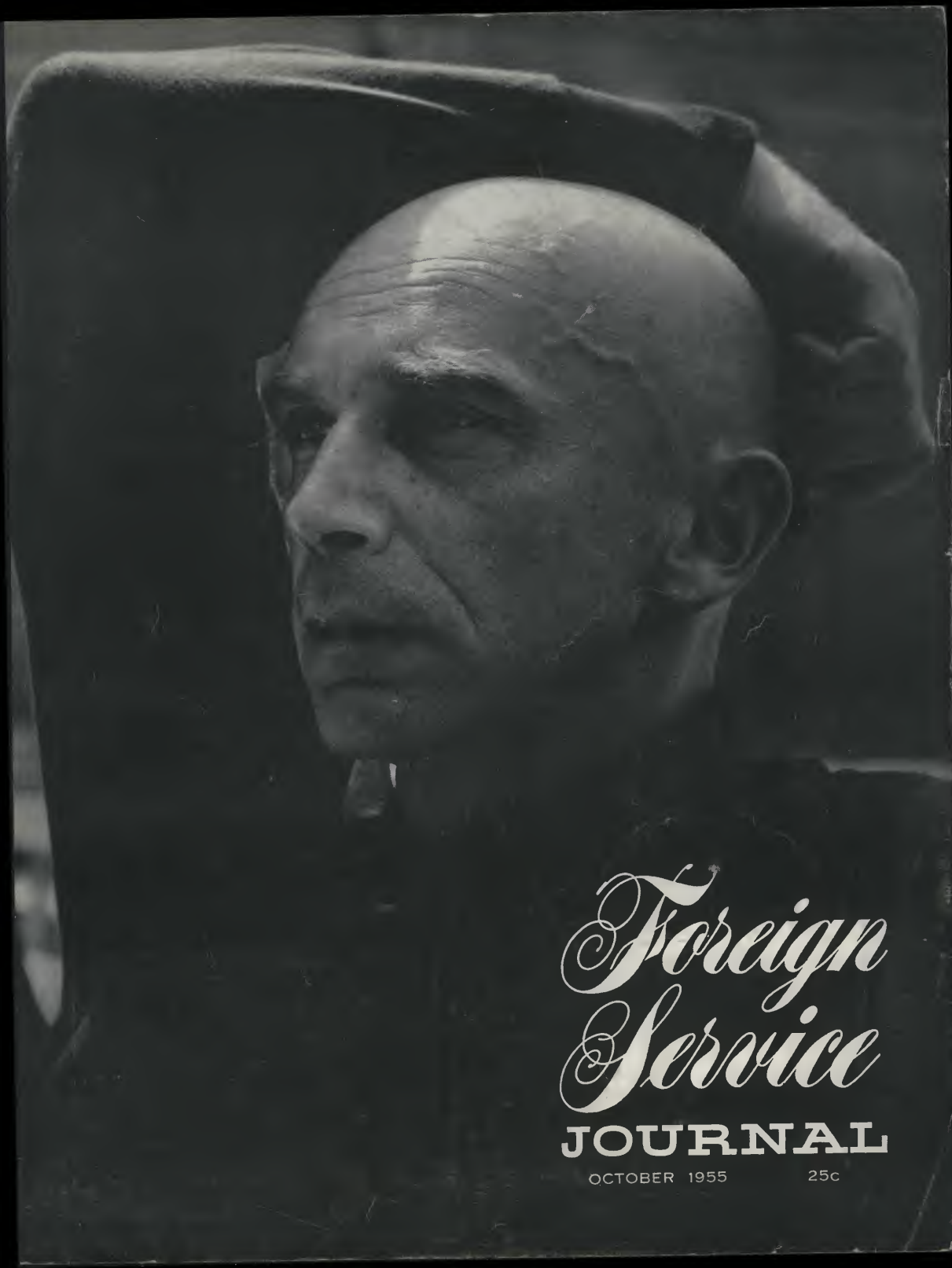

Foreign Service JOURNAL

OCTOBER 1955 25c

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IN THE STYLE TO WHICH YOU ARE ACCUSTOMED!

If you're one of the many highly-selective and particular radio-listeners still searching and looking for the one radio that makes listening a never-ending pleasure—be assured. Your radio is here!

For now, at last, in one fine instrument, you can enjoy the best of everything Zenith! First, you enjoy extended Zenith Long Distance coverage on Standard Broadcast and 3 International Short Wave Bands from the finest radio chassis ever developed by Zenith engineers. Secondly, you thrill to records that seemingly come to life through the magic of the exclusive Zenith Cobra-Matic® Record Player. And, thirdly, you listen in wonder to the realism of Zenith High-Fidelity—high-fidelity as it was ever *meant* to be..

No sense waiting for this latest achievement in radio to just happen your way. Order your new Zenith Deluxe Console today!

Pawerful New 4-Band Internatianal Chassis

One of the finest radio chassis ever produced! Brings in mare stations at greater distonces on Standard Broadcast and 3 International Short Wave Bands than you ever thought possible.

Exclusive Zenith Cobra-Matic Record Player

Plays any size and speed record on the market. Not only 33⅓, 45 and 78 RPM records, but all speeds 10 to 85 RPM—including the new 16⅔ RPM "talking book" speed.

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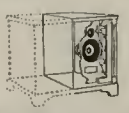
It's your infallible turntable speedometer! Lets you check to make sure your record is playing at the exact RPM it was recarded. Na phanagraph withaut it can give high-fidelity, except by chonce.



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THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION
OCTOBER 1955 Volume 32, Number 10

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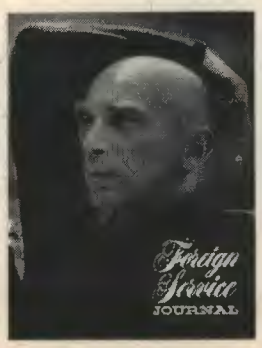

COVER PICTURE: The dancer Harald Kreuzberg at the Salzburg Festival in 1950. From Edward Steichen's "The Family of Man Exhibit". *Photo by Yoichi Okamoto, Deputy Chief of the Visual Materials Branch of the USIA's International Press Service.*

The AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION is an unofficial and voluntary association of the members, active and retired, of *The Foreign Service of the United States and the Department of State*. The Association was formed for the purpose of fostering *esprit de corps* among members of the Foreign Service and to establish a center around which might be grouped the united efforts of its members for the improvement of the Service.

The FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL is not official and material appearing herein represents only personal opinions, and is not intended in any way to indicate the official views of the Department of State or of the Foreign Service as a whole.

The Editors will consider all articles submitted. If accepted, the author will be paid a minimum of one cent a word on acceptance. Photographs accompanying articles will, if accepted, be purchased at one dollar each. Five dollars is paid for cover pictures. Reports from the Field, although not paid for, are eligible for each month's $15 Story-of-the-Month Contest.

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Printed in U.S.A. by Monumental Printing Company, Baltimore.

MARVIN WILL RETIRES

Marvin Will entered the Department during the tenure of William Jennings Bryan, and has served under no less than thirteen Secretaries of State. He has seen the Department grow from several hundred employees to its present population of over six thousand, with some ten thousand in the field. One of his best recollections of the early days in the Department is that of attending a July Fourth reception in the apartment of Secretary Bryan, on upper Thirteenth Street, at which the Secretary in his shirtsleeves presided personally at the punchbowl pouring grape juice for the entire personnel of the Department, at that time numbering some four hundred guests. He has scores of other recollections when the pace of the Department was leisurely as compared to today.

Mr. Will is a native of Mt. Jackson, Virginia, a small town nestled in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia. He attended public and normal school in Virginia and Strayer Business School in Washington during 1910 and 1911. He was appointed to the Department on December 18, 1913, after serving in temporary positions with the Departments of Commerce and Navy. Shortly after his appointment as a clerk, Mr. Will was placed in charge of a stenographic pool where he also relieved the Executive Clerk during her absence. In December 1919, he was made Private Secretary to Mr. Lay, Acting Foreign Trade Adviser and in 1921, he became Secretary to Mr. Merle Smith, Third Assistant Secretary of State.

