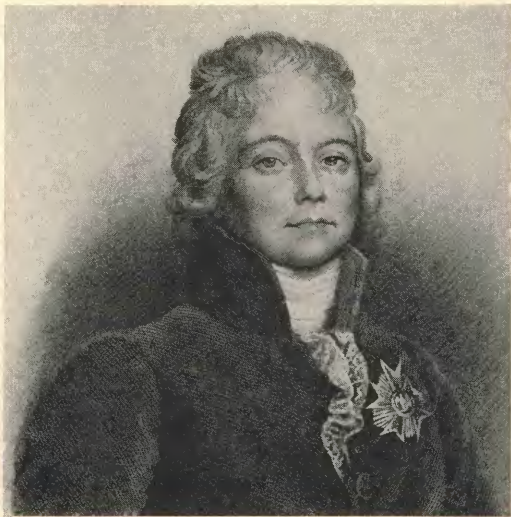
^{*}Ibid.

tion, but without forethought except on the part of Talleyrand.

In the later careers of those who were the victors of 1814 the objective of policy was to suppress the uprising masses of the revolution; but that was so far from their thoughts in 1814 that they accepted the return of the Bourbons to France only as "liberal" monarchs hedged by constitutional guarantees. Although they were masters of the situation and could dictate their own terms, although Frenchmen had just been engaged in pillaging most of Europe and had been indirectly responsible for the burning of Moscow, the allies "were fully alive to the necessity of treating France with generosity, and of connecting the advent of the new dynasty with a popular peace. When France declined to pay a war indemnity to Prussia, Russia, England, and Austria acquiesced in her refusal; and the demand was withdrawn. The art-galleries of Paris were permitted to retain the spoils with which Napoleon had enriched them."^{**} The French frontiers of November 1, 1792, were restored—but with certain additions totaling 150 square miles, and 450,000 inhabitants.^{**}

One significant inference may be drawn from the fact that the Allies made this kind of peace. While they may not have given much thought to fixing the guilt for the French aggressions under Napoleon they did not, at least, identify that guilt with the new France of the Bourbon Restoration, nor did they think of themselves as either wreaking vengeance upon or administering justice to whatever France they

Talleyrand: was this "France"?



had to deal with. The treaty of peace between England and France, for example, was in its terms not a treaty between nations or peoples but exclusively a treaty between monarchs. It was headed: "DEFINITIVE TREATY of

^{**}"Cambridge Modern History," Vol. IX, Chap. XVIII.

^{**}Ibid., Chap. XIX.



Vienna: "They made a peace. . . ."

Peace and Amity between His Britannic Majesty and His Most Christian Majesty," and its preamble expressed the premise of the peace quite unequivocally, reading: "His Majesty, the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Allies on the one part, and His Majesty the King of France and of Navarre on the other part, animated by an equal desire to terminate the long agitations of Europe, and the sufferings of Mankind, by a permanent Peace, founded upon a just repartition of force between its States, and containing in its Stipulations the pledge of its durability; and His Britannic Majesty, together with his Allies, being unwilling to require of France, now that, replaced under the paternal Government of her Kings, she offers the assurance of security and stability to Europe, the conditions and guarantees which they had with regret demanded from her former Government, their said Majesties have named Plenipotentiaries to discuss, settle, and sign a Treaty of Peace and Amity; namely. . . ."

For the rest, the Allies saw quite plainly (as the peacemakers of the 20th century have never seen) that the defeated enemy had to be restored to a position in which it could participate responsibly in the joint maintenance, by the great powers, of international peace, order, and tranquility. England and Austria, in particular, allowed no artificial distinctions between "aggressor states" and "peace-loving states" to prevent them from incorporating defeated France "into the common front against the two allies, Russia and Prussia, which had become too strong."*

It is interesting to note that the experience of Napoleon's subsequent return from Elba, necessitating his defeat a second time, resulted in an identification of the enemy by

the Allies that they had not been so clear about a year earlier. In 1815 they "proclaimed that they were attacking not France but the Emperor; peace, then, might be secured by his abdication."** They also signed a declaration "by which they bound themselves to aid Louis XVIII with all their strength. . . ."** Finally, the four powers entered into a treaty binding themselves each to put 150,000 men in the field "and to keep them under arms 'til Bonaparte should have been rendered absolutely incapable of stirring up further troubles."*** "This treaty expressly applied to the new situation the principles of the Treaty of Chaumont. . . . The King of France was specially invited to join the alliance, and to specify the succour required by him in accordance with its provisions."***

While the Second Peace of Paris, concluded after Waterloo, represented some modifications in a sense unfavorable to France of the First Peace, Metternich was able to observe that the only difference between them, "apart from the transfer of a few frontier-places, and the provisions as to the war-indemnity payable by France and the occupation of her soil by the Allies, lay in the wholly justifiable restitution of the artistic spoils brought to Paris by Napoleon."**** The

**"Cambridge Modern History," Vol. I, Chap. XX.

**Vol. IX, Chap. XXI. Lest one get the impression that the situation was crystal clear and consistent now, as it never is in history, note should be taken of several facts: the Czar was not happy about again restoring the Bourbons; Great Britain, in accepting the treaty, refused to bind herself to continue the war with the intent of obliging France to adopt any particular form of government; and when it came to making the Second Peace of Paris, Prussia, addressing herself "to the securities to be taken against another disturbance of the peace of Europe" (even with "the enemy" banished to St. Helena) proposed the cession by France of Alsace, of Piedmont, and of whole series of fortresses on the Belgian frontier, on the Saar, and on the upper Moselle. See above citation.

***Ibid.

*Leonard von Muralt, "From Versailles to Potsdam," Chicago, 1948.

provisions regarding occupation "were devised with studied moderation."¹

It should be noted here that, in spite of the fact that the peace arrangements left France with her teeth undrawn, in the absence of Napoleon at St. Helena she did not again go on the rampage. The identification of the enemy in 1815 had, apparently, been correct.

The victors of 1814 and 1815 appear to have had no illusion that the settlement with France was anything but an incidental part of their task, and they regarded the main part as that of constructing a European order that would endure in peace and tranquility. The 32nd Article of each of the treaties constituting the First Peace of Paris read: "All the Powers engaged on either side in the present War, shall, within the space of 2 months, send Plenipotentiaries to Vienna, for the purpose of regulating, in General Congress, the arrangements which are to complete the provisions of the present Treaty." The Congress of Vienna, although interrupted by Napoleon's "Hundred Days," redrew the map of Europe with French participation, not in the interests of the victors as distinct from the vanquished but with a view to establishing an international order from which all would benefit alike—without distinction of victors and vanquished, of "aggressors" and "peace-loving states." The peacemakers of 1815 managed to do something that the peacemakers of

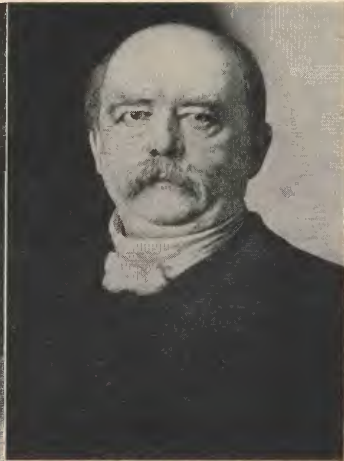
question of what constitutes effective peacemaking. It is also of interest in foreshadowing new developments in statesmanship.

In 1866 Prussia, under Bismarck's direction, had made a magnanimous peace with Austria after a short and limited war to establish Prussian hegemony in the Germanic Confederation. Bismarck "opposed the cession of territory by Austria on the ground that it would be a grave insult to the empire, and would occasion a lasting estrangement between Austria and Prussia. . . They [the two Powers] had much better be faithful allies against France and Russia.*

The 1866 Peace of Nikolsburg was a real peace, and it lasted. The Peace of Frankfort, five years later, was something different. Some of the German generals, at least, thought that the way to make peace was to cripple the enemy so that he could never stand up and fight again. Field Marshal Von Blumenthal commented in his diary on February 24, 1871: "Bismarck is carrying on too fine a policy, taking into account matters which do not appear to me to be pertinent. Now it is the foreign Powers, now consideration for the enemy, which must not be mortally embittered, etc. To the simple intelligence of a soldier all this appears comical. The beaten-down enemy must so bleed that he will not be able to stand up for a hundred years: he must be bound in chains which will prevent him from thinking



Bismarck, Favre, Thiers: ". . . new developments in statesmanship."



"It may be doubted that Bismarck ever intended to make a real peace."

1919 and 1945, alike, failed to do. They made a peace; and the peace they made, although occasionally rocked, endured beyond the generation of their children.

1871

The Franco-Prussian War, unlike the Napoleonic Wars and the two World Wars, was local and limited. It did not destroy the international fabric of Europe, let alone of the world. Its conclusion, therefore, did not call for a general re-establishment of international order. Nevertheless, the Peace of Frankfort has its significance with respect to the

of revenge."³ This is the kind of peace that was effective when Rome imposed it on Carthage, but it required the utter destruction of Carthage, with not a vestige remaining.⁴ As Calgacus, the leader of the Britons, said of the Romans: "They create a desert and call it peace."⁵

It may be doubted that Bismarck expected or even in-

¹"Cambridge Modern History," Vol. XI, Chap. XVI.

²William H. Dawson: "The German Empire 1867-1914," New York: Macmillan, 1919; Vol. I.

³At least one Roman leader, Scipio Nasica, had opposed the destruction of Carthage because he feared the moral effect on Rome of being without a rival. See Plutarch's Life of Marcus Cato.

⁴Tacitus: "Agricola," Chap. 30.

⁵Ibid.

tended to make a real peace, for if he had he would presumably have resisted the pressure of the generals to annex Lorraine as well as Alsace. "He recognized that Alsace and Lorraine had served the French as a base for attack upon Germany. . . . When the time to make peace came, Bismarck accepted the arguments of the soldiers. He seems to have had some doubt as to the advisability of taking Lorraine and was by no means blind to the fact that the cession of these territories would cause endless friction between France and Germany. But he regarded future war between the two countries as inevitable under all circumstances, and therefore thought it the part of wisdom to take the territory necessary for the protection of Germany."* This suggests that Bismarck was not directing his efforts at the establishment of a genuine peace, that he regarded the post-war period, in fact, as a continuation of war temporarily by other means. As we now know, no reconciliation between France and Germany after 1871 would have been possible, even if other circumstances had favored it, with Alsace and Lorraine a source of constant grief and indignation, not just to a sovereign, but to the French people themselves. From 1871 on the French had an enemy, and it was not just a person but a nation.

We have seen how the Treaties of Paris were made between kings and emperors exclusively. The Treaty of Frankfurt is headed: "Treaty of Peace between Germany and France." It bears the signatures of Bismarck and Arnim, "in the name of His Majesty the Emperor of Germany," and of Favre, Pouyer-Questier, and DeGoulard, "in the name of the French Republic." The Treaty gives no appearance of being based on any distinction between the Empire of Louis Napoleon and the French Republic. It deals with "France," as Frenchmen know it in their hearts.

1919

The armistice was signed this morning. Everything for which America fought has been accomplished.

—President Wilson's announcement to the American people, November 11, 1918.

It is singular but true that peace seemed very beautiful during the war, but almost hateful when the war ended.

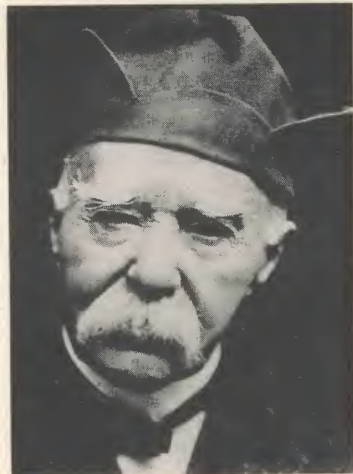
—Bernard M. Baruch in 1920.

The statesmen who met together to make a peace in 1919 did not understand one another as did the statesmen of 1815. Perhaps it is harder for nations than for sovereigns to take a common view, and the peacemakers of 1919 were not free agents but representatives of their respective peoples. Czar Alexander had spoken for himself, who was Russia; but Lloyd George, at some sacrifice of his personal views, spoke for the British electorate, and Woodrow Wilson hoped that he spoke for the American electorate.

"If," wrote Bernard Baruch at the end of the Paris Conference, "the ideal peace, which some demand, had been actually undertaken, with all that it seemingly involved of sacrifice and unselfishness, the result would have been the overthrow of at least three of the major governments."** "The commonest virtues of the individual," Keynes wrote in his "Economic Consequences of the Peace," "are often lacking in the spokesmen of nations; a statesman representing

* Wm. L. Langer: "European Alliances and Alignments, 1871-1890," New York, Knopf, 1950.

** Bernard M. Baruch: "The Making of the Reparation and Economic Sections of the Treaty," New York, Harpers, 1950.



Clemenceau: "an exclusive nationalism."

not himself but his country may prove, without incurring excessive blame . . . vindictive, perfidious, and egotistic. These qualities are familiar in treaties imposed by victors."* A new problem, then, since the days of Vienna, is that of exercising effective leadership in a democracy for the making of a peace.

It is not too much to say that, among the "Big Four" alone, Wilson and Clemenceau had entirely different conceptions of the world they were dealing with and the job to be done on it. Wilson thought of the war as over and done with ("Everything for which America fought has been accomplished"). He put the partisanship of the conflict behind him and thought in terms of the whole. Peace had come to the world, and it remained only to make international arrangements that would prevent its ever again being interrupted by war. That meant disavowing such barbarities, which lead to war, as "balance-of-power" and "spheres of influence." It meant the self-determination of

* John Maynard Keynes: "The Economic Consequences of the Peace," London, Macmillan, 1920.



Wilson was "closer to the statesmen of Vienna."

peoples. It meant magnanimity in the victors. And it meant a league of nations to establish and maintain due process among them. Wilson was not thinking so much of what to do with a defeated Germany as of what to do with a world at peace, which included Germany. Although it would have shocked him to be told so, he was in fundamental respects closer to the statesmen of Vienna than to any of the continental statesmen with whom he conferred in Paris.

Clemenceau, on the other hand, was closer to the spirit of 1871. He saw the world more as Bismarck had seen it. It was a world in which peace was impossible (however the idealists and propagandists might beguile the public with fine words), in which the surrender of the Germans merely meant the continuation of the war by other means. In 1871 Germany had raked in the chips. Now it was France's turn to rake them in, knowing full well that the wheel would spin again. His was a world of nationalism in the extreme partisan sense, an exclusive nationalism that recognized only

declaration, and the Allies were unable to agree upon one. It was only after all efforts in this direction had failed that he decided to go it alone.**

Just as Wilson, overseas, did not have the American people with him, so, previously, Wilson speaking in America on war aims had not had the overseas allies with him. The allies had quite different war aims from those of the United States. They welcomed Wilson's pronouncements for their propaganda value, but when Colonel House tried to get their agreement to those pronouncements as a basis for peace with Germany, after Germany had invoked them in asking for an armistice, he could get them to consent only by the threat of a separate American peace. In his own report House tells how he finally put it up to them: "If the Allied Governments felt constrained to submit an elaborate answer to the President containing many objections to his programme, it would doubtless be necessary for the President to go to Congress and to place before that body exactly what Italy,



Versailles: "The failure to make a peace."

rival interests beyond the national boundaries. Conflict is between nations, without moral distinctions of governing and governed. In this world dog eats dog; either you destroy your enemy or he destroys you. Clemenceau captured the peace conference and got it to do his bidding. He was, says Keynes, "by far the most eminent member of the Council of Four, and he had taken the measure of his colleagues." One may suppose that he also enjoyed the cynic's eternal advantage of displaying a superior grasp of realities, at least in that area of human affairs to which he limits his insight.

"Wilson has been frequently criticized for not having worked out a joint statement of war aims with the Allies, rather than stealing the spotlight with a prima-donna performance [i.e., the proclamation of the Fourteen Points]. The truth is that Wilson attempted to secure such a joint

France, and Great Britain were fighting for, and to place the responsibility on Congress for the further continuation of the war by the United States in behalf of the aims of the Allies."** Their lip-service to Wilson's war aims, obtained by these means, did not entail the abandonment of their own.