On March 25, 1927, Mr. Will was made Assistant Chief Clerk and Administrative Officer of the Department. On April 18, 1929, he was detailed to the White House where he acted as secretary to Mr. Herbert Hoover.

In 1933, Mr. Will was detailed to accompany Ambassador William Bullitt and Mr. Keith Merrill, Chief of Foreign Buildings Office, to Moscow, where he took part in negotiations with the Soviets which resulted in the acquisition of Spaso House for the use of our Embassy. He returned from this special assignment in February, 1934.

Soon afterwards, he was made Chief of the Employee Service Section of the Office of Personnel with responsibility for providing assistance on any and all of the amazing variety of requests for assistance, both personal and official, brought to him and his staff by innumerable Foreign Service members. Through his office (the Foreign Service Lounge) passed more than two hundred Service members each week —reporting to the Department for home leave and consultation, on transfer to a new post, and mixing with scores of new appointees just being introduced into the ways of the Service. To each individual, clerk or Ambassador, Mr. Will gave full measure of conscientious attention, bolstered by the wisdom and experience gained during his forty-four years in the Department.

Over the years many letters of commendation have been received from every category of personnel, from newly appointed clerks to top officers in the Department and Foreign Service, praising Mr. Will's thoughtful and ever courteous attention for personal as well as official assistance.

In 1951, Mr. Will was given formal recognition for his outstanding contributions to the Department and was given

(*Continued on page 6*)

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Your very first sip will tell you that DOMINION TEN is true Canadian Whisky at its mellow best. Full 86.8 proof, it combines an extreme lightness of body with a definite, yet delicate flavor.

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Letters to the Editors

Pseudonyms may be used only if your letter includes your correct name and address.

COORDINATING ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POLICY

Bethesda, Md.
August 12, 1955

To The Editors,
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

Lincoln Gordon's essay printed in the August issue of the JOURNAL is extremely apposite and well written. It brings out clearly a number of important points that merit all possible emphasis in organizing the conduct of American foreign policy.

One or two comments come to mind, however, regarding the conclusion that a body similar to the NSC should be established to coordinate foreign economic policy. This could be expected to result in a more effectively coordinated foreign economic policy as Mr. Gordon suggests. but whether the effect on total foreign policy would be wholly beneficial is a question. Since economic policy is an integral part of total foreign policy and often an important element of national security policy, it would be better to have a single body able to cope with the totality rather than fragment the totality between partially overlapping bodies.

This might be accomplished by enlarging the NSC, as already authorized by law. At the same time steps could be taken to prevent the NSC machinery from being unduly burdened. The "economic" members might, for instance, be required to attend meetings only when matters directly concerning them were being considered. A Sub-council, chaired by the Secretary of State or the newly authorized Under Secretary for Economic Affairs, might also be established to consider foreign economic questions initially and to dispose of as many as possible without further reference to the NSC itself. By some such arrangements, it should be possible to obtain the principal advantages of both the alternatives for handling foreign economic policy which Mr. Gordon discusses.

Kingsley W. Hamilton

MARVIN WILL *(from page 4)*

a Distinguished Service Award at the Honor Awards Ceremony.

Mr. Will's most outstanding characteristics are his devotion to duty, a genuine desire to be of service to others, and his friendliness. As has been said of him, "he is the heart of the Foreign Service."

As Mr. Will retires on August 31, 1955, our very best wishes go with him. We shall *all* miss him!

MR. MARVIN W. WILL

formerly Employee Relations Officer
of the Department of State

has been appointed

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INTERNATIONAL SERVICES

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FOREIGN SERVICE STAFF CORPS PROMOTIONS

The following Staff Corps promotions were processed during the month of July:

From Class 8 to Class 7

Guaderrama, Ernesto S.

From Class 12 to Class 11

Benton, Culmer C., Jr.
Bond, Ava
Coles, Mildred L.
Cornell, Nancie E.
Dunn, Clara C.
Fochs, John Elmer
Gonzales, Claudia M.
Hanna, John E.
Holm, William H.
Johnson, Alicia L.
Kam, Beatriz A.
Konnersman, Katherine
Kropf, Janice B.
Lee, Larry A.
Miller, Lionel B.
Palfrey, Francis M.
Polakoff, Paula
Repasky, Michael G.
Reynolds, Wendell P.
Roller, Edith F.
Sanders, Ruth A.
Stokan, Stephen S.
Thompson, Patricia K.
White, Elizabeth D.
Woodcock, Mable F.

From Class 13 to Class 12

Bredbenner, Lois
Brown, Merrill A.
Hargan, Norma Mae
Johnson, Stephanie E.
Jordan, Joan M.
Lee, Betty R.
Newell, Evelyn
Norman, Irene M.
Rebuth, Jeannette M.
Shipp, Lois I.
Taylor, Malcolm M.
Thompson, Margaret A.
Van Ingen, Elinor L.

IN MEMORIAM

GEORGE. Mr. William Perry George, Foreign Service Officer retired, died on July 22, 1955, in Barcelona, Spain. At the time of his retirement Mr. George was Counselor of Embassy at Belgrade.

IVES. Mrs. Nischa E. Ives, wife of Foreign Service Officer J. Winsor Ives, died on August 18, 1955, in Washington, D. C.

LARISH. A daughter, Emily, was born on Sunday, August 28, to Anthony and Violet Larish in Madrid, Spain. The child developed unusual lung complications and died on the evening of August 31, 1955. The entire staff of Embassy Madrid joins in extending its heartfelt sympathy to the young bereaved couple.

MARRIAGES

REARDON-SCHMUTZER. Miss Rosemary Schmutzer, FSS and daughter of Mrs. John Schmutzer, was married to Mr. Lawrence J. Reardon on May 28, 1955, in Bangkok.

BIRTHS

CASH. A daughter, Martha Alice, born to Mr. and Mrs. Harvey J. Cash on August 12, 1955, at Mexico City.

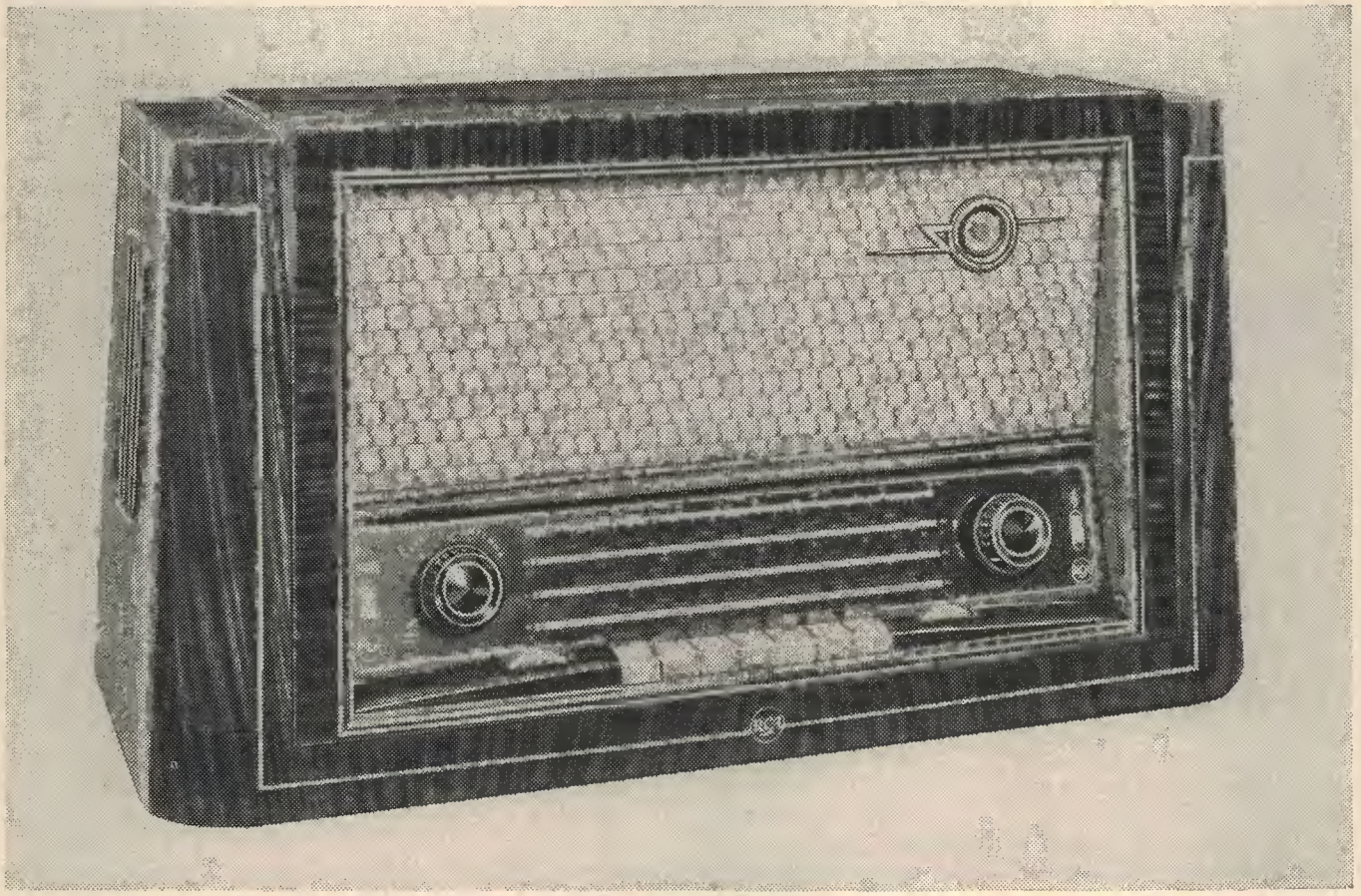
COOK. A son, Eric Spens, born to Mr. and Mrs. Eiler R. Cook on July 25, 1955, in Paris.