Again, as in 1814-1815, much of the key to the peace-making of 1919 is to be found in the identification of the enemy. When we entered the war Wilson fixed that identification so firmly, so eloquently, and so insistently as to leave

(Continued on page 48)

*Thomas A. Bailey: "Woodrow Wilson and the Last Peace," New York, Macmillan, 1944.

**Charles Seymour: "The Intimate Papers of Colonel House," Boston, 1928, Vol. IV, quoted by Birdsall, op. cit.

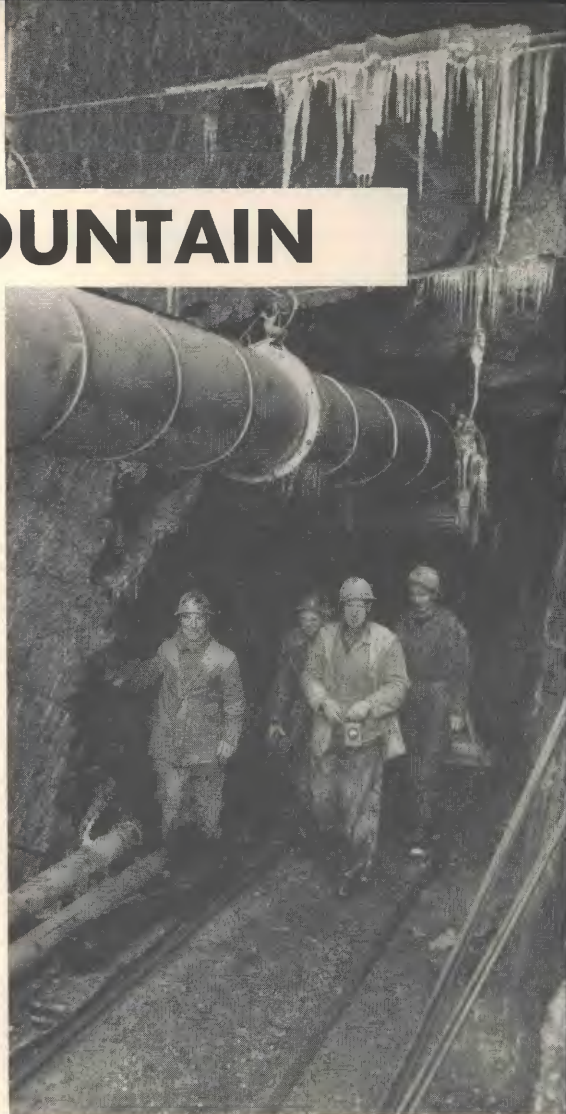
SNOWY MOUNTAIN PROJECT

BY BARBARA B. BURN

Last February my husband and I accompanied Tom and Doris Robinson on a trip to the Snowy Mountain Project. Tom, the head of the Agricultural Section in Sydney's Consulate General, was to open and participate in an agricultural conference at Berriedale in southern New South Wales. Then we would spend three days "inspecting the Snowy," Australia's T.V.A. With great anticipation we stowed our suitcases, camera, and ourselves in the Robinsons' rugged 1947 Lincoln at seven one summer (Australian) morning, and set out to drive several hundred miles south to Berriedale and the Snowy Mountains.

While continental Australia closely resembles the United States in size and shape, it differs in one vital respect. Instead of having a vast fertile river basin in its heart, Australia's center is a great arid uninhabitable desert. To support the larger population vital to Australia's future, more water is needed both to irrigate land for greater food production, and to supply hydroelectric power for greater industrial production. The Snowy Mountains Hydroelectric Scheme is designed to make more water available for both purposes.

Australia's east coast is paralleled by ranges of mountains which reach a height of 7,300 feet in the south. Four rivers rise in the southern ranges, the Snowy Mountains. These rivers are the Snowy, Murray, Murrumbidgee, and Tumut. While the latter three flow west, the largest of these rivers, the Snowy, flows east and south, dropping 7,000 feet in its brief 300 mile course, and pouring one-half million



▲ Above: Norwegian workmen leaving adit to fire explosive in the face of the drive.

◀ Left: Snowy River at Jurdabyne.

Right: Site of Guthega power station ▶

gallons of water into the sea every minute, an appalling waste of one of Australia's most precious resources. The Snowy's flow is constant all year round, as the rugged area where it rises is rich in humus and moss which retain the water from the melting snow, releasing it slowly.

The spectacular objective of the Snowy Mountains Scheme is to reverse the flow of the Snowy River, making it flow west into the Murray and Murrumbidgee River Systems instead of east, utilizing its tremendous drop for the creation of hydro-electric power, and ultimately using the waters to irrigate land west of the mountains, heretofore too dry for agricultural production. To achieve this objective, the Scheme involves the construction in Australia's most rugged terrain of eight major dams, 86 miles of tunnels, 16 power stations, and 440 miles of raceways to take water to the various reservoirs and tunnels in the Scheme.

The Project was begun in 1949, and will take approximately thirty years to complete. When completed, it will more than double the total power capacity of Australia today, and provide enough water for irrigation to produce more than \$60 million worth of food each year. The generating stations of the Project will be roughly equidistant between Sydney and Melbourne, Australia's two largest cities, and thus will be admirably located to supply power to them, although it is hoped that the Project will encourage industrial and population decentralization by luring industry and people to the intervening area. The great power increase will obviously be of major importance to the future defense of Australia. The remoteness and wildness of the terrain where Snowy power will be generated, plus the fact that most of the power stations will be underground, some even under hundreds of feet of solid rock, will provide protection from possible enemy attack.

This is a grand undertaking! The Robinsons and we Burns were thrilled at the opportunity to inspect the Scheme and the work done to date. Colonel Ramsey, the Scheme's public relations official and a guest of honor at the Berriedale Agricultural Conference, described it to the Conference. With the passage of the Snowy Mountains Hydroelectric Power Act in 1949, work started on the project. However, Colonel Ramsey pointed out that we must not expect to see too much as there was little to show for the initial work of surveying, river gauging, diamond drilling, investigating dam sites and designs, gathering stores, and establishing a network of communications.

Our three days inspecting the Scheme were fascinating. With a convoy of some twenty other cars, we drove up and down steep dirt roads through the mountains, Colonel Ramsey in the lead car. We were grateful for Tom's quick get-away technique, as he kept us near the front of the convoy and out of the dust most of the time. At each stopping place, the passengers in the tail of the convoy emerged from their cars, choking with the fine dust. As the day progressed, they assumed a curiously homogeneous and pallid look, as if one saw them through a yellow camera filter.

Colonel Ramsey had wisely warned us not to expect to see much of what he described in the finished Scheme. He led us to several high cleared spaces on the sides or tops of mountains, and, pointing into space, informed us that a dam or power station was planned there. He drove us through the prosperous little town of Jindabyne which in a few years will be completely under water. We ate our sandwiches and brewed a "billy" of tea in a high windy clearing where a workers' township was taking form.

The roads were an engineering marvel, bulldozed in many cases into the sheer sides of mountains. Colonel Ramsey urged all but the most competent drivers not to drive, but to double up instead with others. Going down one particularly steep mountain, a woman passenger in the convoy became hysterical, and fought to get out of her car. Fortunately she regained self-control by the time we had to retrace our way up the mountain back to the main road. We learned later that although a number of accidents do occur on the high mountain roads, they tend to involve not terrified visitors such as ourselves, but the drivers who lose their caution after working on the Scheme for some time, and occasionally take unnecessary risks.

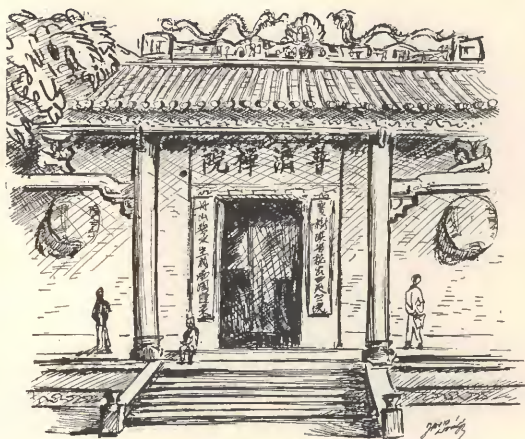
While our main impression from inspecting the Snowy Project consisted of precipitous dusty roads, rugged terrain, the gushing Snowy River, and an omnipresent cloud of fine yellow dust, the few concrete evidences of work already accomplished were impressive. Guthega, one of the power stations, was nearing completion, and will produce 60,000 kilowatts in 1954, multiplied to one-half million in 1959. Erected underground in the center of a deep ravine, it will be invulnerable from attack. Certain tunnels in the Scheme, already partly excavated, awed and drenched us with their dripping depths. Several workers' townships, perched precariously on a mountain edge, gave us a quick appreciation of why the Scheme had initial difficulty in acquiring an adequate labor force.

An interesting aspect of the Snowy Hydroelectric Scheme is the large extent to which it has relied on foreign labor, technical skill, and equipment. At the start when labor and materials were still short in Australia as a result of the war, contracts were let to overseas firms with the stipulation that they supply their own labor and equipment from abroad. The Guthega Project, undertaken by a Norwegian firm, uses only Norwegian laborers. Most of the Scheme's technical staff have been recruited from abroad. Dutch and Italian firms have undertaken most of the building construction at the headquarters township. Contracts have been let to several German firms. Of special interest to the Robinsons and ourselves was the fact that the U. S. Bureau of Reclamation is rendering valuable technical assistance in the Snowy Scheme.

(Continued on page 52)



Cushing Mission to China



Temple of Kwan Yin, Goddess of Mercy, on the outskirts of Macao.

THE BACKGROUND TO THE FIRST SINO-AMERICAN TREATY

By PAUL MULLER

On the fifth of August 1843, four vessels of the United States Navy slipped out of Hampton Roads, Norfolk, bearing the first American diplomatic mission to China. It was headed by Caleb Cushing, excongressman from Massachusetts, who had been designated both Commissioner of the United States to China and Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Court of China. He was given title of Count and provided with the uniform of a major general consisting of a blue coat with gilt buttons, gold-stripped white pantaloons, and a chapeau resplendant with embroidery and white plume. His staff comprised three secretaries, a surgeon, and four unpaid attachés "to add dignity and importance to the occasion." While it was expressly understood that no presents were to be made to the Chinese Emperor for fear that they would be construed as tribute, a collection of scientific objects was taken along so that the Chinese officials could be impressed with the wonders of Western civilization. These included a pair of six-shooters, models of a steam shovel and a steam vessel, a daguerreotype apparatus, a telescope, a weather vane, barometer, several articles made from India rubber and the *Encyclopedia Americana*.

Cushing's father had been in the Far East Trade, and a distant cousin, John Perkins Cushing, had been the first American to return from Canton a millionaire. Caleb Cushing was a lawyer by training and was said to have had a phenomenal memory. He could memorize a group of cyphers from a code book at a glance and digest the contents of a book with amazing speed. He knew several

European languages and was to become proficient in the Manchu language on the voyage out. He was already well versed in Chinese history and trade, and it was his library that was to become, later on, the basis of the Oriental Division of the Library of Congress. Now, as the squadron sailed eastward, he began to master the detailed instructions which the Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, had given him along with a letter written by President Tyler to the Chinese Emperor, Tao Kwang.

The instructions began by pointing out that it was necessary to secure for American ships and cargoes entry into the various Chinese ports on the same terms as British merchants enjoyed. Cushing was cautioned to respect Chinese institutions but at the same time he was told to make clear the absolute equality and independence of the United States and the fact that the American mission was not bearing gifts as previous foreign missions had done. He was to try by all means to reach Peking and hand the President's letter personally to the Emperor. The matter of the "kow-tow" ceremony was left to the Commissioner's discretion, but he was warned not to prostrate himself if it would be looked upon as a sign of inferiority. Finally, he was to emphasize the lack of any American colonies in the Far East and the completely pacific character of the mission.

President Tyler's letter itself was a model of magnificent simplicity. He wished the Emperor good health and then listed the states of the Union, noting that while there might not be so many people in the United States, there was the same amount of territory as in China and that both

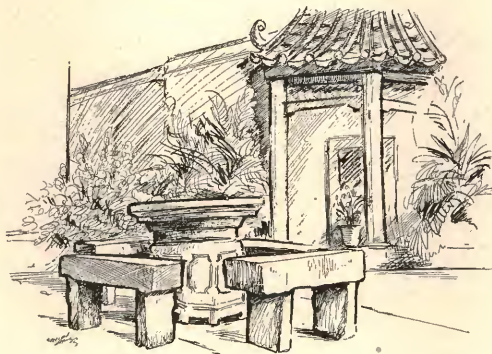
countries were great countries. Therefore, the President felt the two countries should be at peace and there should be rules governing their trade in tea and silk for which the Americans were paying silver. The letter ended with the complimentary close "Your good friend!"

Background of Trade

The desire and need for an American mission to China had been growing steadily ever since the first American ship *Empress of China* had sailed to China sixty years before. The early American traders had found the China trade confined to the ports of Canton, where the British East India Company had a monopoly, and to Macao where the Portuguese authorities held sway. At Canton all foreigners were subject to severe personal restrictions imposed on the Emperor's Mandarins. The foreign traders were only permitted to live and trade in a limited area known as the



Caleb Cushing



The Temple Garden where the Treaty was signed.

Factory, and during the winter season they had to remove to Macao. The actual trading was conducted through a set of Chinese merchants known as the Cohong, who made all the arrangements for procuring the Chinese produce, as well as handling the arrival and departure of the foreign ships. It was necessary to pay duty on both imports and exports as well as various shipping charges and gifts to the Chinese officials for the privilege of trading. Nevertheless, the Yankee traders had developed a considerable trade in tea, silk, nankeens and porcelainware for which they exchanged Spanish dollars from South America, furs from the Northwest coast and the Falkland Islands, sandalwood from Hawaii, delicacies from the South Pacific, all of which they had obtained in return for New England knives and rum.

But as time went by it became increasingly difficult to find sufficient commodities to satisfy the Hong merchants for the growing volume of Chinese produce that was being exported. The independent British merchants, who had succeeded in ending the monopoly of the East India Company in 1834, began to bring in, along with their normal import of specie and textile goods, vast amounts of opium from India, although it was forbidden by the Emperor's

mandate. As trade expanded, the British merchants found the Chinese restrictions increasingly vexatious and they began to contend for more open trading privileges which often led to outright clashes. The American merchants, while they sympathized with the views of the British merchants, tended to resent their preponderance in trade and sought to attain better personal relationships with the Hong merchants. In this they were favored by the fact that they could bring in more silver dollars and because they did not press the importation of opium.

As relations worsened between the British and Chinese, the American merchants in Canton sent off a petition to Congress suggesting that an international naval force be sent out to enforce better trading conditions. But after a new Chinese Commissioner in 1839 seized the British supply of opium in Canton and caused the British Community to withdraw to Macao and Hong Kong, the Americans decided to disassociate themselves from the British effort. And when the so-called "Opium War" broke out, the Americans were able to do a flourishing business handling the tea exports for both the British and their own firms as well as the carrying trade to Hong Kong. But when British arms began to enjoy more successes, it was realized that the British merchants might succeed in attaining a permanent and exclusive commanding position in the China Trade. This feeling was accentuated by the conclusion of the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, which secured for the British merchants open trading and the right of residence at five Chinese ports. Whereupon petitions went into Washington from the American merchants both at Canton and in Boston, pleading for a mission to be sent out to intervene with the Chinese authorities and secure similar privileges for the American merchants.

Preliminary Arrangements

In the meantime, Commodore Lawrence Kearny USN had been assigned to the command of the East Indies Squadron and had been sent out to China to protect the interests of the American firms. When he reached Canton, Commodore Kearny immediately announced that American merchants would not take part in the opium traffic, and this

announcement won considerable good will among the Chinese authorities. Then, after the terms of the Treaty of Nanking became known, he secured an interview with the Viceroy who assured him that the Americans would be granted the same terms as the British had gotten.

In the Congressional debate in Washington, Caleb Cushing and John Quincy Adams were the two speakers who were foremost in pressing for an inquiry into the China Trade and sending a special mission to China to negotiate a treaty which would give the Americans most-favored nation treatment. Cushing carried this suggestion to the President, who responded by including a request in his Annual Message to Congress delivered on December 30, 1842, that an appropriation be granted to cover the cost of such a mission to China and citing recent events in the Far East as justification. Although the mission appeared fantastic to some of the Mid-western Congressmen and not of sufficient importance, the amount of \$40,000 was voted and the Act of March 3, 1843, empowered the President to appoint a Commissioner to secure commercial relations between China and the United States on "terms of national equal reciprocity."

The Whig Party, which was in office at the time, had been torn by political dissension and Daniel Webster, as Secretary of State, had hopes of using this new post as a means of easing himself out of the Cabinet and becoming Minister to England. But when he approached his friend Edward Everett, who occupied that position in London, he found the latter was not willing to give up the comforts of life at the Court of St. James for such an uncertain venture to distant Peking. So the commission was offered to Caleb Cushing, who accepted it on May 8, 1843. Cushing had just been refused approval three times by the U. S. Senate on a previous appointment as Secretary of the Treasury, so this appointment was made during a Congressional recess. The expedition was quickly made ready and Cushing was on his way within three months after acceptance.

Negotiation of a Treaty

The naval squadron, which was composed of the steam frigate *Missouri* as flagship, the frigate *Brandywine*, the brig *Perry* and the sloop-of-war *St. Louis*, carried the mission across the Atlantic to Gibraltar, where the *Missouri* caught fire. Cushing proceeded aboard a British steampacket and visited several ports along the Mediterranean coast and then crossed overland to Suez, whence he sailed to Bombay. At this port, he went aboard the *USS Brandywine* which had sailed around the Cape of Good Hope and it took him the rest of the way, arriving off Macao on February 27, 1844. It had taken six and a half months to make this voyage half the way around the world. The American Consul at Canton had already notified the Chinese government of the Commissioner's coming and Cushing himself, upon arrival, sent word to the Acting Governor-General that he wished to continue on to Peking at once by way of the Pei Ho (river) and Tientsin. Governor Ching replied that he did not think it possible but forwarded the request to the Court of Peking. The local Americans looked on the Commissioner's arrival with some misgivings, even as they had done Commodore Kearny's, but Cushing quickly reassured them by pointing out that he wanted to secure in writing what they already enjoyed by sufferance as well as gain new benefits.

The Chinese Court at that time had no Board or Department to deal with foreign affairs since all foreigners were looked on as barbarians who were only received for the purpose of rendering tribute. The foreigners at Canton had always been dealt with through the Cohong acting for the Governor General of the Kwangtung province. However, the recent victories of the British in the Anglo-Chinese War had compelled the Emperor to appoint one of his Imperial clansmen as the Imperial Commissioner to negotiate the Treaty of Nanking. It was this same Imperial Commissioner, Ch'i-Ying or Ke-Ying as he is sometimes known, who was hurriedly summoned by the Emperor to journey from Nanking to Macao to prevent the American mission from coming on to Peking. In order to forestall Cushing's traveling farther north, Ch'i-Ying sent off during the spring three despatches to Cushing advising him that he, Ch'i-Ying, had been appointed Imperial Commissioner to treat with the American mission and that he was coming to Macao so it would be useless for Cushing to go on to Tientsin where there was no Imperial Commissioner. Cushing decided to acquiesce and await the Imperial Commissioner's arrival in Macao in June.

The negotiations opened on June 18 and were over in a fortnight. The Chinese Commissioner made the first call and proposed that the American envoy draw up what he considered satisfactory terms. Cushing had his draft ready in three days, and it was this draft which was substantially adopted as the final treaty with only a few minor changes. In the negotiations, the American Commissioner was ably assisted by Fletcher Webster, Chief Clerk to the Department of State and also Daniel Webster's son. Most of the translating was done by two medical missionaries, Dr. Elijah Coleman Bridgman and Dr. Peter Parker, assisted by a Mr. Stanislas Harniss. Dr. Parker was married to Daniel Webster's niece and became Commissioner to China some years later. The Chinese Commissioner came under the liberal influence of his three advisors Wang, Chou, and Pwau, who were all residents of Canton. On July 3 the treaty was signed and sealed at the temple of Kwan Yin, Goddess of Mercy, located at Wang Hsia on the outskirts of Macao where Ch'i-Ying was staying. Both delegations were on hand as well as Commodore Parker of the squadron to witness the ceremony.

The treaty of Wang Hsia was drawn up in four original copies written both in English and Chinese. It contained thirty-four articles with a Tariff Schedule appended. The first article declared that there shall be a "perfect permanent universal peace" between the two countries and their peoples. Succeeding articles laid down the rights of American citizens to reside and trade and have consuls in the five ports of Canton, Amoy, Fouchow, Ningpo and Shanghai. Other articles provided for such commercial matters as the right to engage pilots and clerks, learn the Chinese language, standard balances and scales, collection of debts, assistance to wrecked American vessels and apprehension of deserters and mutineers. But the articles which have drawn the most attention are those which dealt with extraterritorial rights. In this regard, the Americans had been particularly concerned ever since 1821 when a sailor from an American ship had been surrendered to the Chinese authorities, and

(Continued on page 46)

Vice-Consul Howard C. Thomas, Jr., on the far right, is shown with some of his colleagues at Lille: from left to right, the "Chef du Cabinet" of the prefect of the Department of the Nord, the Major of Lille, the Assistant to the Mayor of Lille, and the curator of the Lille Museum of Fine Arts.



A VICE CONSUL WITHOUT A CONSULATE

By HOWARD C. THOMAS, JR.

In the spring of 1951 I was appointed, as my first Foreign Service post, to one of those dozen or so anomalies that exist throughout the world—a U. S. Information Center located in a city where the United States has no consular office. At the time I considered myself a highly fortunate and privileged individual for, in effect, I had realized the dream of many a frustrated, visa-stamping FSO-6. I actually had my own "consulate" and as my first post! Little did I realize the complications that were to arise from this fact.

The consulate at Lille, France, was closed in 1938, a victim of the economies of that time. Despite the protestations of the local citizenry no consulate has ever been re-established. Lille, however, is the capital of the second most densely populated area of France and is of great political and economic importance. With this in mind a U. S. Information Service Center was opened there in 1950. Immediately there arose a series of questions concerning the position of the Lille center in the structure of consular offices in France. Who would have jurisdiction over this strange stepchild? What would be the relations between the Public Affairs Officer and the Consul in whose consular district the USIS Center was located? The USIS Office of course had no seal and the vice consul no exequatur and therefore many of the functions of a consular office could not be performed. But what about giving out information to the countless visitors who flocked in, asking about visas, and commercial contracts with the U. S., or wanting inheritance papers on the will of Uncle Louis (who died in Woonsocket three years ago) notarized? And what should be the relation of the Public Affairs Officer to the other foreign consuls, and where should he rank in the hierarchy of local officials?

Before most of these questions could be solved, to further complicate an already considerably confused situation, I arrived on the scene with a vice consul's commission. I had, of course, no training in consular work, and but the vaguest and most inadequate knowledge of protocol. To understatement

the case, the French, always great sticklers for perfection in protocol and procedure, were plainly baffled. In fact, as I learned much later, much more baffled than I had been myself, a fact which I found reassuring but scarcely illuminating.

Eventually these problems were solved, or at least there was a tacit recognition of certain situations that had already evolved, and in a much simpler more logical manner than this humble and bewildered vice consul had dared hope for.

The office was made directly responsible to the chief of the Public Affairs division at the Embassy in Paris. However, the Consul (the Lille office fell within the Le Havre consular district) was to be kept informed of the Public Affairs Officer's peregrinations throughout his baliwick. The consul, incidentally, proved very helpful, especially in the first months, and imparted many a word of wisdom to my neophyte ears. As to consular duties, I was authorized to notarize documents and even administer oaths in certain cases, while in others the parties were referred to Paris. Protocol-wise the Lille consular corps adopted me with alacrity, delighted in having an American colleague again for the first time in nearly 15 years. To my amazement, I was elected Vice-Dean of the consular corps (and I must admit I had never heard of any such creature as a Vice-Dean before, nor have I since!)—supposedly because I was so clearly the junior of all my colleagues that I was the obvious choice to do the leg work!

Eventually I read the Foreign Service regulations through to the end and finally knew where to look for the answers to any of a series of visitors' questions from, "I think my father was an American soldier in 1918, but I'm not sure. How do I find out?" to "My great aunt is going to America next spring and wants to take her two parakeets with her—will the U. S. Customs put them in quarantine?" How little I knew when Mr. Will administered the oath to me, that I,

(Continued on page 46)



1



4

SERVICE



5

1. Praha—The Honorable U. Alexis Johnson, Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, presented his credentials on December 31 to the President of the Republic of Czechoslovakia, Antonin Zapotocky.

2. Berlin—The Supreme Restitution Court for Berlin opened in the fall, with Charles Owsley, Foreign Service Officer, as one of the Justices. He is seen in the picture above at the extreme left. This Court has final appellate jurisdiction in Berlin in cases involving restitution of identifiable property to victims of Nazi oppression. It is an international court, established through the collaboration of the Allied Kommandatura and the Berlin Senate. The Court in-

cludes one judge each of United States, British and French nationality, three of German nationality and the presiding justice is Dr. Torsten Salen, a Swedish national.

3. Tunis—Following the marriage of Earle J. Richey and Katherine A. Ward, a reception was held in the home of Consul General and Mrs. Morris N. Hughes. From left to right, in the picture above, are Mrs. Hughes, Mrs. Richey, Mr. Richey.

4. Helsinki—The Honorable Charles E. Bohlen, the Honorable Jack McFall, and Counsellor of Legation John H. Morgan are shown above on the occasion of Ambassador Bohlen's boarding a Russian



2



3

GLIMPSES



6



7

plane in Helsinki enroute to Moscow, following his attendance at a meeting of the Randall Commission in Paris.

5. Singapore—Playing Santa Claus in sweltering Singapore was a warm assignment for Consul Robert J. Boylan. Here he is shown shaking hands with USIS messenger Joginder Singh.

6. Boston—The Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce honored Henry Parkman, Assistant High Commissioner to Germany, at a testimonial luncheon on the eve of his departure from Boston. From left to right, above, are Paul T. Rothwell, president, the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce; Commissioner Parkman; Nathan

Pusey, President, Harvard University and Mark Bortman, chairman, Committee on Historic Places of the Chamber.

7. Beirut—Ambassador Raymond A. Hare paid a formal call on the President of the Republic of Lebanon on January 1. Front row, left to right, is Military Attaché Lieutenant Colonel Thomas J. Lawlor, Counselor of Mission John H. Bruins, Ambassador Hare, Naval Attaché Commander Edwin B. House. Back row, Second Secretaries James C. Lobenstine and Armin H. Meyer, Attaché Roger C. Abraham. At the extreme left, in traditional uniform, is Kavass Toufic Hitti.

EDITORIALS

THE SECRETARY'S PUBLIC COMMITTEE ON PERSONNEL

During the past year there has developed within the ranks of the Foreign Service a deep and widespread feeling of uneasiness and uncertainty regarding the future of the Service. Not since the early part of the century when Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson firmly applied the career principle to the diplomatic and consular services, thus leading to the unified service set up by the Rogers Act of 1924, has there been so much doubt as to whether this principle would, or even should, continue to prevail.

Under these circumstances members of the Foreign Service have followed with more than ordinary interest the recent announcements regarding the establishment by Secretary Dulles of a Public Committee on Personnel to make recommendations "concerning the measures necessary to strengthen the effectiveness of the professional service"; for they will expect to find in the recommendations of the Committee important clues—if not a definitive answer—to the future of the Service which most of them entered in the spirit of a life-time dedication.

We are therefore glad to be able to publish in this issue (p. 53) the full text of the terms of reference under which the Committee is operating. It is a reassuring document. It gives full recognition to the historic and bipartisan foundations of the Service and to the "ability, devotion, and integrity" of its personnel. The intent of Congress as expressed in the Foreign Service Act of 1946 is to be considered as a primary criterion, and "to the greatest extent possible" the Committee's recommendations will fall within the framework of that legislation. Reference is also made to previous studies "as they relate to the merging of the Departmental Civil Service in the Foreign Service" and to a "more broadly based Foreign Service." This general approach to "amalgamation," in which the talents now available in both field and Department are carefully preserved, has for the past several years received the support of the Foreign Service Association (See the editorial, "The Directive to Unify" in the April, 1951 JOURNAL). It was more recently endorsed in the declaration of belief in the purposes and principles of the Foreign Service published in the October, 1953 JOURNAL wherein it was stated that, "In the interest of flexibility the Service opens its ranks to include those who are professionally concerned with foreign affairs in the Department of State as well as abroad."

Headed by a distinguished college president, the Wriston Committee is composed of outstanding men from American public life, several of whom are intimately familiar with the problems of the State Department and the Foreign Service. The Deputy Undersecretary of State, Robert Murphy, will serve as an ex officio member. The chairman of the Board

of Directors of the Foreign Service Association, FSO Andrew B. Foster, has been detailed on a full-time basis to the Committee as Associate Staff Director. The JOURNAL believes that it speaks for the entire Foreign Service in expressing gratification over the Secretary's action, and in offering the Committee every possible assistance. We wish it all success in laying the plans for the achievement of a stronger and more effective Foreign Service.

BETWEEN THE CONFERENCES

We remember one of our chiefs, the American Consul at an Asian seaport, who whenever he anticipated difficulties with the local authorities would remark caustically to his junior staff, "Hold tight, boys, we're in for a period of intense diplomatic activity."

The past few months have indeed been a "period of intense diplomatic activity" for our Government and especially for our Secretary of State. With hardly a breathing spell in between have come the conferences at Bermuda, Paris (NATO), Berlin and Caracas. On the calendar for April is another NATO ministerial conference to be followed immediately by the Korean Political Conference at Geneva.

These conferences are no "pink tea" affairs. The stakes are high, and the participants are accountable not only to the present generation but in a real sense to future generations as well. We cannot predict how the score-board of history will eventually read with respect to the current efforts of American diplomacy. However, we applaud and share the sentiments expressed by Secretary Dulles in his report to the nation after the Berlin Conference:

"There is . . . no reason why we should refuse to seek peacefully the results we want merely because of fear that we will be outmaneuvered at the conference table. . . .

"We need not, out of fright, lay down the tools of diplomacy and the possibilities which they provide. Our cause is not so poor, and our capacity not so low, that our Nation must seek security by sulking in its tent."

Our Secretary of State is making skillful and courageous use of the tools of diplomacy to protect and advance our national interests. All of us in the Department of State and the Foreign Service have opportunities to contribute in one way or another to this effort. Be it at Caracas or Berlin, we are filled with what we believe to be pardonable pride because our Service is able to contribute from its ranks men like Bohlen, Cabot, MacArthur and Merchant.

Why Diplomats Don't Behave Like Human Beings

(This article is also appearing in the March-April issue of the "Field Reporter")

By THE HONORABLE JOHN M. CABOT

Firmly entrenched in American folklore is the belief that American diplomats act and talk like stuffed animals with photographic attachments. If this is a natural and reasonable American gripe, it is also true that diplomats don't behave as they do because they like to be stuffy. They often sound stuffy because they have learned that anything else may spoil the job they are trying to do.

I recall a witty passage in the book of an Italian diplomat describing the Geneva Disarmament Conference in the early 1930's. The Italian recalled that, in regard to every proposition, "Ambassador Gibson [U.S. representative] said nothing and he said it with all reservations." We can have our little laugh about that, but I ask you to think what would have happened to Ambassador Gibson at that period in our national thinking if he *had* said anything. The whole crux of the disarmament meeting was that the Continental European Nations, sensitive to the latent menace of a German comeback (which later developed), had no intention of disarming unless they were given political guarantees by the Anglo-Saxon powers. At that time we wouldn't even agree to consult with other countries in the event that they were the victims of aggression. Hence Ambassador Gibson's constructive contributions to the Disarmament Conference!