TIMBERLAKE. A daughter, Katherine Dorothy, born to Mr. and Mrs. Clare H. Timberlake on August 7, 1955, in Lima.

WIESNER. A daughter, Margaret Bolles, born to Mr. and Mrs. Louis A. Wiesner on February 14, 1955, in Ankara.

RCA presents New "Tower" Radio

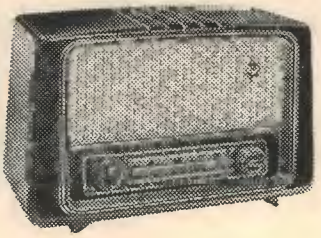
WITH 3 SPEAKERS!



RCA "TOWER" RADIO, Model 5QR75X. Continental-styled hand-rubbed wood cabinet. Simplified universal power transformer permits set to be operated on voltages of 110, 127, 150, 187, 220 AC; 50/60 cycles.

SEE AND HEAR THESE OTHER GREAT NEW RCA "TOWER" RADIOS

Model 5QR64X. Has 3 laudspeakers far richer, fuller saund. 2 variable cantrols adjust tone to suit listener's taste. Operates an 5 different valtages...110—127—150—187—220AC; 50/60 cycles. 5 piana-type keys pravide autamatic band selection. Beautiful hand-rubbed walnut cabinet.



Model 5QR53. Has 5" speaker, variable tone cantral. Operates an 5 valtages. Chaice of medium and 2 shart-wave bands, ar lang, medium and shart-wave bands. Walnut-grained plastic cabinet. Available in battery-aperated versian with medium and shart-wave bands anly—Madel 5QB43.

Now RCA brings you this stunning new "Tower" radio with *three* full-sized loudspeakers for the richest, clearest sound you've ever enjoyed from a table radio. What's more, it has pin-point tuning for greater selectivity and 2 automatic variable controls so you can adjust tone to your taste. Band selecting is automatic too... just press one of the 7 piano-type keys to hear long—medium—or short-wave programs. There are *three* short-wave bands! If you want to listen to your favorite records through the wonderful 3-speaker system, there's a phono-jack for attaching a record player. See and hear this sensational new RCA "Tower" radio today, or write:

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30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA, NEW YORK 20, N. Y., U. S. A.

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Francis C. deWolf, Review Editor

THE BOOKSHELF

NEW AND INTERESTING

by FRANCIS COLT DE WOLF

1. **The Dignity of Man** by Russell W. Davenport, published by Harper $4.00

A brilliant study by the late editor of *Fortune* of the spiritual values (or the lack of them) of Marxian Man and Free Man (or the story of Marxism versus Idealism retold).

2. **American Science and Invention,** A Pictorial History by Mitchell Wilson, published by Simon and Schuster $10.00

This will intrigue all visitors if you leave it in your anteroom, but your family won't let you! A fascinating survey of American inventiveness beginning with Franklin and ending with the Atom.

3. **Renaissance Diplomacy** by Garrett Mattingly, published by Houghton Mifflin Company $6.00

Diplomatic history of Europe from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century. The *Spectator* says: "This is history as it should be written."

The United States as a World Power—A Diplomatic History 1900-1955, by Samuel Flagg Bemis. *Henry Holt and Company, New York. Revised Edition 1955. 516 pages. $6.95.*

Reviewed by CARLTON SAVAGE

This solid volume is by the historian who has written and edited more books on U. S. diplomatic history than any other author at any time. It is, as the title indicates, a diplomatic history of the United States in the twentieth century. This revised edition carries through to the present, with a final chapter on the Korean War and the new security treaties. The volume constitutes, in effect, Part III of Professor Bemis' "A Diplomatic History of the United States," the 1955 edition of which was published recently.

The present volume manifests anew the thoroughness of the scholarship of Professor Bemis and the richness of his background. Throughout are interspersed pungent interpretations by the author. The reader will not always agree with these interpretations but will be impressed with the fact that they arise from a comprehensive knowledge of American diplomatic history.

Inside the Space Ships, by George Adamski. *Abelard-Schuman, Inc., New York. 1955. 256 pages. $3.50.*

Reviewed by ARTHUR L. LEBEL

This is Adamski's latest on inter-planetary travel and thinking beings from other planets. If your capacity to believe was taxed by "Flying Saucers Have Landed," it will be put to a much more severe test by "Inside the Space

(*Continued on page* 12)

Give with Pride . . . Receive with Pleasure!

Here are two holiday gift decanters worthy of the precious bourbon they contain, encased in handsome cartons for easy gift wrapping. A gift to be prized for its beauty . . . long after the last mellow drop is drained. A flattering gift to the most discriminating . . . a perfect gift to *you!*

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Ships." In this book, Adamski reports on conversations with the Venusians, Martians and Saturnians, both men and women. In external appearance and behavior, these people are just like Earthly humans, except for their great intelligence and their character and temperaments, all of which Adamski describes. He also repeats the teachings he heard from the lips of their great Masters; he tells something of the construction and operation of satellite and mother interplanetary craft, and life aboard. He has seen them, inspected them and flown in them.

All of these things are hard to believe—as is anything that is contrary to and threatens long-established (if not well-established) scientific and philosophical principles. Yet it is not possible to prove that they do not exist. And as you read, you find yourself thinking that if all of this is reality it is easily the most important thing that ever happened on this planet for millenniums.

Despite his own firm convictions in the matter, and despite the numerous photographs which he produces in his book, Adamski frankly expects to leave many readers skeptical. Whether you believe or reject its contents or reserve judgment, "Inside the Space Ships" will make interesting reading.