Vast Backdrop

The average citizen forgets the vast backdrop against which an American diplomat must project his recommendations. Any major decision of the United States affects not only you and me and the group around the cracker barrel down at the corner—it will be noted all over the world. Diverse interests in the United States will consider it in the light of the way it affects them; they will seek if they can to derive advantage from, and if they cannot, to undermine it, occasionally on the most specious grounds. Foreign nations will think of it not only in terms of its immediate effects, but of its significance, its possible use even through the most distorted interpretation, to advance their interests.

Indonesia will note what we are doing in Bolivia because both produce tin; Egypt will note what we are doing in Panama because of its possible bearing on the Suez question; Chile will resent it if we send synthetic nitrates under our aid program in Greece; and we have to be constantly thinking of the effects of our aid programs on the normal commerce of friendly nations who may feel that we are muscling in on their markets—not to mention the effects of other nations to muscle in on ours. And if we seek any measure which helps production in friendly foreign countries but may adversely affect domestic interests—if we make any concession to Venezuelan oil, Chilean copper, Mexican lead, Peruvian zinc, Cuban sugar, Argentine wool, Uruguayan meat—we know that we are likely to face a

domestic storm, even though it is demonstrably a fact that prosperity in our sister republics promotes our own prosperity. Time and again a problem has many inter-locking features affecting numerous nations and interests, and to overlook even one may be disastrous.

Not Here Today, Gone Tomorrow

Diplomatic problems might also be simpler if they were of the here today and gone tomorrow type, like the ordinary headache. Unhappily they seldom are. Nations may quickly forget the wrong they have done others, but they never forget the wrongs others have done them. Every diplomatic recommendation must be made in the light of those which preceded it; it must also take into account those which may flow from it. Decisions made, an imprudent act committed, precedents established, an indiscretion published even decades ago may arise today to plague the diplomat. Impatient citizens may inquire: Why didn't you do that? Why be so namby-pamby? Why don't you tell some of these foreign slickers off? They forget that every decision tends to point inexorably the path to the next; once started on a given path there is often no turning. A diplomat must not be bemused by the posies which adorn the path as he starts down it; he must foresee what may confront him after a few windings. You would probably say that the Japanese decision to attack Pearl Harbor was made in the fall of 1941, but I would answer, no, it was made in the fall of 1931—from the moment of the wanton attack on Mukden there was no turning back. Diplomatic decisions—and equally diplomatic indecisions—may plague a nation's foreign policy for generations. They should not be lightly made.

Diplomats often do not have a choice between good and bad decisions. Many diplomatic decisions must be between what is bad and what is worse—indeed, in many cases between what is bad and what is unthinkable. If a diplomat has to make a bad decision rather than a worse one, and those who are hurt by it criticize its undeniable faults, the diplomat is obviously a sitting duck, even if he has tried to choose the least bad course and to make it as palatable as possible to everyone. If in blasting the diplomat the critics completely contradict each other, it only makes their criticisms the more effective, because then everyone agrees the diplomat was wrong.

Since to get a vital agreement from a friendly nation a diplomat must generally make concessions, it gives all who care to criticize a chance to say that he has sacrificed the national interest to the foreign. No matter how hard he may try—no matter how much good will he may bring to his task—he will inevitably run into difficulties. A policy, a line of action in international affairs, however much it may suit the national interest, cannot be exclusively followed. Sooner or later vital domestic interests or the well-founded claims of

another friendly nation will cut across a course with the highest priority. We cannot satisfy even those we most want to satisfy, and a great power has many it wishes to satisfy. It is the unhappy fact that problems arise in geometric proportion to power and interests, and we today have more of each than any nation on earth.

We must, moreover, appreciate the limitations on our power to act in international affairs. In our own country we are sovereign, and if we see a situation which needs to be remedied, we have the power to remedy it. We do not have that power in other countries. We may realize that in a given country the government is weak, inept or venal, that social conditions are bad, that the finances are hopelessly mismanaged, that the authorities are arbitrary or brutal, that justice is maladministered or minorities are oppressed—and yet there may be little we can do about it. We must not, we should not, we cannot run their affairs. Only rarely can a government appeal to a foreign nation over the head of its government—despite no lack of trying. The usual effect of foreign interference is to make a bad situation worse—to strengthen in its vices and its hold on the people the very government one wishes to reform. Logic and self-interest weigh little in a situation like this. Within the past few years we have seen several instances of nations calmly prepared to commit national suicide rather than yield to the reasonable views of other countries. Our policies at best can remedy conditions in foreign countries but little, even if these conditions strongly affect our interests.

In many diplomatic questions one is dealing primarily in imponderables—in rivalries, suspicions, jealousies, sensitivities, piques. And in most problems many of the facts are undeterminable. There is often no way of knowing precisely what the people you are dealing with are thinking, or what their real objectives are. One can guess, but one cannot know, what their reaction will be to a given course of action. A diplomat must not only be skilled in his estimates of the true position of other governments with which he is dealing, he must also foresee the probable course of events and *other possible* ones. He must seek to act wisely on the basis of his forecasts—and he must never forget to have his rubbers and his raincoat handy even when the diplomatic forecast is "fair."

Many Possibilities

A diplomat is seldom faced with only two possible courses of action; the opposite of what is wrong is not necessarily right. He must generally choose between a great variety of possible courses and, like a canoeist in a mountain torrent, must show skill in avoiding hidden rocks even after he has chosen his channel. Outsiders coming into the State Department are astounded at the pains we go to make sure we have not overlooked something.

It is easy for critics to excoriate our actions. Since we generally must choose between evils, it is easy to show that our choice was bad. Admitted—but was there a better one? Amid all the destructive criticism you read of our diplomacy, how often do you find anything truly constructive? Even when they suggest another course, critics have no responsibility to act as they recommend—and to live with the results. The public quickly forgets what they said yesterday while being titillated by today's alleged sensations. They can conveniently overlook half the facts, even if they

know them. If they make a mistake, no one cares. If a diplomat does, his country may suffer grievous harm.

A flash of genius which misfires may shatter years of patient work, and years of irreproachable diplomacy may not wipe out the effects of one blunder. The diplomat has no deadline to meet and no public to attract, but he does have the national interest to uphold. He is not playing a big league game to the frenzied applause of massed spectators. He must sift and analyze the information from every source available to him, he must ponder what it means, and he must decide wisely what to do. He must often face agonizing decisions. He cannot act like a 10 year old boy thinking up world shattering inventions. It will take all that he has in intelligence, knowledge and experience to come up with the best answer—and he is understandably irked by backseat drivers.

Impossible to Make Reply

When a diplomat gets hit by critical mudballs, it is practically impossible for him to make a real reply. I recently noted, for example, a lengthy editorial lambasting a speech of mine which the paper in question had not even mentioned in its news columns. Obviously in a name-calling contest with his critics, a diplomat hasn't a fair chance to get his story before the public. But even if his story were printed, how much could he say? He cannot betray confidences. He cannot reveal secret information, often obtained from secret sources. He cannot cackle in triumph over a good deal he has made, or his opposite number in another country will be on the spot, and he will pay plenty when he next tries to negotiate. He cannot criticize a friendly country or its representatives—he and his country must continue to live with them. He cannot, with propriety, criticize another part of his own government, even if it is to blame. He cannot shush the press even when it inexcusably insults a foreign country or reveals his entire diplomatic poker hand by shrilly telling him how to play it. He cannot blame public opinion for a vital earlier decision which it prevented, or compelled him to make—and, popular belief to the contrary, history tells of many, many times when public opinion was hopelessly in the wrong. The diplomat often cannot even reveal his true objectives, which may subtly envisage a third country or a future move on the diplomatic chessboard. Thus when forced to answer criticism he generally uses a string of soothing four-syllable words which may mean something to other diplomats but definitely don't to the general public.

Our critics often cry for some diplomatic victories. The fact is that *there is nothing more disastrous than a diplomatic victory*. Austria-Hungary won a diplomatic victory in the Bosnia-Herzegovina affair in 1908 and ten years later disappeared from the map. Hitler won a diplomatic victory at Munich in 1938, and died seven years later in the ruins of Berlin. The little clique of self-perpetuating tyrants in the Kremlin might profit by their example.

The only real diplomatic victories are *those which benefit both parties*. How many Americans can identify the Rush-Bagehot Agreement, or tell what James G. Blaine contributed to inter-American relations? Yet the Agreement was the true beginning of our now indissoluble friendship with Canada; and Blaine, by summoning a Pan American Conference in 1889 in terms still fresh, laid the cornerstone for

(Continued on page 37)



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FOREIGN SERVICE STAFF CORPS PROMOTIONS

Following is a list of promotions authorized for members of the Foreign Service Staff corps. Approximately 500 promotions will be made to fill vacancies in the Staff corps and, as in the case of Foreign Service Officer promotions, they will be processed as quickly as investigations and clearances can be completed under the President's Security Order. The promotions were effective February 28, 1954.

Class 4 to Class 3

Abrams, Manuel
Leonhardy, Terrance
Strum, John F.

Class 5 to Class 4

Bowie, John M.
Bridgett, William C.
Crockett, Kennedy
Dix, Jefferson, Jr.
Herfurt, Jack A.
Johnston, Charles M.
McCullars, Clayton
McManus, Neil C.
Pedigo, Walter S.
White, Rollie H.
Wilson, Ellen C.

Class 6 to Class 5

Askew, Laurin B.
Balazs, William E.
Brown, Keirn C.
Brown, Robert Lyle
Browne, Albert S.
De Grace, William B.
Derrick, Marvin A.
Granata, Harold M.
Hawthorne, Carl O.
Hubbard, Fred E.
Huff, Thomas D.
Leatherman, Frederick D.
McEneaney, William P.
McIntosh, Clarence J.
Meyer, George E. R.
Rieger, John F.
Snider, Fred C.

Class 7 to Class 6

Dobrenchuk, Stephen A.

Class 9 to Class 8

Ashford, Howard, Jr.
Moriarity, James F.

Class 10 to Class 9

Baer, Mildred J.
Barbour, Robert E.
Belden, James O.
Bello, Eleanor D.
Corkner, Willard D.
Culpepper, Jane A.
Douglas, Archibald Hugh, Jr.
Ellis, Imogene E.
Ellis, Winifred E.
Geoghegan, Kathryn M.
Holt, Mildred O.
Hunt, Leaman R.
Johnson, Viola
Kaiser, Herbert
Kinnare, Alice E.
Krausse, Henry G., Jr.
Lemmo, Charles A.
Linberg, Dorothy B.
Little, Joy C.
Loubert, Ronald E.
Manning, Henry J.
Meyerkort, Roberta L.
Michellod, Patricia
Paul, William E.
Penhollow, Grenfall L.
Penson, Charles S.
Rawls, Nancy V.
Roberts, Mary A.
Roorck, Lois J.
Smith, Alice M.
Smith, Stewart P.
Tartter, Jean R.
Terrell, Curtis F.
Wagner, Ruth E.
Waltenspiel, Ruth
Weigold, Evelyn
Wigglesworth, P. H.

Class 11 to Class 10

Abramson, Norman S.
Alfano, Gloria R.
Allen, Margaret L.
Andrews, William H.
Arellano, Mary S.
Arenz, Francis A.
Balashova, Ethel
Barry, Katherine E.

Bartholomew, Curtis W.
Beacham, Joy K.
Bell, Elsie Caroline
Bergman, Evelyn E.
Bertone, Thomas A.
Blattner, Charles H.
Bolin, Linnea
Brown, Ann Elizabeth
Burrell, Ada G.
Butler, Cletis W.
Campbell, Elinor L.
Cariddi, Charles A.
Christiansen, Hulda
Cole, Eula D.
Conlin, Michael M.
Coombs, Marjorie A.
Crane, Maurine
Cremer, Marcelyn
Curry, John M.
Dickson, Rose M.
Elliott, Marian E.
Erickson, Esther W.
Ferguson, John S.
Firth, Gordon R.
Forbes, Godfrey R.
Freitag, Ruth S.
Gage, Charles M.
Garr, Ruth Virginia
Garvey, Marian F.
Gentry, Wayne B.
Gentzel, Dorothy A.
Goodrich, Lois Sue
Griffith, Anne Lee
Grover, Harold
Haas, Alfarata
Hanlin, Winona
Harris, Kenneth O.
Hempfen, Catherine E.
Henneke, Annie Mae

Class 12 to Class 11

Awagain, Albert E.
Bell, Helen M.
Blincoe, Walter B.
Bosanac, Beatrice
Buzolich, Frances A.
Carle, Robert J.
Clarke, Helenann
Conroy, Edward P.
Cunningham, Margaret W.
Cunningham, William J.
Dolezal, Edward
Ernst, Louise E.
Feldmann, Elda R.
Fujioko, Yokinobu
Henderson, Ethel B.
Herron, Lorraine C.
Hunter, Grace M.
Hutson, Harry M., Jr.
Iacono, George
Kinal, Joseph
Lewis, Jane K.

Johnson, Marie E.
Junk, C. Patricia
Koch, Nancy S.
Kunz, Rose Marie
Lewis, Reese A.
Lucas, James E.
Luecke, Kenneth W.
Marie, Edmo
Mancheski, Alex C.
Manchester, Mary F.
Mario, Esther L.
Martin, Marcia L.
Mattera, Ermelinda
McCormick, Francis P.
McCurry, George R.
McLean, William H.
McLucas, Rebecca L.
Meier, Mona A.
Miller, Clorene A.
Miller, Robert M.
Moore, Ruth A.
Morrison, J. Kenney
Mott, Robert L.
O'Brien, Betty L.
O'Connell, Blanche C.
Posey, Mary O.
Potter, Jane M.
Ramos, Maria N.
Raph, Katharine A.
Sadler, Paul
Scheller, Dorothy C.
Schneider, Christine
Schulz, Henry W.
Singhouse, Mary J.
Smith, Mary Sims
Sullivan, Dolores T.
Sullivan, Mary E.
Varley, Mary F.
Welch, Eleanor F.

Littlefield, Elinor
Marcum, James W.
McDonald, Mary Ruth
Mortensen, Bonita B.
Nagy, Ernest A.
Norris, Marion V., Jr.
Nussbaum, Betty
O'Malley, Anna M. Hieb
Picquart, Fernand P.
Powell, Joseph W., Jr.
Prieto, Roberto T.
Rileigh, Walter A.
Robert, Lawrence J.
Scott, Donald F.
Shuman, Albert
Staffel, Mary N.
Teaze, Robert S.
Thigpen, George H.
Tierney, John J., II
Verest, Charles F.
Vermeulen, Jacobus J.

the present inter-American relationships which contribute so mightily to our national security.

Critics also often accuse diplomats of having no policy, and recommend all sorts of radical steps. If there is one thing that history shows, it is that national interests change slowly if at all, and national policies should be equally slow to change. Russia has displayed the same aggressive tendencies alike under czar and commissar. England has scarcely had a foot-hold on continental Europe in five centuries, yet has fought in every major continental war in that entire period—to prevent any one power from dominating the continent. However much we may have wished to avoid it, we have found world leadership thrust upon us by a similar reason—we cannot permit aggressive dictators to overrun the world. The only real question is, how are we to accomplish this? Let me particularly point out that domestic elections do not change our national interests. A new administration can try new tactics but it will disregard the underlying realities of the national interest only at its—and the nation's—peril.

We shall not achieve peace and security by scurrying from one policy to another. At the risk of criticism, let me say that no policy is better than two policies, that if we change our policies radically to each shifting wind we shall end by destroying our prestige and our friendships everywhere abroad. We must be on the lookout for essential change, but we should never forget the need for consistency and continuity. It is so infinitely easier in foreign affairs to destroy than to build up. One act, one little word may destroy in a moment the work of years. Most of the panaceas in foreign affairs offered by zealous commentators have been rejected after careful consideration for very good reasons. The fundamental policy of the country is something like the fundamental code of an individual—a set of principles to be applied as specific situations arise. No one can predict accurately what those situations will be as our relations with other nations grow and develop, but the principles governing our relations should not be lightly changed. This counsels the most mature understanding and wisdom in our policy makers.

We should not idly damn the flowery phraseology which our diplomats so often use. When you are irritated it may ease your feelings to give vent to a few choice lines of plain speaking—but that isn't likely to make the other man any more friendly. Diplomats are supposed to get results in dealing with other nations, and not merely to tell the latter what they think of them. Some people think bluster is a substitute for action. The fact is that diplomatic bluster generally ends by leaving the nation using it with a very red face. It is as unwise in diplomacy as in any other walk of life to say something you don't mean—to have an empty bluff called. If in the jungle world of today we must for our own survival carry a big stick, let us not forget the other half of Theodore Roosevelt's admonition, to speak softly.

Our Foreign Service has full reason to be proud of its record. In the nineteen thirties, when our press was discounting the military menace of Hitler and public opinion was isolationist, our diplomats were reporting that Hitler meant war—and were denounced on that account as war mongers, so enthralled by high-bosomed duchesses that we

would needlessly drag the United States into wicked Europe's quarrels. During World War II our diplomats were accused of red-baiting whenever we suggested that the Soviet leaders might be something less than a choir of angels. After the war some of our Japanese experts were driven from office by public criticism, because they did not favor drastic measures against Japan. Today we are accused of taking strong doses of Communist dialectic with our morning coffee. I wearily wonder what preposterous charge the morrow will bring. If like Cassandra, a diplomat can foresee an evil, it is not treason to predict it; it is what we are trained for. It will be a sorry day for the country if our diplomats are ever afraid to report disagreeable truths, or are too stupid to perceive them. Let that remain exclusively a taunt we can apply to Soviet diplomacy.

At the same time, it is obvious that we need a strong security program. And we must remember that, precisely because the Department of State wishes to protect individual reputations, stories about dismissals, resignations and transfers which reach the public often represent special pleading rather than facts.

In lauding our fighting services, let us not forget that our civilian Foreign Service must face many perils too. I have read with indignation stories implying our Foreign Service rides "Uncle Sam's Gravy Train" because I know some of the many sacrifices our Foreign Service has made to serve our country; I know the selfless, unsparing devotion it has given to our country's first line of defense. It is important that our Foreign Service be a disciplined, dedicated body prepared to meet any situation. But today, more than men of physical courage, we need men of intellectual integrity.

Until recently we have had superb material from which to choose our foreign service, but today the supply is drying up. Many promising young candidates are simply not disposed to undergo unrestrained sniping from the home front. Unless this trend is revised, irreparable injury may be done our national interests without the American public even being aware of it. Experts in handling foreign affairs cannot be trained overnight, despite some brilliant amateurs we have had in the field. And we should never forget that it may be years, when the officers now entering the foreign service are reaching the top, before we shall know whether those being picked today are capable of shouldering the immense burdens of our foreign relations tomorrow.

I fervently hope, therefore, that the American people, their elected representatives, and the press will show forbearance in criticizing our country's representatives abroad. We welcome constructive criticism; we are acutely aware in the perplexities which face us that we are not infallible; we know that democracy is a healthy form of government precisely because no one is immune from criticism; but we do ask our fellow-citizens to consider what they are doing to their own interests by applauding wanton attacks on their Foreign Service. In few walks of life do so few have so much to do for so many. Upon the skill and experience of those men

(Continued on page 46)

"Why Diplomats Don't Behave Like Human Beings" was originally delivered as an address at a meeting of the Massachusetts State Federation of Women's Clubs in Boston. The Honorable John M. Cabot, recently appointed Ambassador to Sweden, entered the Service in 1926 after obtaining his B.Litt. at Brasenose College, Oxford University.

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

PORT OF SPAIN

March will truly come in like a lion in Trinidad this year, with March 1 and 2 the big Carnival days. Preparations are well underway already. In two or three calypso "tents" around town, Trinidad's vaunted calypsonians are offering their latest compositions to appreciative audiences, and one of these renditions will doubtless become the "road march" of 1954 Carnival and thereby make its lucky composer the Calypsonian of the Year. In countless homes throughout the land, busy fingers are hard at work on Carnival costumes—the more colorful, outlandish and eye-catching the better. It won't be long now before the streets of Port of Spain will throbb night and day to the melodious, infectious music of steel-bands; and motor-vehicle traffic, like other drab features of the work-a-day world, will take a back seat to a strictly Trinidadian mood of fun and revelry.

As the sun sinks slowly in the West, we turn off the travelogue and revert to the more sober consular front, where all is quiet for the moment. Right now, not a single American in the Consulate General is house-hunting or moving. This is no mean accomplishment in a place where CONSUL GENERAL MADDOX is in his sixth residence in 17 months here. (Moving-day means no more now to Mrs. Maddox than wash-day to many a housewife!) The rest of us have not challenged the Consul General's record. CONSUL MILLER, for example, has moved only three time in 16 months, and your reporter is in his third Trinidadian house (not counting two over-long stints in a hotel-room). Perhaps, however, when this is published, there'll be several of us on the house-hunting merry-go-round again!

On the other hand, our office—our modest little consular establishment where some must work desk-to-desk in the glare of the public eye while a fortunate few have their own tiny cubicles to get claustrophobia in—has not changed in quite a while. FBO has promised us a new office-building, and we have even seen pictures of the building-to-be—a striking, highly modernistic edifice. These things, however, do not happen overnight; and we understand negotiations on this subject have been going on for some five years. So it may be that none of us now stationed here will still be in this Colony when the new Consulate General is constructed.

Is there any other Foreign Service post in the world where anybody comes to pick up his mail in a helicopter?

The Inter-American Geodetic Survey people here, who sport a helicopter and who get their mail through this office, used to come for it in an automobile like ordinary folk. But lately they have started to drop in on us almost literally; they set their helicopter down on the wide open spaces of the Queen's Park Savannah just across the street from the Consulate General, stroll casually into the office and out again, and take off amid a cloud of goggle-eyed Trinidadians. No decapitations have yet been reported.

In closing, a couple of miscellaneous social notes: IRENE FINKBOHNER, the Consul General's secretary, is going to England to marry a British Army sergeant, thus showing



how faithfully she pursues our policy of Anglo-American solidarity. VICE CONSUL and MRS. JORGENSEN continue to win almost weekly at the U. N. Naval Station Officers Club, demonstrating their matchless prowess at that game of skill called bingo. VICE CONSUL FISCHER is receiving congratulations on becoming a grandmother—an attainment, we hold, of few American Vice Consuls. The undersigned is a Vice Consul who has little hope of winning at bingo and none whatsoever of becoming a grandmother.

Kenedon Steins

ARUBA

MRS. M. JESSAMINE WALKER, whose photograph appears here, has been at the hub of the Consulate's operations since the time when she assisted CONSUL MYLES STANDISH in opening the Consulate in 1942. Officers now scattered



Mrs. M. Jessamine Walker receiving her 12 years service certificate from Consul Joseph F. McFarland.

through the Service for whom Mrs. Walker acted as secretary will be pleased to know that Mrs. Walker is continuing her splendid support and that, as her photograph testifies, is as charming and vivacious as ever.

The small group of ex-Arubans of the Foreign Service will be interested to know that the Consulate is no longer a two-man post. The aggrandizement took place in December with the arrival of a third officer, VICE CONSUL H. STEWART BEERS, coming from an assignment in Oslo, whose task it has been to set up a program for the issuance of individual seaman's visas at this busy oil port. VICE CONSUL JACK A. SALY, JR., unlike predecessors who married at the post, continues in his bachelorhood apparently unmoved by the charms, as enhanced by the enchantment of the Caribbean, of the unattached females of the island's Standard Oil Colony. Local Caribbean enchantment may improve a few notches if current negotiations succeed in bringing a large luxury hotel to beautiful four-mile Palm Beach on the west end of the island. This very tropical island, long thwarted by oil-gotten advantages of a differential allowance, might now become subject to a reverse differential of ten percent to counterbalance the addition of first-class tourist facilities!

Joseph F. McFarland

(Continued on page 40)

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SINGAPORE

There were some overtones of sadness about holiday time in Malaya. The exceptionally popular CONSUL GENERAL CHARLES F. BALDWIN and his equally popular wife departed for duty in Washington. They were presented with a silver tray at a Christmas party that featured carols by the entire staff and solos by RICHARD H. HAWKINS, JR., son of the ACTING CONSUL GENERAL RICHARD H. HAWKINS and MRS. HAWKINS.

CONSUL JAMES L. MEADER, Director of the USIA in Malaya for the past six months, has been transferred to Bangkok as Public Affairs Officer. The USIA staff presented the Meaders with a beautiful salad set of Kelantan silver produced in northeastern Malaya.

CONSUL CHARLES P. CLOCK and MRS. CLOCK have returned from local leave in Indonesia that included a visit to Bali.

The Harlem Globetrotters were luncheon guests of the American Association.

SHIRLEY HENDSCH, Program Planning and Evaluation Officer for USIA, was injured in an automobile accident in Singapore during the holiday season.

Americans and other Singapore residents invited officers and men of four visiting U. S. Navy destroyers to their homes for Christmas dinners.

Robert J. Boylan

BOGOTA

Something probably approaching a record was set when AMBASSADOR RUDOLF E. SCHOENFELD arrived in Bogotá at 10:00 p. m. Tuesday, January 26, and presented his credentials at 11:00 a. m. on Thursday, January 28, to General Rojas Pinilla, President of Colombia. Inclement weather barred taking of pictures of Embassy officers accompanying the Ambassador to the colorful presentation ceremony.

However, by the beginning of February, the beautiful "summer" weather common to Bogotá for a few short weeks at this time of year heralded another bullfight season. Deputy Chief of Mission WILLARD F. BARBER and Economic Counselor THOMAS S. CAMPEN (their wives elected to stay home away from the "fiesta brava") were lucky to be among the spectators of the second corrida which the local newspapers hailed as one of the finest ever seen here.

The weather (always newsworthy, since it is a big question mark in Bogotá) was also lovely enough to permit outings and picnics to nearby scenic spots. One such trip, combined with official business, was to Tunja on the occasion of the inauguration of a Point IV Agricultural Extension Service. Newly-arrived FOA Director THOMAS A. MCCANN and his wife, "Soapy", and other members of TCA were present as well as Mr. and Mrs. QUENTIN R. BATES, Agricultural Attaché, Mr. and Mrs. JAY CASTILLO, PAO, and Mr. JACK LIEBOF, Accounting Clerk.

Our Marine Guards and personnel of the Army and Air Attaché Offices have strung together six consecutive victories in the semi-professional softball league and have given thrilling performances to the large American colony who follow this typical American sport during weekends at the Esso Club.

On the distaff side, we have lost FSS ELLEN I. COOGAN to Tokyo and FSS SHIRLEY A. WOODRUFF who has travel orders for Saigon. To say nothing of the triumvirate of MAY (FSS BETTY S.), FAY (FSS BARBARA A.) and BAY

(FSS ANNA R.): Mrs. May is leaving soon for the states with her Marine husband, Technical Sergeant Donald A. May; Miss Fay has orders for Belgrade; and Miss Bay is resigning to return to the good old U. S. A.

COUNSELOR and MRS. WILLARD F. BARBER are telling everybody about the delights of being grandparents, now that young grandson Hal Montgomery has a baby sister, Mary Willard, born in February in Staten Island, New York.

Edward P. Kardas

TORONTO

A long career of service to the Department of State came to an end on October 31, 1953, when MILDRED V. DEIKE retired from duty at the Consulate General in Toronto, Canada.

In a way, her retirement marked the end of a long circle for Miss Deike, since she was born not far from Toronto, in Guelph, Ontario, of American parents. She joined the Department on October 22, 1917 and later served with the Diplomatic Bureau before the amalgamation under the Rogers Act.



Miss Deike bids farewell to the Foreign Service and to Mr. F. A. Bohne, longest-term consul at Toronto.

During almost all of her career Miss Deike has been connected with personnel service and her office became the crossroads for foreign service personnel reporting in for assignments to all parts of the world. Among her more pleasant duties she counts that of starting so many new officers off on their respective career paths—paths which have led several to the top desks of the Department. Certainly many of them remember her kind efforts on their behalf.

Miss Deike's last post before her service in Toronto was in the Office of the Chief of Foreign Service Personnel, which section, she recalls, reflected the change in scope of the Department's operations. At the time she began work in the personnel division, the Office of the Chief had a complement of seven.

Among her plans for the future Miss Deike sees a possible return to Washington at least for visits with her many friends there. Meanwhile, she is residing temporarily with her sister in Toronto.

Frank A. Tinker



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GOOD  **YEAR**

THE BOOKSHELF

NEW AND INTERESTING by FRANCIS COLT DE WOLF

1. **Seven Years in Tibet** by Heinrich Harrer, published by Dutton.....\$5.00

This March selection of the Book-of-the-Month Club is an on the spot report by an Austrian Alpinist who escaped from an internment camp in 1944 and after many hardships penetrated to the sacred city of Lhasa and eventually became the tutor of the Dalai Lama.

2. **Ambassador's Report** by Chester Bowles, published by Harper.....\$4.00

Our former and justly popular Ambassador gives the results of his active experiences in India: A provocative study which you should not miss.

3. **Life and Times of Lucrezia Borgia** by Maria Bellonci, published by Harcourt, Brace.....\$5.00

Another case of history debunk: After many years of research, the author comes up with a human of warm feeling who bears no resemblance with the murderess of Victor Hugo's drama. An interesting recreation of the age of the Borgias.

Politics and the Constitution in the History of the United States, by William W. Crosskey. University of Chicago Press, 1953. 2 Vols. XI and 1410 pages. \$20.00.

Reviewed by STANLEY D. METZGER

Professor Crosskey, after thirteen years of labor, has produced a 1410 page brief, the purpose of which is to demonstrate that "the historic and intended meaning of the underlying constitutive document, the Constitution of the United States" is entirely different from the generally prevailing notions of its meaning. His basic thesis is that rather than a Federal Government of limited delegated powers, the Framers intended us to have (and said so in the Constitution if we could be made really to understand the meaning of the words they used) a National Government with broad legislative and judicial powers, such as that of Great Britain. He has marshalled skillful analytical ability, enormous research (all Court opinions and every document he could lay hands on, including newspaper materials of the period), together with an incredibly laborious writing style, to prove his thesis.

The heart of his thesis is his reading of the Commerce Clause—"the Congress shall have Power to Regulate Commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes." The Courts have interpreted "among" to mean "between" and hence limited national power to the regulation of inter-state commerce only. Crosskey says "among" meant "within," that "States" meant

"people residing in the States" or "the people" generally, and that "Commerce" meant all sorts of economic intercourse and dealings. He supports this thesis by contemporary examples of word usages, including dictionaries, newspaper accounts and prior writings of the Farmers themselves, and concludes that the "inter-state Commerce" interpretation is wrong—the intention was that the Congress should have national legislative power. This intention of the Framers was frustrated, he argues, by the States' Righters, led originally by Jefferson and Madison, who, having been beaten in the Constitutional Convention, never ceased in their efforts to fasten their conception of a Federal rather than National Government upon the country. Subsequent events aided them and their successors: the decreasing menace to the newly-independent colonies after 1789, owing to the increased local preoccupation of the European Powers consequent upon the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars; the Slavery issue which bedevilled the Union from 1820 to 1860; and the pressures for industrial growth and expansion free from any form of regulation in the period from 1870 to the last generation.

There is also an exhaustive historical analysis of the Imports and Exports, Ex-Post-Facto, and Contracts Clauses of Section 10, Article I, of the Supreme Court's intended place in the system; and of the constitutional limitations on state governmental authority—all intended to prove that National Government supremacy was the view of the Framers throughout. Crosskey also maintains that the "enumerated" powers of Congress did not represent a limited list of delegated powers, but were merely specific examples of powers which did not exclude all others; the "welfare" clause is summoned as evidence in this connection.