The Columbus Atlas, by John Bartholomew. *McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York. 297 pp. 1954. $10.00.*

Reviewed by FRANCIS COLT DE WOLF

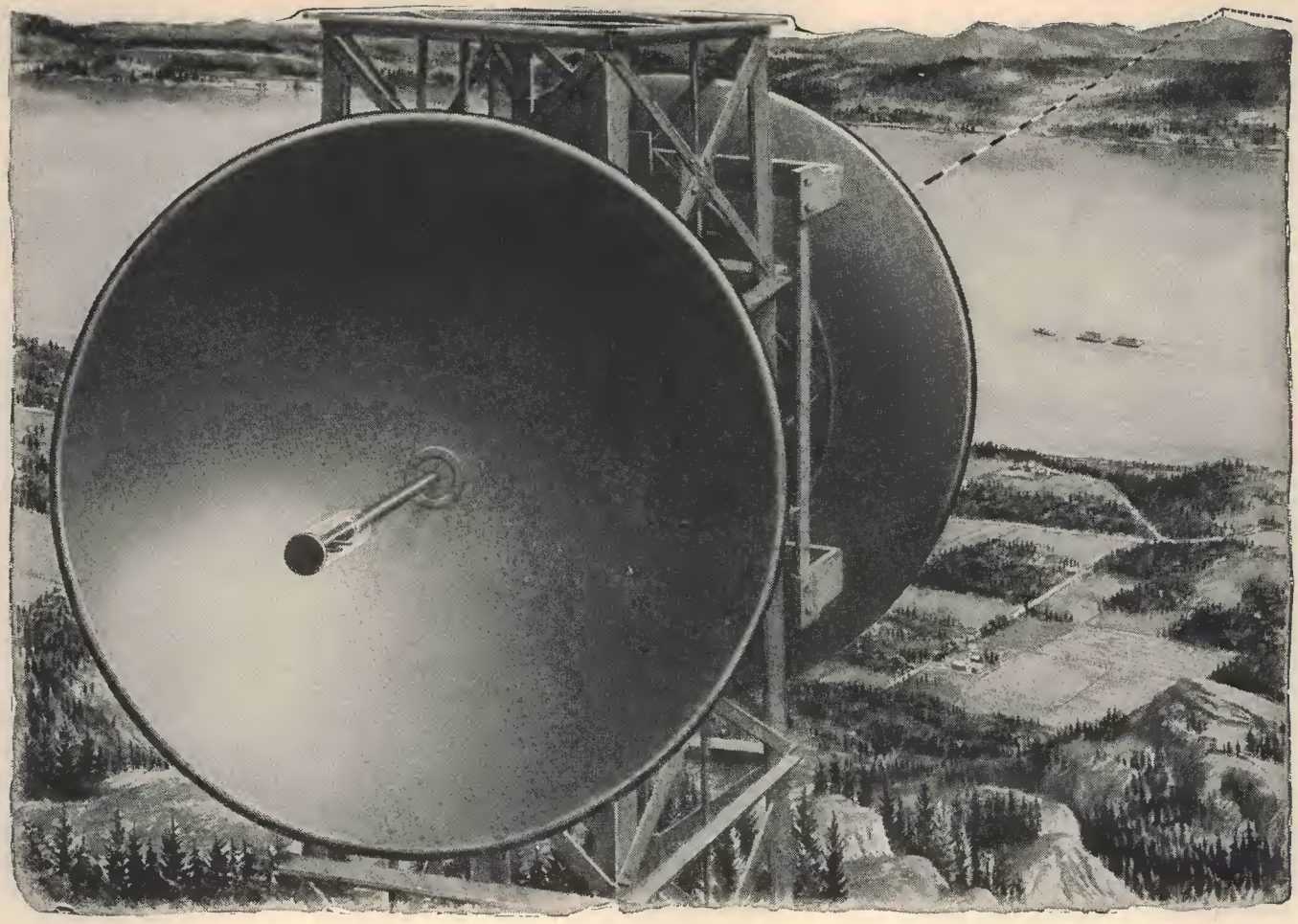
Here is a handy atlas at a reasonable price with 160 pages of colored maps and an index of 50,000 places. It is approximately 11 inches by 8 inches. Although the latest political boundaries are given, it emphasizes the physiographic features of each area. It is printed in Scotland by John Bartholomew and Company. The well known cartographer, author of the "Citizen's Atlas of the World," has again done a superb job.

Immigration Laws of the United States by Frank L. Auerbach. The Bobbs-Merrill Company Incorporated, Indianapolis, 1955. vii, 372 pp. $8.00

Reviewed by ELIOT B. COULTER

Mr. Frank L. Auerbach, Special Assistant to the Director, Visa Office, Department of State, is known to many members of the Foreign Service for his wide and authoritative knowledge of the immigration laws and regulations governing the admission of aliens into the United States. Mr. Auerbach

(*Continued on page* 16)

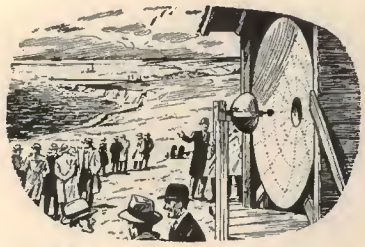


What every industrial executive should know about

MICROWAVE

In 1931, International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation became the world pioneer—the *first* to beam man's voice through space by microwave. Today microwave has become the fastest growing communications system for spanning mountains, swamps, rivers and other natural barriers without costly wire lines—a system that is virtually immune to storm damage.

And today IT&T is still the recognized leader, with its greatly advanced "pulse time multiplex" method of microwave transmission. If your company is planning to set up, expand or replace its own cross-country communication system, look first to PTM microwave. This versatile, flexible, new method provides for multiple speech channels, unattended telegraph, telemetering, remote control and other signaling. PTM microwave is available through *Federal Telephone and Radio Company*, a Division of IT&T.



IT&T engineers successfully demonstrate first voice transmission by microwave, Calais to Dover, March 31, 1931.

INTERNATIONAL TEL AND TEL

IT&T

INTERNATIONAL TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH CORPORATION, 67 Broad Street, New York

For information on microwave communication systems, address: *Federal Telephone and Radio Company*, 100 Kingsland Road, Clifton, N. J.

25 years ago

BY JAMES B. STEWART

THE OLD TIME COURTESY: Officials of the Department of State have been officially instructed that hereafter when writing despatches to the Department they are no longer to "Have the honor" to be "obedient servants," but shall subscribe themselves simply as "respectfully yours." On the other hand, the Department will no longer be obedient servants without honor, but "very truly yours." . . . The change is a pity. The Department of State does not require the kind of efficiency that needs must dispense with formal courtesy. . . . Those whose time is so valuable that they cannot use it for the amenities of life, invariably fritter it away in less commendable pursuits. . . . It is the invariable rule in any office that whenever familiarity and casual forms of address are tolerated among the staff, the inevitable sequel is rudeness to outsiders, contempt for their own superiors, and general slackness conducive to inefficiency. Hence it is to be regretted that the Department of State should depart from the standard forms of old time courtesy which made it a paragon among all departments of the Government. (Quoted by JOURNAL from NAUTICUS.)

EXCUSE ME, JOHN, BUT—"President Harrison appointed his friend, JOHN C. NEW, Consul General at London. After New had been in London some time he returned on leave and called at the White House to pay his respects to his old friend, the President. There was a reception being held the day he called and, it being summer, New was wearing white spats. Such things were unknown in Indiana, but New had acquired the habit during his London residence. The President greeted the Consul General warmly and then circulated around the room. His eyes finally lit on New's spats and, advancing to him, he touched him on the shoulder and whispered in his ear, 'Excuse me, John, but your drawers are coming down.'" (CONSUL GENERAL JOHN M. SAVAGE in the JOURNAL.)

JIMMY DUNN: MR. JAMES C. DUNN, lately First Secretary at the American Embassy, London, has resigned from the Service on account of his wife's illness.

BOB MURPHY AND JACK DE COURCY: These young consuls labored to defeat one another on Labor Day at the Compiegne golf course. The result was an even break with a rating of "high average." Each promises to do better with the passage of the heat wave.

JAKE: CONSUL J. E. JACOBS left Shanghai for Washington to take up his duties in the Department. Mr. Jacobs has been in China since his entry into the Foreign Service in 1915 and has spent 10 years at the Consulate General at Shanghai.