Is Crosskey right? He may be; the evidence is not yet completed, either on his side (several more volumes, dealing with the Convention debates themselves, are promised by him), or by those scholars who will dispute him with vigor matching his own. To this reviewer he has been persuasive on several counts, weak on others (the Fourteenth Amendment particularly), and provocative throughout. His personal attacks on Jefferson, Madison and others sharing their views are deplorable, however, and lessen the force of his argument. There is no doubt, nevertheless, that the book is a major work which will be used by Courts and lawyers for a long time, for its materials if not for all of its theses.

A more important question, however, is inevitable: Even if he is right, what of it?

Initially, if the intended meaning of the Framers has been altered by other men in other times, it may be allowed that what Holmes called the "felt necessities" of the times, from which Judges are no more insulated than other men, had fully as much to do with this "distortion" as unavailability of the materials gathered by Professor Crosskey. To the extent that these interpretations were given some support by words in the Constitution, the States' Righters may not have been routed in the Convention; to the extent that they were not, it is possible that the fabric of law could not withstand overwhelming pressures. Certainly neither explanation, if valid, can be regarded as novel in the affairs of men.

The crucial queries are: Has the prevailing conception of a Federal Government as it has evolved over the years, as compared with that of a National Government, caused more harm than good in the past, and is it likely to do so in the future? For the past, can evidence of harm be adduced suf-

ficient to outweigh the good that has come from the innovations and experimentation of Wisconsin, New York, and the West in legislation concerning welfare, labor, power, and governmental structure and techniques, some discarded and others adopted nationally later—adopted, it may be added, because the “felt necessities” of the times led courts to interpret “interstate commerce” very broadly indeed? For the future, can it be said that the Constitution is incapable of meeting major national and international needs in the face of the evolution of the Commerce Clause since the *Jones and Laughlin* Case, and the foreign relations power since the Republic began? Persuasive affirmative answers to these questions cannot be found in these volumes, and it may be doubted that future volumes will produce them. If, perchance, the answer to the last one were in the affirmative, that melancholy result would probably be far beyond the healing powers of new Constitutions or interpretations of old ones.



RICH.

Yes, since the RIF our staff has been greatly reduced in size.

The Incompatible Allies, by Gustav Hilger and Alfred G. Meyer; *The MacMillan Company, New York, 1953. 342 pages. \$5.00.*

Reviewed by RICHARD STRAUS

The old story of the blind men and the elephant, all of them receiving a different impression, seems to have some analogy to the Western world's attempt to learn something about the Soviet Union. Mr. Hilger's book is a very valuable contribution to this effort because he is able to view the history of the Soviet Union from one of the most valued points-of-view: through the eyes of the Counselor of the German Embassy at Moscow, a post which he held for the entire period of German-Soviet relations from the early twenties to the day of Nazi aggression in June 1941. Because of his fluency in Russian (he was born and educated in Moscow), Hilger was able to establish closer relationships with such Soviet leaders as Radek and Litvinov than many of his contemporaries. He became *the* Russian expert in the German Foreign Office and as a result survived all Cabinet changes including the National Socialist revolution.

Hilger's portrayal of those years shows the Soviet Union bent primarily on assuring its own security against the Western powers and therefore a natural ally of Germany then smarting under the Versailles Treaty. Only after 1933 did German-Soviet relations become strained and in spite of the non-aggression pact of 1939, whose conclusion is vividly described, the relationship was such that an eventual break

was obvious although the responsibility for the outbreak of war rests squarely on the Nazi leadership. Alfred G. Meyer's efforts to add to world-wide perspective contribute greatly towards making the book an essential part of the historical record.

AMONG OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Louis J. Halle, Jr., Editorial Board Member, has previously contributed "Policy Making and the Career Service" and "A Message from Thucydides" to the article pages of the *JOURNAL*. A member of the Policy-Planning Staff, he is a Harvard graduate, and was assigned to the National War College in 1951-52.



Barbara B. Burn, wife of North Burn, is shown here with her small daughter, Killara, and son, Terrigal. She received her B.A. from the University of Michigan, her M.A. from Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. She passed her orals for her Ph.D. at Fletcher in 1950, has completed her thesis, and was a Fulbright Fellow in 1950-51.



Howard C. Thomas, Jr., graduated from Dartmouth and received his MA from the School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University. Following three years of military service, he worked for the Central Intelligence Agency in Washington before becoming Public Affairs Officer at Lille. He is now stationed at Hanoi, Viet Nam.



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Selection Boards

The Eighth Selection Boards convened on Monday, March 22, 1954. Foreign Service Officers and public members sitting on the Boards are as follows:

Board A, Class I and II—Chairman, JOHN F. SIMMONS, Career Minister, Chief of Protocol; GEORGE H. BUTLER, Career Minister, retired; JOHN J. MUCCIO, Career Minister; RAYMOND C. MILLER, Career Minister, Chief of Foreign Service Inspection Corps; public members are H. Hamilton Hackney, former Judge of the Baltimore City Juvenile Court, and Oliver C. Short, consultant on personnel to the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Administration.

Board B, Class III and IV—Chairman, ARTHUR L. RICHARDS, FSO 1, Director of Office of Greek, Turkish and Iranian Affairs; BERNARD GUFNER, FSO 2, Foreign Service Inspector; BREWSTER H. MORRIS, FSO 2, Officer in Charge, German Political Affairs; CHARLES W. ADAIR, JR., FSO 2, NATO adviser in Bureau of European Affairs; public members are William H. G. Fitzgerald, Commander, United States Navy, retired, and Asher Hobson, professor emeritus of the University of Wisconsin.

Board C, Class V and VI—Chairman, RICHARD W. BYRD, FSO 2, Department of State Advisor, Army War College; GORDON H. MATTISON, FSO 2, Foreign Service Inspector; FRASER WILKINS, FSO 2, Policy Planning Staff; BYRON E. BLANKINSHIP, FSO 3, Officer in Charge, North Coast Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs; public members are George T. Brown, staff member, American Federation of Labor, and James Sterling Murray, assistant to the President of Lindsay Light and Chemical Company.



Cecil Lyon, Director,
Bureau of German Affairs



Charles Baldwin, Economic
Coordinator for the Far East

Numbers Game

Feb. 10—A *New York Times* story stated: "House members said today they had information from the State Department that only eleven of 534 employes it cut loose as security risks in the last year had been ousted for loyalty reasons.

"They reported that Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, Under Secretary of State, had told them that no active Communists had been found in the department."

Feb. 23—A *New York Times* story stated: "The State Department's list of employes separated from its service as

security risks in 1953 was disclosed today. The list involved 580 persons, of whom eleven had been held to be disloyal. Ten others were accused of fraud or dishonesty in making up their personnel records.

"On the other hand, 291 of the 590, almost half of the total, had been transferred to other government jobs. . . .

"The State Department report, submitted after Representative John J. Rooney, Democrat of Brooklyn, had threatened to withhold appropriations unless a breakdown was given, also showed that among the 590:

Resignations, for reasons not given, had numbered 188.

Fifty employes had been separated through economy reductions in force.

The temporary employment of thirty-six had expired.

Four had retired.

Ninety-nine involved 'homosexual deviations' as the principal factor, and 278 similar cases were under investigation with no determinations yet made."

March 2—The *New York Times* set up a box score based on the agency-by-agency breakdown on governmental security risk separations supplied by Philip Young, chairman of the Civil Service Commission. The State Department box score was as follows:

Persons dismissed under the security program—5;

Persons who resigned with derogatory security information in their personnel files—112;

Persons "whose files contained information indicating, in various degrees, subversive activities, subversive associations or membership in subversive organizations"—43;

Persons "whose files contained information indicating perversion"—49;

Persons "whose files contained information indicating conviction of felonies or misdemeanors"—0;

Persons "whose files contained any other type or types of information falling within the purview of Executive Order 10450, as amended"—31.

Editor's Note: *presumably the total of those dismissed (5) or resigned (112) under the security-loyalty program is 117; the last four figures quoted in the paragraph above indicate the number of persons of the 117 who had derogatory information in their files which fell into the various categories. One person, obviously, could have had more than one type of derogatory information in his file.*

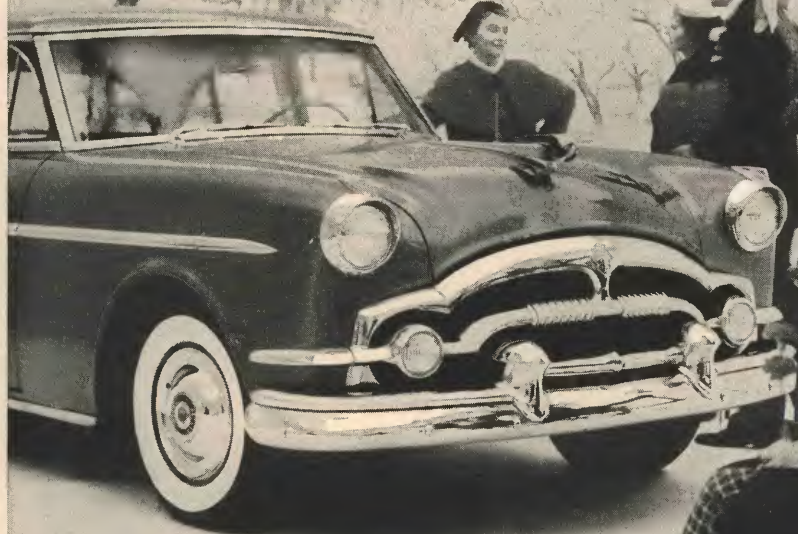
Personals

The Justice Department decided it lacked sufficient evidence to warrant a grand jury investigation of JOHN PATON DAVIES, accused of perjury by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

HUBERT K. LADENBURG, formerly Finance Officer in the Office of Economic Affairs in Frankfurt, recently established the Service Investment Corporation in Washington. His firm will specialize in Mutual Funds, which make the purchaser a shareholder in a cross-section of American industry.

DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY ROBERT MURPHY was given an award at the National Conference of Christians and Jews in New York. In accepting the award he said, ". . . my appreciation is no less deep because I know that in naming me for this award, you were thinking not of me as a person but rather as a representative of the men and women in our American Foreign Service, who in their way are working to build a world of brotherhood."

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CUSHING MISSION (from page 28)

after a brief trial, was strangled to death for the offense of having apparently caused a boat girl to drown by hurling a jar over the side at her boat. Even during the negotiations of the treaty there was a disturbance in Macao wherein one Chinese was killed by American sailors attending the mission. Accordingly, it was specifically spelled out in the treaty that Americans resident in the port cities would be subject to American laws as administered by the American consuls. Cushing felt that jurisdiction over American citizens should only be allowed to Christian states since they alone acknowledged the system of international law, and that his securing of extraterritorial rights for American citizens was his greatest contribution to the good relations which developed between the two states.

Return and Ratification

With the treaty completed, the two delegations sat down to a formal banquet that included bird's nest and shark's fin soups, *beche de mer* and other Chinese delicacies along with ample portions of native wines. The next day Ch'i-Ying departed for Canton to prepare for the coming of a French mission. Three years later he also signed a commercial agreement with Sweden and Norway and in 1858, he was called out of retirement to deal with the British and French envoys at Tientsin who were pressing for revision of the earlier treaties. When he failed to accommodate these foreign representatives he fled, but was seized and condemned by the Emperor for disobedience and was allowed to commit suicide.

Cushing had remained on in Macao until the Tariff Schedule was drawn up and signed by both Commissioners. He also drew up a long despatch for Daniel Webster, explaining why he had not pressed further the matter of proceeding to Peking. A copy of his report and two copies of the Treaty and Tariff Schedule were despatched to the United States by the American merchant Augustine Heard aboard the clipper *Sappho*. The two original drafts were carried back by the Commissioner, who began the homeward trip on August 27, crossing the Pacific to San Blas in Mexico where he took the overland stage to Vera Cruz. On the way across Mexico the stage was held up and robbed by bandits. Upon his return to the United States, Cushing found that he had attained considerable fame by having successfully concluded the first American treaty with the Celestial Empire and the treaty was unanimously approved by the Senate on January 17, 1845. Later in life Caleb Cushing was to become attorney General for the United States.

The exchange of ratifications was put into the hands of Alexander H. Everett, younger brother of the Minister at London, but he fell ill at Rio de Janeiro on the way out and had to delegate his authority to Commodore James Biddle, USN, who was then commanding the East Indies Squadron, and that officer made the actual exchange at the Pun Ting Kua residence of the Salt Commissioner near Canton on the last day of the year 1845. The Imperial ratification had been received before Cushing left Macao and the treaty had become operative in China in September 1844, although the formal American proclamation was not made until April 18, 1846. Thus was concluded the first treaty between the United States and China and as the Emperor Tao Kwang stated in his reply to President Tyler the two countries were "now bound by perpetual Amity and Concord."

WITHOUT A CONSULATE (from page 29)

as a USIS employee, would be answering questions of this nature, that I would be placing wreaths on monuments to the dead of World War I, while a military band played our national anthem; or that I would be serving as the traditional "father" of the American community in a city of 200,000 people the majority of whom could be more rightly in point of view of age considered as *my father!*

At times I gladly would have had myself in four places at once had I been able. As it was I dashed here and there across the landscape of northern France at what must have appeared a frantic pace — interviewing editors, prefects and union leaders, talking to films' audiences, visiting schools and libraries, gathering material for political and economic reports, putting the American military into contact with French civil authorities, and all of these at the cost of one badly overdriven and utterly exhausted Hillman Minx, and a stomach that it still screeching for relief from an all too frequent diet of "aperitifs" and "digestifs" dictated by the requirements of French custom.

There have been high points such as the visit of Mrs. Roosevelt in 1952 when over a million people were on hand to cheer her and voice their respect and admiration for her and the United States. And there have been low points too such as the occasion when in great embarrassment I had to introduce a speaker to a nearly empty hall (the publicity had been sent to the wrong address by the post office). Then there were the startling and even frightening occasions as when I was surprised, on boarding an American destroyer to pay my respects to its commanding officer, to find boatswain's mates piping me aboard before a crew at attention, and I not having the faintest idea as to what was the proper response to all this. There have been humorous moments such as when the population of the small town in which I lived for a time became convinced that I was the American ambassador despite all my protests to the contrary!

Looking back after these two and a half years, I feel fortunate indeed to have had such a unique experience, a combination of consular and USIS duties. It could not have been a more complete nor a more excellent introduction to the Foreign Service.

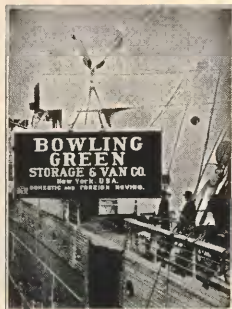
DIPLOMATS BEHAVE (from page 37)

and women depends in substantial measure the success of our foreign policy—our peace, prosperity, security, our very national existence. If diplomats occasionally make mistakes, their very caution generally saves them from irretrievable blunders. It is difficult for them to chart the nation's course if they are distracted by a continuous uproar of misguided, contradictory criticism. It is not a question of individuals; it is a question of your foreign service which, like your armed services, is an essential element in your defense. You have a Foreign Service of which you can justly be proud; with public understanding rather than obloquy I am confident it will successfully meet the challenges inherent in the immense complexities of our present day international relations. The deep loyalty and devotion of the men and women in your Foreign Service deserve your confidence if they are to continue to serve you well in our country's interest and preservation.

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no room for interpreters of his meaning. Addressing the Congress on April 2, 1917, he said:

"We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling toward them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering the war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined in the old unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers, and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools. . . . It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible Government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck. We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people and shall desire nothing so much as the early reestablishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us, however hard it may be for them for the time being to believe that this is spoken from our hearts."

In explicitly exonerating the German people this makes clear whom we were fighting, whom we were at war with, and, consequently, what would be for us the criterion of victory and the conditions of peace.

Lloyd George seemed to be saying something similar when, in an address on January 5, 1918, (three days before Wilson proclaimed his Fourteen Points) he responded to the pressure for the definition of war aims, though he may have been more interested in the *seeming to say* than in the *saying*. "We are not fighting," he said, "a war of aggression against the German people." (Was Britain, then, fighting a war of aggression against someone else? or was she fighting some other kind of war against the German people? One suspects Lloyd George of practising up, here, on the language by which, as Keynes put it, Wilson was later "bamboozled" and defeated at Paris.) He followed this up, however, by skating through the subject of war aims in such fashion as to come close to making a definite statement. "The destruction or disruption of Germany or the German people has never been a war aim with us. . . . Germany has occupied a great position. . . . It is not our wish or intention to question or destroy that position. . . . Nor did we enter this war merely to alter or destroy the Imperial Constitution of Germany. . . ." (Does "merely" mean that would have been inadequate as a war aim, or inadequate as the only war aim?) "Our point of view is that the adoption of a really democratic Constitution by Germany would be the most convincing evidence that her old spirit of military domination has, indeed, died. . . . But, after all, that is a question for the German people to decide. . . ." He went on to say that "the days of the Treaty of Vienna are long past. We can no longer submit the future of European civilization to the arbitrary decisions of a few negotiators trying to secure by chicanery or persuasion the interests of this or that dynasty or nation." He was ready at this point to reassure the German people with an indirect guarantee of territorial integrity that clearly implied a respect for their consent. "Therefore it is that we feel that government with the

consent of the governed must be the basis of any territorial settlement in this war." Referring to the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine in 1871, he said that "there can be no better illustration of the folly and wickedness of using a transient military success to violate national right. . . ." He concluded with an altogether admirable generalization that, in the context, may be considered to identify him with the Wilsonian view of the task that was set for the peacemakers. "It is desirable and essential," he said, "that the settlement after this war shall be one which does not in itself bear the seed of future war. . . . If, then, we are asked what we are fighting for, we reply, as we have often replied, we are fighting for a just and lasting peace."

If this speech meant anything it meant that the post-war treatment of Germany was incidental to the establishment of a general international order for the maintenance of peace, that the German people could exonerate themselves by disassociating themselves from the imperial Government to the extent of replacing it, that the principle of self-determination applied to the German people and stood as a guarantee of Germany's territorial integrity. If the language in which these points were made was not altogether unequivocal in every passage, especially in identifying the enemy, who knows but what Lloyd George was mindful of French, as well as American, attitudes, and none too sure of his own electorate?

England, only less than the United States, was in a position to take a more detached and elevated view than the continental powers. If she did not wish to see German hegemony on the continent neither did she wish to see the French or Russian hegemony that might follow upon the destruction of German power. Lloyd George was still in step with Wilson, even if his footwork was more nimble.

All accounts agree, moreover, that the American and British electorates, at least, were relatively moderate in their view of the requirements that a defeated Germany would be expected to meet. They recognized, perhaps, that the imminence of peace depended on the assurances that could be given the German people of such moderation; and this practical consideration was not without influence. Wilson's magnanimous proposals were, in fact, the basis of agreement on an armistice. The armistice achieved, however, and with it the revelation of Germany's true helplessness, some revulsion of feeling appears to have swept through the allied peoples. This may have been natural, to be expected at the end of any great war, a reaction from the exceptional self-discipline and high purpose that are the virtues of democratic peoples in wartime. There may also have been something of the view that pledges made to the heathen, especially under duress, not being entered on the books of heaven are not subject to payment.

At this point Lloyd George put his foot into a domestic trap. Thinking that the moment of victory provided the best opportunity for consolidating his political power at home, he chose it to call for a General Election that "was widely recognized at the time as an act of political immorality," since "there were no grounds of public interest which did not call for a short delay until the issues of the new age had a little defined themselves. . . ." The "khaki election" was held at the moment at which the electorate could be best counted on to have temporarily surrendered its judgment. The result was that Lloyd George's opponents outdid

(Continued on page 50)

*Keynes, op. cit.

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themselves in promising that, if they were given the power, so far from using it "to let the Hun off," they would "hang the Kaiser" and squeeze the German lemon "until you can hear the pips squeak." Lloyd George held back from such promises at first, knowing the consequences, but at last capitulated to the pressures of partisan politics and private ambition. He promised the voters to demand that the enemy pay the whole cost of the war and he led them to believe that the enemy would be able to pay it.*

And who was the enemy now? In a campaign speech at Bristol on December 11, 1918, the statesman who a few months before had pointed out the course by which the German people could exonerate themselves (a course which they had, in fact, faithfully followed to its conclusion) referred to "the German people who have been guilty of this crime again humanity."***

It is quite proper to discount campaign oratory; but this identification of the enemy must be accepted, not on its authority as an appeal to the voters, but by the test of subsequent action. It is, therefore, pertinent to consider how much more difficult the task of the peacemakers of 1814-15 would have been if they had identified the French people as the guilty authors of a "crime against humanity." One may well question whether, on this basis, they could have made a peace at all.

The allies of 1814-1815 banished Napoleon, helped to set up a successor government which they considered respectable and blameless, and proceeded to make peace with it. The Germans, themselves, banished the Kaiser in 1919 and set up a republican successor government with which the allies might make a peace. The respectability of that new government, and its disassociation from its imperial predecessor were unquestioned.***

Nevertheless, it was not invited to come to Paris and participate in the making of the peace. When the allies were ready, they called it in and laid before it "ready-made conditions of peace. The Germans were given a short term in which to hand in their comments in writing. The victors would not admit important amendments."**** The Germans invoked the Fourteen Points and Wilson's other assurances in vain. They had no choice but to accept what they termed a "dictated peace."

Wilson had fixed the guilt of the war on the imperial masters of the German people. Lloyd George at Bristol fixed it on the German people themselves. The Treaty of Versailles, in Article 231, fixed it on "Germany," a national entity that one thinks of as persisting unchanged through all changes of government. The representatives of the new republic (of the liberated people, in the view to which Wilson had committed himself) put their signatures to the statement

*See Keynes, op. cit., Chap. V.

**Quoted by Birdsall, op. cit.

***Wilson had characterized the imperial regime as a power that was not the German people" but "the ruthless master of the German people" (Message to the Pope, Aug. 27, 1917). In public addresses throughout the war, and in his exchange of notes with the Germans in October of 1918, looking toward the terms of an armistice, he had again and again called upon the German people to replace the imperial government with one that represented them. Implicitly, and on some occasions explicitly (see his Address to Congress of Jan. 8, 1918), he had assured the German people that he regarded them as partners in a common endeavor. Now they were genuinely represented by a government uncontaminated by the past; they were ready to play their new role.

****Muralt, op. cit., p. 63.

that "Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all loss and damage" . . . and so forth. This was the proper conception of the nationalists, of the Bismarcks and Clemenceaus. One must recognize, moreover, that it represented, as no alternative did, the terms in which the people of the 20th century thought.

One question that arises here is that of practicality. Not a man but a nation was to be brought to justice at Versailles. Yet how does one, in the circumstances of modern times, bring a nation to justice? The record suggests that it is as if the right hand should undertake to bring the left to justice and then sentence it to amputation. The whole organism suffers the loss of blood, wherever the wound may be from which it bleeds. The peacemakers of 1919 did not appreciate the degree to which the world conflict that they were called upon to resolve was a civil war. "If," wrote Keynes, "the European Civil War is to end with France and Italy abusing their momentary victorious power to destroy Germany and Austria-Hungary now prostrate, they invite their own destruction also, being so deeply and inextricably intertwined with their victims by hidden psychic and economic bonds."*

The job of the peacemakers was to make a durable peace. Some of them, however, thought that the absence of war was peace, and that what remained for them to do was to root out the evils that had led to wars in the past. Others, doubting that peace was possible or likely, came from the battlefield to the peace-table simply to continue the conflict there. These latter, who dominated the proceedings, had no

(Continued on page 52)

*Keynes, op. cit.



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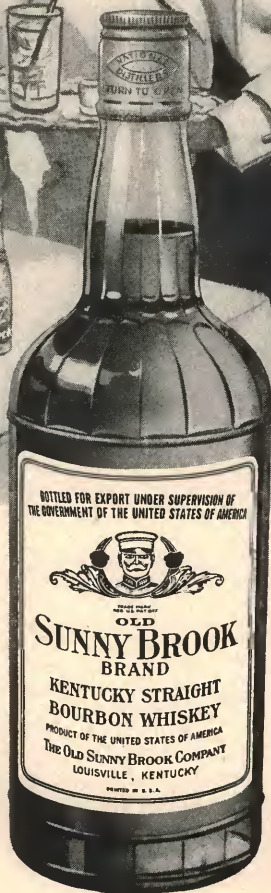
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MODERN PEACEMAKING (from page 50)

purpose other than that of strengthening themselves and weakening the enemy. They drew up and gained acceptance for peace terms that would, in effect, have reduced the enemy to a status of permanent peonage by giving the victors a claim on all his surplus production in perpetuity.* The temporary powers of the Allied Reparation Commission to demand payment up to £1,000,000,000 in whatever form it might determine (Art. 235), including the transfer of specific business properties, gave the allies all the authority they needed to destroy or alter the German economy as they pleased. Finally German sovereignty and, consequently, any opportunity of the German people to exercise their new democracy, was seriously prejudiced by Germany's undertaking (Art. 241) "to pass, issue, and maintain in force any legislation, orders, and decrees that may be necessary to give complete effect to these provisions." In fact, Germany was reduced to insolvency and her affairs put entirely into the hands of her creditors. The German Financial Commission commented: "The [Reparation] Commission, which is to have its permanent headquarters outside Germany, will possess in Germany incomparably greater rights than the German Emperor ever possessed; the German people under its regime would remain for decades to come shorn of all rights and deprived, to a far greater extent than any people in the days of absolutism, of any independence of action, of any individual aspiration in its economic or even in its ethical progress."

These provisions regarding reparation followed from the dogma that the German nation was, as a matter of justice, responsible for the general costs of the war. If, in examining them, one is looking for lessons that future peacemakers may take into account, one may (1) raise a doubt whether it is feasible to hold any nation or group of nations accountable for the general costs of a world war, or whether it is proper to insist on standards of justice that are unfeasible; and (2) take note of the fact that, under our own civil law, insolvent debtors, rather than being imprisoned for non-payment, are excused through the procedures of bankruptcy and given the opportunity to start afresh.

In terms of the principles that apply to the treatment of the defeated foe, the reparation clauses of the Versailles Treaty are of special significance. The territorial arrangements, however, resulted in the loss of one-seventh of Germany's total territory. It may be noted in passing that the objective of permanently holding Germany down was not well served by the territorial arrangements in eastern Europe—where the fragmentation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire encompassed her with weakness on that side—supplemented by the exclusion of Russia as a participant in the re-establishment and maintenance of European order. A way was left open, here, for Germany to escape from her chains, and at Rapallo in 1922 she took it. If the solution was not to be found in an understanding with Russia, as one may plausibly maintain, then perhaps the alternative was to re-

(Continued on page 54)

*Because of the accumulation of interest charges, in excess of what he estimated the Germans could pay on the reparations bill, Keynes concluded that "Germany has in effect engaged herself to hand over to the Allies the whole of her surplus production in perpetuity." No fixed sum was set which, once paid, would free Germany of the debt. Instead, the Reparation Commission was free to determine how much could be got from Germany each year and to bill her accordingly. (See Keynes, Chap. V, pp. 154-155.)

SNOWY MOUNTAIN PROJECT (from page 25)

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THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S PUBLIC COMMITTEE ON PERSONNEL

Terms of Reference

A public Committee on Personnel is hereby established for the purpose of making recommendations to the Secretary of State concerning the measures necessary to strengthen the effectiveness of the professional service to a standard consistent with the vastly increasing responsibilities in the field of foreign policy which have devolved upon the President and the Secretary.

The Nature of the Problem

The existing service rests on a firm foundation built during the past half century and includes men and women of the highest ability, devotion, and integrity. It needs, however, to be made a more effective instrument for the conduct of United States foreign relations and thereby a greater protection to the national security.

During the past decade this need has been of special concern to the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government on a bipartisan basis. In 1946 the Congress enacted the Foreign Service Act, which constituted an immense step forward. Within the framework of this Act further administrative improvements can be made.

Subsequently, the Hoover Commission, the 1950 Advisory Committee on Personnel, and other groups have studied the problem and made detailed recommendations for improvements. In spite of a directive issued by the Secretary of State in 1951, however, these recommendations have not

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been fully carried out.

The Primary Objective

The Committee naturally will bear in mind the intent of Congress as expressed in the Foreign Service Act of 1946. It should review the recommendations of the prior study groups, particularly as they relate to the merging of Departmental Civil Service personnel into the Foreign Service to the end that the Department and its establishments abroad may be staffed to the maximum possible extent by career personnel, specially trained for the conduct of foreign relations and obligated to serve at home or abroad, thus providing a stronger and more broadly based Foreign Service.

To the greatest degree possible the Committee's recommendations should be cast within the authority conferred by the Foreign Service Act of 1946.

Scope of Committee's Work

The Committee is requested to make recommendations concerning:

1. Basic Organization of the Service, including Strength Requirement and Organized Reserve Force;
2. Amalgamation and Interchangeability;
3. Personnel Organization and Management;
4. Recruitment, Training, and Assignment;
5. Compensation, Promotion, Separation, and Retirement;
6. Public Confidence and Personnel Morale.

The Committee should feel free to seek the advice of persons in the Department, the Foreign Service, or elsewhere in the Government and outside it and to call upon the De-

(Continued on page 60)

frain from the attempt to keep Germany in bondage.*

In a world in which even the greatest powers must rely heavily on the consent of others to their policy, policy-makers should be wary of cultivating enmity. They should have good reasons indeed for requiring any power to become or remain a foe. Yet it has sometimes seemed as if we were putting an excessively high price on the privilege of friendship with us—as, for example, when we have disposed ourselves to withhold recognition from Latin American governments that did not meet our own standards of democracy. The victors of 1918, in the flush of their victory, overestimated their independence.

If we accept the French view, which events have not totally discredited, that Germany could not be made into a good neighbor and that peace was not to be looked for in this world, then perhaps the fault of the peacemakers lay in allowing Germany to recover. Referring to France's emphasis on "guarantees," Keynes says: "Each guarantee that was taken, by increasing irritation and thus the probability of a subsequent *revanche* by Germany, made necessary yet further provisions to crush. Thus, as soon as this view of the world [as a current battle ground of cynical aspirants to power] is adopted and the other [which regards cooperation within an international order as possible] discarded, a demand for a Carthaginian Peace is inevitable, to the full extent of the power to impose it."

A Carthaginian Peace, however, admits of no degrees. If the allies had done to Germany what Rome did to Carthage they would have leveled every city, town, village, and hamlet; they would have destroyed all the croplands permanently by sowing them with salt; and they would have dispersed such population as had not been slaughtered to the four corners of the earth, dooming them, like the Israelites, to wander forever abroad without a homeland to which they might return. Not a single soldier would have been needed, thereafter, to garrison the desert that had been Germany or to stand guard on its frontiers against renewed German attack.

Right here, when we contemplate such an undertaking, we see the significance of the saying that what the peacemakers had to resolve was, in fact, a civil conflict. We suddenly see the German people as fellow Europeans, inextricably involved in our history of twenty centuries past; we see them as prime and continuing contributors to the common culture; and we see them as blood relations. When, at last, we picture ourselves as standing with the knife at their throat—this nation of Hausfraus, of school children, of pedagogues, of bandmasters, shopkeepers, peasants, and poets—we are no longer able to credit the gross falsehood of the propagandists that these people are "Huns." Even if they had been Huns (a tribe of Asiatic nomads addicted to rapine and slaughter) it is doubtful whether the civilized world of the 20th century could have subjected them to genocide. With European members of the family it would have been altogether unthinkable, and there is, in fact, no indication that any responsible person ever suggested it.