(*Continued on page* 16)

A PROMISE OF GOOD FELLOWSHIP

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In Louisville, Lima or London—

wherever men of affairs relax in hospitality and good fellowship—famous Old Forester is the favorite. As fine in quality as it is elegant in flavor—its rich, full-bodied goodness is a promise of good cheer! Old Forester is the whisky that sets the standard for all Kentucky bourbons... For as it says on the label:

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Kentucky Straight Bourbon Whisky
100 and 86 Proof
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TWENTY-FIVE YEARS *(from page 14)*

MARVIN WILL—MRS. SHIPLEY, MISS BASSIE and I were speaking about Marvin Will's retirement and the former chief of the Passport Division expressed our thoughts when she said, "He is the last of his kind—the last of the old timers in the Department who was devoted to the interests, large and small, of every member of the Foreign Service."

ON A PASSPORT PHOTO

Alas, that I should ever live to see
The like of such a misbegotten face,
Wearing a look 'twixt pity and disgrace,
Meekness and murder! And, if such things be,
How comes this gallows-bird to pass for me?
I search in vain; in vain I try to trace
One feature—there is naught in that grimace
That to a human likeness will agree.

Oh, never let me hence unjustly look
On others harshly, or think ill of those
Whom Fate belies and men misunderstand.
It's hard to be mistaken for a crook;
Yet if they spot this photograph, God knows
No country in the world will let me land.
—W. J. Duncan in "Life," From JOURNAL

FROM INTERIOR OF CHINA: CONSUL LEWIS CLARK received the following in reply to a warning to missionaries in the interior of China, advising them to remove to places where they could be more easily protected:

"Dear Consul General: In the Almighty Lord's hand we have safety any place. If things become more serious, I shall take your advice at once."

A SERVICE GEM: "Once upon a time there was a consul who erected an altar in the living quarters above the Consulate. His deceased wife's picture was enshrined at one end and the Consular Regulations displayed open at the other. The incense burner had the place of honor in the center. In that setting he performed a marriage service—each of the contracting parties grasping an end of the Consul's pen. What wording he used in the service is not recorded."

Former AMBASSADOR L. J. KEENA

THE BOOKSHELF *(from page 12)*

has written a number of works on this subject, including a recent article, "The Refugee Relief Act of 1953 as Amended" which appeared in the Department of State Bulletin of September 27, 1954 and has been reprinted by the Department in pamphlet form, Department of State Publication 5615.

Mr. Auerbach's latest work, "Immigration Laws of the United States" covers under appropriate headings the provisions of the immigration laws including the basic Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, and the regulations of the Department of State, Immigration and Naturalization Service and Public Health Service applicable thereto. Each chapter contains an initial reference outline. The volume contains an extended index, summary statistics, various appendices, citations and bibliography. The work will fill a need for an up-to-date concise reference volume covering the law and regulations on this subject and will be of great value to government officials, lawyers, students, social workers and organizations.

NEWS to the FIELD

By Lois Perry Jones

Memorial to Ambassador Peurifoy

Premier Phibul Songgram of Thailand presented a $24,000 check to MRS. JOHN E. PEURIFOY for the establishment of a fund for charitable purposes in memory of the late Ambassador.

Mrs. Peurifoy, in a note expressing her appreciation, suggested the fund be used to aid Thai students preparing themselves for government service.

Prior to the action by Premier Songgram, the Secretary of State had expressed his deep regret at Ambassador Peurifoy's death in the following statement:

"The death of Ambassador Peurifoy is indeed a tragic loss. Despite his relative youth, he had been Deputy Under Secretary of State and had recently been Ambassador successively to Greece, Guatemala, and now Thailand. Each of these posts brought exceptional responsibilities which he discharged with great distinction. In Greece and in Guatemala he contributed mightily to repelling the efforts of international Communism to take over the governments of those countries.

In Thailand he served not only to cement ties with our [illegible] ally, Thailand, but also at this seat of the Secretariat of the Manila Pact Council he helped to generate loyalty to the new Treaty for the security of Southeast Asia.

Our heartfelt sympathy goes out to Mrs. Peurifoy for the loss of her husband and young son and injury to another son.

The nation has lost a career public servant of exceptional ability."

In Honor of Marvin Will

Two hundred and fifty members and guests of the Association honored MARVIN WILL at a luncheon on September 21. The HONORABLE LOY HENDERSON spoke of him as being "the friend of those who needed friends." And Mr. Will, responding to the tribute given him, said, "Why wouldn't I try to be helpful when my clientele was the members of the Foreign Service of the United States?"

Marvin Will

Appointments and Designations

The HONORABLE ROBERT H. THAYER, an expert on national security problems, was named by President Eisenhower to be Minister to Rumania. He will replace the HONORABLE HAROLD SHANTZ, a Career Minister, who resigned as Minister. He retired from the Service last January.

Minister Thayer has been serving with the Operations Coordinating Board which works with the National Security Council.

Ambassador Shantz entered the Service in 1921, and served in 18 different posts before he was appointed Minister to Rumania in 1952. During the war he was Counselor of Embassy near the Government of Yugoslavia established in Egypt, and was appointed as Counselor of Embassy at Copenhagen.

BERNARD A. GUFLER, JR., was appointed Assistant Chief of the United States Mission at Berlin, succeeding Henry A. Parkman, who recently resigned. Mr. Gufler, whose last assignment has been as a Foreign Service Inspector, was appointed to the Foreign Service in 1929 after graduating from Princeton and attending the Harvard School of Business Administration. He has served at Vancouver, Riga, Warsaw, Kaunas, Colombo and Berlin. In 1948 he became a member of the Office of the United States Political Adviser to the Military Governor, and became a member of the Office of the United States High Commissioner.

ISAAC W. CARPENTER, JR., and ROBERT F. BOWIE were appointed Assistant Secretaries of State, under a recently enacted law providing for ten Assistant Secretaries. As Assistant Secretary, Mr. Carpenter will continue to perform the functions assigned to him as Controller, with the title of Assistant Secretary-Controller. As Assistant Secretary, Mr. Bowie will also continue to perform his present functions as Director of the Policy Planning Staff.

Vice-President Nixon Encourages Entry Into Service

The Office of the Vice President sent to ROBERT MURPHY, Deputy Under Secretary of State, a letter written by the Vice-President to the father of a young man on the threshold of choosing a career. The letter said:

"This is just a note to thank you for your letter of August 16 telling me that your son Lee, has gone to Europe to represent the Asheville, North Carolina, YMCA in the World Conference of that Organization in Paris, and you are justly proud of his participation in these meetings.

"On both our good will trips, Mrs. Nixon and I were very impressed by the dedicated and effective work being done by the Government personnel with whom we came in contact in the countries visited. I hope you will encourage Lee to enter the Foreign Service, as we certainly need to keep good young people coming into the Service to continue the splendid job that our career people are doing today."

Mr. Murphy, in responding to the note said:

"Many thanks for your note of August 26 enclosing a copy of Vice President Nixon's letter to Mr. Sturgill. I shall hope to thank the Vice President for his consistent friendly interest in the welfare of our Foreign Service. It is very much appreciated."

Changes on Journal Board and Staff

As long ago as last spring, NILES BOND, Director of the Office of United Nations Political and Security Affairs, joined the Editorial Board of the JOURNAL. Mr. Bond, who

(*Continued on page 36*)

The city of Bern, Switzerla

DIPLOMATIC

By Carl Charlick

During the last great war the world had occasion to marvel at the island of peace in the very center of the holocaust in Europe. Though completely ringed by belligerents, the Swiss had "done it again," as they had a generation earlier, by remaining neutral throughout the long years of war. Observers are wont to divide the credit for this prodigious feat between the respect which their bristling and highly-trained army had instilled in their embattled neighbors, and their country's strategic position athwart the vital Alpine passes and tunnels. Perhaps further credit is due Switzerland's leading role as custodian of the many loose ends of relations which war had severed between the belligerent powers. At the peak of the war, the Swiss Foreign Office had charge of 85 missions and representations on behalf of United nations, and 41 on behalf of Axis countries. To accomplish this volume of diplomatic brokerage the Swiss foreign service multiplied several-fold in size, necessitating the addition of over 100 full-time officials at the capital in Bern and some 800 more in the field, boosting administrative expenses by more than 90 million Swiss francs for the duration. Swiss officials on duty throughout the warring world took care of American and British interests in Axis countries, of German, Italian and Japanese interests in the United States and the British Empire, of the affairs of most of the smaller participants and of certain semi-belligerent states like Egypt, Iran, Thailand and a spate of Latin-American republics. From 1941 to 1945, the picturesque and friendly Swiss capital was the diplomatic hub of the world on a scale not known since the days of Imperial Rome.

On first glance, the protection of a belligerent country's interests within the jurisdiction of its enemies is difficult to reconcile with a state of war, especially the pitiless total kind waged in our time. War suggests a ruthless severance between enemies; the traditional picture is that when war comes, diplomats "ask for their passports," burn their secret archives and depart on the last train or ship. Thereafter, frontiers are slammed shut and the shooting war is on. What possible business can there be between enemies, except fire and steel?

The facts of international life, however, are such that even in war, a mass of public and private business between belligerents requires systematic attention. Especially is this true in a war between modern, highly-developed nations. Countless ties of a commercial, legal or individual nature twine across frontiers, and these cannot be severed by a stroke of the same pen which signs a declaration of war. To abandon these affairs to a protracted legal and administrative vacuum after countries had broken off normal relations would cause needless damage and suffering to

The Swedish ship *Gripsholm,* that exchanged diplomats during World War II.

CARETAKER

both sides. Nations therefore have for some time been in the habit of asking the help of a third party in protecting their interests and those of their nationals when they themselves were prevented from doing so directly. The story of the neutral protection of foreign interests makes fascinating reading and has been the subject of a masterful study by Dr. William McHenry Franklin of the Department of State. While the occasion for such intermediary service often arises in times of peace, for example, where one country lacks the necessary representative facilities in another country's territory, its chief application is under conditions of war.

Earlier centuries, habituated to wars which recurred with monotonous frequency, did not insist on such a radical cleavage between belligerents. War was an altercation between sovereigns rather than peoples. Diplomats sometimes stayed on in an enemy country, and consuls did so regularly. It came as something of an innovation when the Czar of Russia expelled French consuls in 1812 after Napoleon had launched his invasion. In the classic-liberal 18th century Britain's renowned jurist Lord Mansfield felt moved to remind a court that in time of war a sovereign had the common-law right to seize the persons and property of enemy subjects. This right, however, was seldom exercised except at sea, and even then was circumscribed by

American repatriates from Germany arrive in Lisbon in 1944.

S. Pinckney Tuck, the Counselor of Embassy at Vichy, being met in Lisbon by R. Henry Norweb, then Minister to Portugal, as he arrives on a repatriation train.

elaborate rules of contraband. During our Revolutionary War, American agents roamed freely about England, looking after captured seamen or stranded countrymen, and even turning a hand to a piece of business or two. There was constant *va et vient* between Whig-minded Englishmen and the emissaries of the rebellious American colonies in Paris. Treaties, too, reflected this relaxed view of belligerency. Our treaty with Prussia of 1785, for example, spelled out in detail that in the event of war between the two countries. the nationals of one could remain in the territory of the other without molestation, and if they were merchants, they would enjoy full legal support in collecting their outstanding accounts for a space of nine months.

It was sometime later, in 1819, that Chancellor Kent of New York sounded a sterner note when he ruled (*Griswold vs. Waddington*) that war which rends asunder two states must by the same logic of law sever all relations between their respective citizens. This doctrine grew slowly. During the Crimean War, in mid-century, Russia expressly continued consular relations with her enemies, and Germany and Italy did so for a full year during their rupture in World War I. Modern war, however, generally does not tolerate any intercourse between belligerent nations, whether of an official or individual nature.

History of Caretaking

The practice of having one country intervene on behalf of another, or of its citizens, developed without formal pattern, as the occasion arose. Among earliest instances, Dr. Franklin tells us, were the affairs of Christian merchants trading or residing in the Osmanli world of the Levant, virtually a preserve of French diplomacy. A more specific case is furnished by the early history of the United States, when the Barbary pirates of Algiers captured numbers of American ships and enslaved their crews. Our young republic, too weak to demand redress by force of arms, had to be content with sending annual sums of money for the relief of these unfortunate captives, and these moneys were jointly administered by the French, British and Spanish consuls at Algiers.

In subsequent years the United States. known for its disinterestedness in international politics, from time to time had occasion to render its good offices to other countries or their citizens, mainly in Latin America. In 1867, such activity acquired a more formal quality when the leading Powers, outraged over the execution of the emperor Maximilian, withdrew their diplomatic representatives from Mexico and officially requested the United States to take charge of their interests and property there. In times of open war, too, American diplomats were called upon to protect belligerent interests, for instance during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871 and the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905. In more recent history, up to the time it became a belligerent itself in 1917 and again in 1941, the United States bore the major share of protecting the interests of belligerents in both world wars.

Switzerland originally was more often a client than a purveyor of diplomatic good offices. For reasons of economy, and also because of an inherent distrust of international display, the Swiss for years kept a very modest diplomatic household. Up to well past the middle of the last century, diplomatic missions were limited to its four neighbors—France, Austria, Prussia-Germany and Piedmont-Italy. Washington became a fifth diplomatic post in 1882, even ahead of London (1891). Much of Switzerland's foreign contact was discharged hy consuls and consular agents. To fill the gap in her diplomatic establishment, Switzerland also made use of the foreign services of Germany and of the United States. Our foreign service officers in a number of countries, mostly Latin America, had standing orders to respond to requests for assistance from Swiss citizens. And so we may read how over the years, American ministers and consuls helped Swiss citizens collect damage claims against the government of Chile, furnished pocket money to a Swiss stranded in Habana, or even prevented the drafting of Swiss residents into the Ecuadorean army. This placid and unobtrusive record of good offices helped crystallize some important points in the legal relationship between a protecting country and its protegé. Did the officers of a protecting power become *de facto* officials of the client state? At first the United States inclined to this view. Soon, however, when American officers flooded the Swiss government at Bern with requests for the appropriate Swiss "laws, diplomas, documents, flags and *ecussons*," the Swiss gently but firmly put things back onto more orthodox tracks and proposed instead that Swiss nationals under American protection be assimilated to American citizens. On this point, however, our Department of State demurred. In the end, matters settled down to the doctrine accepted today, namely, that officers of a protecting power are not officials of their client state, but act merely "in charge" of the latter's interests.

The outbreak of war in 1914, as already mentioned, thrust the greater part of belligerent interests on American shoulders, including Allied affairs in most of the Central Powers, and German and Austrian interests in Russia. When the United States entered the war in 1917, these protective mandates had to be redistributed among the remaining neutrals, with Switzerland taking a substantial share. At this time the Swiss maintained nine full diplomatic missions, the last additions having been at St. Petersburg and Tokyo in 1906, plus consular missions under chargés d'affaires at Madrid and Buenos Aires. A number of Swiss envoys discharged plural missions, that is, they were accredited to several countries concurrently. A new legation was opened in Bucharest in 1916, an awkward choice of time since Rumania was just then being overrun and occupied by German military forces. In 1917, a separate mission to The Hague was split off from its parent London, ostensibly to help spark some badly needed Dutch raw materials for pinched and land-locked Switzerland.

Diplomatic Expansion

Following the first World War, the Swiss decided on a program of diplomatic expansion. The new collective spirit which brought many international activities onto Swiss soil also focussed Swiss attention on a wider world horizon. As a first step, a minister was dispatched to the revived Polish state (for several years he also directed a new sub-legation at Prague.) Former consulates were elevated to legations—at Constantinople, Sofia, Helsinki, Nanking, Dublin. Many plural missions were given their "independence"—Brussels was detached from Paris, Stockholm from Berlin, Athens and Belgrade from Bucharest, Cairo from Istanbul. New

sub-legations were opened in Chile, Portugal, Denmark and Norway. In 1938, upon the disappearance of independent Austria, a separate legation was for the first time erected in Budapest. A new mission to Venezuela also serviced its neighbors Colombia, Panama and Ecuador, while Cuba was a sub-post under the legation at Washington. By 1939, Switzerland was diplomatically accredited to 32 countries.