*One man saw this. In March of 1920 Winston Churchill wrote to Lloyd George: "Since the Armistice my policy would have been 'Peace with the German people, war on the Bolshevik tyranny.'" (Quoted by Keynes in his essay on Churchill, which appears in his "Essays in Biography.")

In one other respect the circumstances were different from those Rome faced in Carthage. The destruction of Carthage did not leave a vacuum that another rival to Roman power stood ready to fill. The pressures on the borders of Germany, however, were great. With the permanent destruction of German might some other power or powers would have had to assume the burden of resisting those pressures.

Short of a Carthaginian Peace in the literal sense, one may well ask whether it would not have been feasible to have kept Germany in a state of perpetual helplessness and dependence. This is certainly what Clemenceau wanted to do, and since he had his way at the peace conference we may consider this to have been a purpose of the Versailles Treaty—specifically, of its provision with respect to reparation.

Keynes has shown how essential German production and the whole complex of German economic activities had become to European survival and, therefore, to the well-being of the world. The argument need not be recapitulated here, especially as no one today is likely to put it in question. The Germans would have to produce, to sell, and to buy. Perhaps they could have been forced to make their contribution as slave-labor; but where would the allies have found the will and the resources to hold them in bondage? Can anyone doubt that only the devices of the totalitarian state would have made this possible, if it had been possible at all? The necessity of controlling the helots had forced Sparta to convert herself into a totalitarian military state, and even so her insecurity remained extreme. One may ask, moreover, how long such a situation, which might have satisfied the sense of justice of the victors in 1919, would have continued to satisfy their sense of justice. Would they have felt it just, a few years later, to hold in bondage the new generation of children of the subjects of the imperial government that had committed the crime?

Only to ask such questions is to make it evident that the Germans had to be granted the normal incentives to economic activity. How partially this could have been done must remain extremely doubtful. Almost surely they would not have had the necessary incentives under any circumstances except those of a rather general freedom of action in economic matters. This freedom of action, in turn, would have given them a bargaining power among the nations through which they would certainly have been able, in time, to recover all the elements of their national sovereignty.

A final alternative must be considered before we are ready to draw conclusions. Germany might have been dismembered or her resources so reduced that her exercise of national independence could not again constitute a threat to her neighbors. This, within limits, was the nature of the settlement that Germany imposed on France in 1871. With the Saar Basin, the Rhineland, the Ruhr, and Silesia taken from her, as well, perhaps, as the ports of Hamburg and Bremen, perhaps also with the Kiel Canal made over to Denmark under an international guarantee or otherwise removed from German jurisdiction, France could forget her fears and take an indulgent view of German independence. Merely to make such a statement, however, is to contradict it by implication. Under such circumstances France and her allies would have had the assurance of an implacable and passionate enemy in Germany, an enemy with such singleness of purpose as would require the alert and everlasting

(Continued on page 56)

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vigilance of those nations whose pledge and policy it was to enforce the terms of the settlement. And those nations would have to hold together indefinitely in the conviction that their position was just, unswayed alike by the appeals of their German kin and the material inducements that were dangled before them. The abstention or defection of Soviet Russia alone from such a common front would have undone the whole settlement, and one must not overlook the bargaining power that this would have given to Soviet Russia.

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that, in the modern world at least, great nations are not subject either to destruction, incarceration, or any other form of bondage. Perhaps, given the opportunity, the Kremlin could hold a nation like Germany in subjection, but this is doubtful and we must, in any case, rule out totalitarianism. The Government of Russia could not hold the Germans in subjection, if at all, without also holding the Russians in a like subjection. Our own government could not enslave another people without enslaving us as well. In any case, we could not contemplate either totalitarianism or the subjugation of any enemy without first giving up all hope of real peace.

If this is so, then those who uphold the concept of a national guilt that is subject to the correction of justice are inviting only frustration or disaster. When we find a man guilty we can take his life, put him in jail, or exile him. We can send him to St. Helena. When we find a nation guilty, even though we have it at our mercy, we cannot mete out any effective punishment except at the cost of peace and our own security.* We cannot make a finding of national guilt and condemn a nation without condemning ourselves. Morally and practically, this was the great mistake of Versailles.

The peacemakers of 1814-1815 were able to make a peace because they limited their finding of guilt to a man. The peacemakers of Versailles, as we shall now see, were quite unable to make a peace because they were required by their own findings to condemn a nation—and this was impossible. How much easier their task would have been if they had adhered to Wilson's original view that only the imperial government of the Kaiser, which held Germany captive, was their enemy! It is not too much to believe that, in such a case, the peaceable and democratic Weimar regime, unburdened by the onus of guilt and its punishment, might have survived to bring Germany into a permanent concert of nations.

The peacemakers of 1814-1815 might have taken the view that France was a criminal, an aggressor nation. They might have based their actions on the supposition that this unregenerate nation, under whatever government, was bound to continue as a threat to its neighbors unless its teeth were drawn. Instead, however, they regarded France as a respectable member of the European family, hardly less to be trusted because of the unfortunate experience it had undergone at the hands of a Corsican adventurer. Now the outstanding fact for us to contemplate is that events justified this view. France under the Restoration, under the July Monarchy, under the Second Republic, and even under the Bonapartist regime of the Second Empire, was not the

France of Napoleon the First, any more than Restoration England was the same in its international behavior as Cromwell's England. The evidence indicates that France's behavior under Napoleon was not inherent in its national personality.

One hesitates to say that the case was different with Germany. What, after all, is the national personality? Every nation contains within itself all good and all evil. Not only Germany and Japan are Jekylls and Hydes. The forces represented by Kaiser Wilhelm, by Hitler, and by the Japanese warlords are present and easily recognizable in our own country. So, also, are liberal and democratic forces present and easily recognizable in Germany and Japan. Any nation is Jekyll or Hyde depending on which forces are in the ascendant at the particular moment. Was there any reason, then, to believe that the Germany of the Weimar Republic was not fit for membership in the family of nations? Was there any reason to continue the war in effect, regarding Weimar Germany as the enemy?

"The paramount task," Marshal Smuts has said, "was to bring Germany back into the fold. It was impossible to cut her out. One should think of it in physical terms. Here was a great mass of people in the centre of Europe, with outstanding qualities of industry, scientific ability and discipline. One could not just ignore them or ostracize them. In 1919 the central problem was the reintegration of Germany."**

As we look back on these times the political transformation of Germany in October of 1918 seems like a windfall to the allied statesmen who had to make the peace. Wilson, in each of his notes to the Germans on the possibility of an armistice, had made it conditional on a prior revamping of the German Government. In his address to Congress on January 3, 1918, (in which he put forward his Fourteen Points) he had said: ". . . it is necessary . . . as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag Majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination." In his second reply, of October 14, to the German approach, he said: "It is necessary . . . that the President should very solemnly call the attention of the Government of Germany to the language and plain intent of one of the terms of peace which the German Government has now accepted. It is contained in the address of the President delivered at Mount Vernon on the Fourth of July last. It is as follows: 'The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world; or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at least its reduction to virtual impotency.' The power which has hitherto controlled the German nation is of the sort here described. It is within the choice of the German nation to alter it. The President's words just quoted naturally constitute a condition precedent to peace, if peace is to come by the action of the German people themselves. The President feels bound to say that the whole process of peace will, in his judgment, depend upon the definiteness and the satisfactory character of the

(Continued on page 58)

*We can, of course, impose an indemnity, but to the extent that the indemnity is punitive or mortgages the future of those who are saddled with it we harm ourselves.

**1948 interview with Roy Forbes Harrod, reported in his "The Life of John Maynard Keynes," New York, Harcourt Brace, 1951.



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guarantees which can be given in this fundamental matter." By October 23 the President felt constrained "to point out once more that in concluding peace and attempting to undo the infinite injuries and injustices of this war the Government of the United States cannot deal with any but veritable representatives of the German people who have been assured of a genuine constitutional standing as the real rulers of Germany."

In thus insisting on an immediate political reformation in Germany the President was running a risk to the extent that he could not be sure how far it would go and what kind of a government would take the place of the Kaiser's. The possibility of a Bolshevik revolution in Germany was real, so much so that Colonel House felt it necessary to point out to Lloyd George and Clemenceau "the danger of bringing about a state of Bolshevism in Germany if terms of armistice were made too stiff. . . ."

Under Wilson's prodding the German Government proceeded to undertake its own reformation, amending the constitution to make the Cabinet a creature of the Reichstag rather than a body of independent advisers to the Kaiser. Wilson finally indicated satisfaction with the reformed Government of Prince Max of Baden, but by then the imperial Government was disintegrating, the Spartacist movement was threatening to gain the day for Communism, the Social Democrats were striving to hold the line for democracy. A bloodless revolution now took place, the Kaiser fled to Holland and abdicated, the Republic was proclaimed. This was the new Weimar Republic, the Republic of the Social Democrats, identified with the liberal, enlightened, and pacific leadership of such men as Ebert and Stresemann.

The allies of 1814 had had no such luck. They themselves, with some agony, had had to select the new government of France. Germany presented to the allies of 1918, ready-made, a new government that could hardly have conformed more closely to the specifications of such a successor regime as they might in their fondest hopes have wished to see. It was, moreover, completely without the stigma of association with the imperial regime that would have marked the product of a mere political reformation. And it had not been imposed.

As early as 1920 Keynes foresaw what must happen if the allies imposed too heavy a burden on the Weimar Government. He pointed to the alternative dangers of a victory for Spartacism in Germany, which "might well be the prelude to Revolution everywhere, . . . would renew the forces of Bolshevism in Russia, and precipitate the dreaded union of Germany and Russia," or of "a victory of reaction in Germany" which "would be regarded by everyone as a threat to the security of Europe. . . . The argument points . . . to the sustentation of those moderate forces of order, which, somewhat to the world's surprise, still manage to maintain themselves on the rock of the German character." But "Paris, with some hopes of disintegration across the Rhine not yet extinguished, can resist . . . no occasion of lowering the prestige or weakening the influence of a Government, with the continued stability of which all the conservative interests of Europe are nevertheless bound up."

It is true that the "Carthaginian" economic provisions of the Versailles Treaty, being unworkable, were never carried

out, and that they were replaced in 1924 by the Dawes Plan. The attempt to enforce them in the five-year interval, however, fatally weakened the Weimar regime, so that it could not survive the depression when it came, and at the same time fed those forces of violent, militaristic nationalism that, when it was gone, took its place and once more set the world on the road to war.

The allies had decided in 1919 not to negotiate the peace with the Germans but to impose it on them. This was possible only because they were not, in reality, undertaking to make a peace with Germany. A peace, one supposes, means the restoration of normal, amicable, cooperative relations between former antagonists. Unless the parties reach an agreement on which they can shake hands, such a peace has not been made between them. If one party insists on remaining with his foot planted on the other's neck, such a peace has not been made between them. The other party has not really agreed to it: he will continue to struggle, and when he can once more rise to his feet he will resume the fight. A dictated "peace," or any dictated "agreement," is a contradiction in terms. "Only a peace between equals can last," Wilson had said, "only a peace, the very principle of which is equality, and a common participation in a common benefit."**

The posture of the allies was quite impossible. "The dictated peace had hardly been signed before the Germans succeeded in forcing the Allies to the conference table."*** The actual figure representing the amount of reparations, as well as the terms of payment, having been left open at Versailles, and Article 234 having provided that Germany's representatives should be given "a just opportunity to be heard," the Genoa Conference was called for April, 1922. At this conference, to which Soviet Russia had been invited because France wanted her to demand more reparations from Germany out of which to pay the Czarist debts to France, Germany entered into the surprise Treaty of Rapallo with Russia, in which both countries mutually agreed to renounce all reparations, grant each other most-favored-nation rights, and resume diplomatic relations. This was a real peace treaty, entered into by the two major countries that the allies had decided to exclude from the family of nations.

By this stroke Germany regained the freedom of action that made it necessary, at last, to negotiate a peace with her. The result was the negotiation of the Dawes Plan with her in 1924 and, in 1925, the Locarno Conference and her admission to the Council of the League of Nations. 1925, then, may be regarded as the year in which peace was truly concluded with Germany. From 1914 to 1918 the allies had been at war with the old imperial regime, which was finally overthrown in the latter year. From 1919 to 1924 they were at war, in a fundamental sense, with the Weimar Republic, which also received its mortal injury at their hands.

During the period from 1919 to 1924 "sanctions were applied against Germany for her failure to make payment. These culminated in the occupation of the Ruhr, and in sum proved a fiasco. The French were at length persuaded to change their policy and agreed to the Dawes Plan, which represented a liberal solution. But all these abortive attempts to enforce the financial clauses brought a certain discredit upon the whole policy of coercive intervention. . . . It was not on the reparations clauses but on the disarmament

**Address to Senate, Jan. 22, 1917.

***Muralt, op. cit.

*Foreign Relations of the U. S., 1918, Supplement I, Vol. I.

clauses that France should have relied principally for her own defence. Therefore, when a fiercely militarist parliament achieved supremacy in a resurgent Germany and rearmament began, it was highly desirable that the Treaty should be enforced, by military measures if necessary. . . . military measures had been discredited by their premature use for an irrelevant purpose. The Ruhr fiasco in 1923 was an important contributory cause of the lack of support for the proposal to prevent by force of arms the German militarization of the Rhineland in 1936. . . . It was in the period [1919-1924] . . . that the social structure of Germany was undermined. Inflation persisted for five years, reducing the value of the mark to nothing. This cannot be done without gross injury to society.”*

“The runaway inflation of the early 1920’s impoverished a considerable section of the middle class. It destroyed the process, one of the main props of the Weimar regime. Keynes had understood the anatomy and anticipated the progress of the national psychosis that was to afflict Germany in the 1930’s. He wrote that “. . . in the final catastrophe the malady of the body passes over into malady of the mind. Economic privation proceeds by easy stages, and so long as men suffer it patiently the outside world cares little. Physical efficiency and resistance to disease slowly diminish, but life proceeds somehow, until the limit of human endurance is reached at last and counsels of despair and maddest stir the sufferers from the lethargy which precedes the crisis. Then man shakes himself, and the bonds of custom are loosened. The power of ideas is sovereign, and he listens to whatever instruction of hope, illusion, or revenge is carried to him on the air.”

“The fate of the republic rested not only with the people of Germany. It rested equally with the Allies. They had power to make or break. They could give the republic an auspicious start or tie a millstone around its neck. They could welcome it as a sister-democracy or treat it as a pariah.”***

The new democracy, says Harrod, “might not have succeeded in any case. But there was a hope, the only hope really, and it was wicked to destroy it — all to no purpose.”

From 1919 to 1924 the allies had persisted in dealing with the Weimar Republic as an enemy on the premise that the enemy was a nation. But when the Nazi regime came into power, when Mr. Hyde returned to replace Dr. Jekyll, when it was once more proper and, indeed, essential to recognize Germany as a ruthless antagonist, then the former allies, demoralized by their own failures, profoundly ashamed of the Versailles settlement, without confidence in their moral position, watched with fascinated eyes the approaching doom of another war and were incapable of action.

*Harrod, *op. cit.*

**Samuel W. Halperin: “Germany Tried Democracy,” New York, Crowell, 1946.

***Halperin, *op. cit.*

The second and final installment of this study, dealing with “1945”, will appear in the May issue of the JOURNAL.

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COMMITTEE ON PERSONNEL (from page 53)

Department for such staff assistance as may be needed. It will maintain close contact with the Personnel Advisor to the President and the work being conducted on over-all government personnel programs, the Bureau of the Budget, the Hoover Commission, and the appropriate committees of Congress.

It is hoped that the Committee may be able to complete its survey and submit its recommendations not later than July 1.

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Members of the committee are: DR. HENRY M. WRISTON, President of Brown University, chairman; JOHN HAY MITNEY, senior partner of the J. H. Whitney & Co., New York, vice-chairman; NORMAN ARMOUR, retired Foreign Service Officer and former Assistant Secretary of State and former Ambassador; JOHN A. MCCONE, former Under Secretary of the Air Force and now president of the Joshua Hendy Corporation of Los Angeles.

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