The Second World War

With the advent of the second World War in 1939, the Western Allies again turned to the United States to handle their affairs in enemy countries, while the Reich for the most part applied to Switzerland. Other neutrals handled their share; but as one after the other they were drawn into the maelstrom of war, their protective missions had to find other hands. After Pearl Harbor, Switzerland not only undertook to represent the United States in enemy countries, but also inherited the numerous American clientele, including the affairs of Great Britain, most of the Dominions, and France. Over a dozen Latin-American republics promptly joined the roster of Swiss clients, having broken relations with the Axis. Some of the Axis satellites, too, asked Switzerland's help—Bulgaria to represent it in the United States, Rumania in Egypt, Thailand—officially on Axis side—in Great Britain. From all sides, the headlong spread of war brought fresh burdens for the Swiss foreign service. For example, the Dutch East Indies, where Switzerland represented Germany, now in turn requested Switzerland to be their agent with respect to their new enemy Japan. In France, matters were rendered complex by the capitulation of 1940 and establishment of the Vichy regime which broke with its former Allies of the West. After the United States, too, had ended its uneasy mission at Vichy in 1942, Switzerland took charge of Allied interests in France while at the same time representing Vichy in Germany and Berlin in certain French territories under De-Gaullist control, like Syria and Lebanon. Two years later, with the liberation of France, Switzerland could relinquish its Allied agencies, but in turn had to take on French interests in Japan, Thailand and other Axis-dominated countries. For its protecting agent in the countries of the Western Hemisphere—including the United States, Canada and Latin-America—Japan had originally chosen Spain. Before the war was over these two countries had a serious falling out (over alleged mistreatment of Spanish missionaries in the Orient), and all of Japan's business was abruptly shifted to Switzerland. Not only that, but Switzerland had to function as intermediary between erstwhile client and attorney! As the war neared its end, Switzerland was also drafted to handle affairs between the several Axis satellites who had dropped out of the war at different times or even switched sides. Thus Switzerland represented Bulgaria in Slovakia, Rumania in Hungary and Japan in Finland.

The experience of the last war highlights the basic principle that protection of foreign belligerent interests calls for the consent and mutual recognition of all three parties involved—the protected or client state, the protector or mandatory, and the government of local jurisdiction. After its lightning campaign against Yugoslavia in 1941, Germany asked Switzerland to cease representing Yugoslav interests in the Reich, since it considered that country extinguished and superseded by its satellite creations. The Western Allies, in turn, would not allow themselves to be represented (except through very informal Swiss good offices) in countries like Slovakia, Croatia or Serbia which were beyond the pale of their recognition. Nor could Switzerland have undertaken any protective activities on behalf of or within Soviet Russia with whom she had no diplomatic contact after 1919, until relations were resumed in 1946.

A protecting neutral must also be guided by the fact that a belligerent who seizes part or all of his enemy's country succeeds to all state authority over the territory occupied by his military forces. In the first years of the war, the United States embassy at Berlin, in charge of British and French interests in the Reich, automatically extended its radius of protection to territories which came under the sway of the *Wehrmacht,* and the Swiss carried on in the same manner when they succeeded to these affairs. The Swiss legation in Tokyo, for example, was the focal point for handling Allied interests not only in the Japanese home islands but in the Philippines and occupied parts of China. As a corollary a neutral cannot represent a government which has been totally expelled or disestablished. When Germany capitulated to the Allies in May 1945, Switzerland promptly severed relations with the Reich on the premise that all state authority in Germany had passed into the hands of the four major occupying Allies. A new Swiss mission was accredited to the Allied four-power Control Council at Berlin as the proper surrogate of the former Reich. This was also the time to turn back to the Allies their respective affairs in German territory. It is a tribute to Swiss stewardship that the Allies (not including Russia) begged Switzerland to continue its protective activities on their behalf for some months, until they could re-establish their own services.

In contrast with the German example the Swiss did not break off relations with Japan after V-J day, since the Japanese state continued to exist, even though totally under the authority of the victorious Allies. Considerable business still flowed via the Japanese embassy at Bern into Swiss foreign service channels in other countries, to which the Allied military command in Tokyo took exception as being inconsistent with the circumstances of Japan's surrender. In the end the matter was resolved by Japan regretfully severing relations with Bern, which automatically terminated Switzerland's representation.

More Easily Acquired than Relinquished

The function of protecting the interests of another country is sometimes more easily acquired than relinquished. The Swiss Foreign Office, after allowing a reasonable interval of time following the end of the war, began to prod its "clientele" to take back their various interests and representatives. The major powers had already liquidated their affairs in Swiss hands, and Japanese business, as we noted, was in process of being wound up. Some of the smaller states, however, procrastinated, in particular a number of Latin-American republics who found the efficient Swiss diplomatic network of great convenience. Some Italian relations too, were slow to mend, notably with Greece, Egypt and several British dominions, despite the fact that Italy had been under Allied control for a much longer

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Service Glimpses

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1. WASHINGTON—Students at the first visa training course held at the FSI are being addressed by Representative Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Immigration, and co-author of the Immigration and Nationality Act. Seated around the table from left to right are Holsey G. Handyside, Samuel S. H. Lee, Harry B. Glazer, Richard Rueda, Rolland Welch, Owen W. Roberts, Kenneth Rabin, John M. McIntyre, John J. Mullin, Representative Walter, Stockwell Everts, John Sylvester, Charles W. Henebry, Herbert S. Malin.

2. TRIPOLI—The 179th anniversary of American Independence was celebrated in Tripoli, Libya, with a large garden party given by Ambassador John L. Tappin at the residence. Highlighting the event was the joint cutting of the cake by Ambassador Tappin and Mustapha Ben Halim, Libyan Prime Minister, as Mrs. Tappin looked on.

3. ROME—Members of the crew of the warship ***Intrepid*** at a reception in the American Ambassador's villa in Rome. From left to right, S. E. Toy; Letitia K. Baldridge, secretary to the Ambassador; and W. J. Wope.

4. NEW DELHI—The Honorable John Sherman Cooper and Mrs. Cooper and the official party which accompanied them to Katmandu for the presentation of credentials ceremony on June 3. In the picture are Ambassador and Mrs. Cooper, Mr. and Mrs. Graham Hall, Mr. and Mrs. Christopher Van Hellen, Mr. and Mrs.

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Clifford Willson, Mr. and Mrs. T. E. Weil, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Flanagan, Messrs. Frank Noe, Walter Kaufman and Tilmer Engerbretson, Army Attache Harold Pearson and Mrs. Pearson, Air Attache Chandler Estes and Mrs. Estes, Naval Attache W. A. Settle.

5. MALAGA—Edward J. Norton (right) ended his Service years, that began before 1906, when the Consular Agency in Malaga, where he had been Agent, was transferred to William Schenstrom, Jr. last July. In the picture above are William Schenstrom, Jr., Francis L. Spalding, Consul at Seville, and Edward J. Norton.

6. CHEINGMAI—Inspector and Mrs. Brewster Morris took advantage of their visit to Cheingmai to travel on mule back to a nearby village. The picture shows Mr. and Mrs. Morris arriving in the village, still smiling after their hours in the saddle.

7. SEOUL—Mr. Yun In Sik, who has been with the United States Consulate in Seoul, Korea, for thirty years, recently received his certificate of award and thirty year pin from Ambassador William S. B. Lacy. The above picture was made at a reception given by Ambassador and Mrs. Lacy in honor of Mr. and Mrs. Yun. Mr. Yun began work for the United States Government on May 12, 1925 and during World War II was the official custodian of American property, under the direction of the Swiss Government. The Yuns are the parents of five children, two of whom are studying in the United States.

First Minister to the UNITED STATES

Conrad Alexandre Gérard

By William Gerber

Who was the first diplomatic representative of a foreign country to the United States? And if his rank was lower than that of Minister Plenipotentiary, then who was the first Minister Plenipotentiary accredited to the United States?

If you were seeking the answers to these questions, the natural place in which to try to find them would be the Historical Register constituting Part II of the annual *Register of the Department of State* for the year 1874. The Historical Register contains, under the names of the foreign countries maintaining diplomatic missions in the United States in 1874, an ostensibly complete list of the heads of such missions, from the time of their establishment, with the dates of their reception by the United States Government.

But the answers provided by the Historical Register would, unfortunately, not be correct.

According to the list in the Historical Register, the first country to maintain a diplomatic mission in the United States was the Netherlands. Under the name of that country, the Register lists Pieter Johan van Berkel as having presented his credentials in the capacity of Minister Plenipotentiary on October 31, 1783. Other diplomatic missions in the United States established prior to 1800, according to the Register, were those of Spain (1785), France (1788), Great Britain (1791), and Portugal (1794).

Is it true, as suggested by the Register, that France—which signed a treaty of alliance with the United States in 1778—did not send a representative to the United States until 10 years later, and that the Netherlands was the first country to send a diplomatic representative to the United States?

No, it is not true. The facts are otherwise.

Actually, the first representatives of a foreign government who essayed to deal with the Continental Congress at the capital of the United States were the British commissioners—Lord Howe and Sir Henry Clinton—who attempted, beginning in June 1778, to treat with the Americans on the subject of Lord North's proposals for "conciliation with America." Since, however, their terms of reference did not include recognition of the independence of the United States, they cannot be regarded as foreign diplomatic representatives.

The story of the appointment of the first foreign diplomat accredited to the United States begins at Paris.

On February 6, 1778, at Paris, Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, for the United States, and Conrad Alexandre Gérard, for France, signed a treaty of alliance, a treaty of amity and commerce, and an "act separate and secret" pertaining to the accession of Spain to the two treaties. Gérard was Secretary of the French Council of State.

Less than two months later, on March 28, 1778, King Louis XVI of France designated Gérard as Minister to the United States.

On April 10, 1778, a French fleet under the command of Count d'Estaing set sail from Toulon en route to the United States. Gérard was among those sailing with the fleet.

On Saturday, July 11, 1778, the Continental Congress received word of the arrival of the fleet and of Gérard's presence on board one of the vessels. The Congress immediately appointed a committee, consisting of John Hancock, Richard Henry Lee, and three others, "to wait on Mr. Gérard, on his arrival, and conduct him to his lodgings."

It appears that Estaing also, according to Lee, bore "powers from the King of France which are plenipotentiary to treat with Congress," and that Estaing sent a copy thereof to the Congress. But the Congress directed General

The State House in Philadelphia in 1778.

Washington to deal with Estaing on military collaboration.

The committee which had been appointed to meet Gérard went to Chester and brought him to Philadelphia on Sunday, July 12, 1778. Henry Laurens, President of the Continental Congress, referred to Gérard, in a letter of that date addressed to the authorities of six of the States, as "the first European Ambassador to Congress."

Gérard dined on the same day, Sunday, with the committee which had fetched him, with Laurens, and with a few other members of the Continental Congress. On Tuesday, July 14, Gérard told Laurens that he was not an Ambassador; that he would serve as a Minister Plenipotentiary or as a Resident, depending upon the character of the diplomatic representative to be sent to France by the Continental Congress, but (he added later) the French Government preferred that he serve as Minister Plenipotentiary; and that he had also been appointed as French Consul General in the United States.

On the same Tuesday, July 14, the Continental Congress resolved "That his excellency le Sieur Gérard be received as Minister Plenipotentiary from his most Christian Majesty to the Congress of the United States of America." The Congress also appointed Lee, Samuel Adams, and Gouverneur Morris as a committee to make recommendations on the time and manner of Gérard's "public reception."

Gérard apparently desired that he be formally received as soon as possible. By July 27, in any case, he had given that impression to Josiah Bartlett, a member of the Continental Congress from New Hampshire. The Congress did not, however, find it feasible to receive him at once, for the reason that the State House (now called "Independence Hall"), where the Congress met, had been left in poor shape by the British forces, who had occupied Philadelphia from September 26, 1777, to June 18, 1778, and it was obvious that a considerable time—perhaps a few weeks—would be needed to refurbish it.

The Continental Congress began to do business with Gérard, however, before he was formally received. For example, on July 14, 1778, Gérard informed Laurens that Estaing's fleet would cooperate with American vessels operating against the British, and on July 15 and 16, 1778, the Congress took action on a memorandum from Gérard regarding prisoners, taken by the French fleet, who were citizens of the United States.

The planning for Gérard's formal reception concerned, first, questions of protocol (who bows first? who accompanies whom to what chair? etc.); second, the reply to be made to Gérard's remarks on presenting his credentials; and third, the dinner, music, and other "entertainment" to be provided for Gérard and other guests.

On July 16, 1778, the Congress received a report from the above-mentioned Lee-Adams-Morris committee, which had been grappling with the protocol aspects of the reception. The report, apparently written by Morris, included a detailed set of recommended procedures applicable to the reception of ambassadors; other stipulated procedures for the reception of Ministers Plenipotentiary and envoys; and still others for receiving residents.

Consideration of the report was begun on Saturday, July 18, 1778. On Monday, July 20, the Congress adopted a modified draft of only the middle portion of the report, relating to protocol for the reception of ministers.

Gérard had sent to the Congress a copy of the remarks which he intended to make on the occasion of the formal reception. The copy of the proposed remarks was referred on July 16 to a committee consisting of Lee, Morris, and John Witherspoon.

On July 25 the committee brought in a draft reply. After considering the draft inconclusively, however, the Congress

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Henry Laurens, President of the American Congress.

FROM THE PAST INTO THE FUTURE: SUGGESTIONS FOR THE SERVICE

Prize Winning Essay in Category "C"

By ROBERT C. BONE, JR.

This essay is divided into three sections. The first attempts to sketch the international frame of reference into which the organization of American representation abroad must fit. The second section considers the reorganizations and changes since World War I. The concluding section lists various suggestions for a more efficient representation to meet the ceaseless and crushing problems of the cold war which, barring an unlikely apocalyptic opening of the heavens, seems likely to be with us unto the third and fourth generation. Paramount in the planning of a foreign service is the realization that we must accept the probability of living in a state of permanent emergency, a semi-garrison state if you will, for the forseeable future. The conditions in today's world which make this seem likely are discussed below.

The International Frame of Reference

It seems not unlikely that historians a century hence will be using 1945 as the terminal date for the international system established by the Congress of Vienna. For in essence the Vienna state system survived from 1815 until the conclusion of World War II. Quantitatively it expanded from a purely European to a world orbit; qualitatively its concept of an organizational system participated in by a number of virtually co-equal Great Powers remained unchanged. Great Britain throughout this period was to remain a leading participant as did France when it reentered the European Concert only a brief three years after Waterloo. And both Russia and Prussia (Germany), though experiencing their periods of brief eclipse, were constant factors to be taken into account. Italy, hysterically gambling on the unrealized paper profits of a shoddy imperialism, for a short period occupied the Great Power seat left vacant by Austria-Hungary's disintegration. In the early 20th century the United States and Japan joined the magic circle whose domain over palm and pine gave them the decisive vote on the world's destinies. But such modifications aside, the Vienna Congress system in 1940 still represented the basic framework on which all international planning was based.

The Great Powers as of 1940 were the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Russia, France, Japan and, with reservations, Italy which could be included on much the same courtesy basis as was Spain in the circles of the Vienna Congress. Each of these Great Powers, in varying degrees, dominated certain sections of the world. No single one by itself could hope to dominate or overcome the others. Hence, following a pattern as stylized as a Byzantine court ceremonial, they grouped themselves in shifting and uncertain alliances, conditioned by expediency as much as accidental sympathy in ideology. 1940's Pact of Steel was in the direct tradition of Dual and Triple Alliances and Ententes and Leagues which in themselves were the heirs of a yet older tradition. As in the Triple Entente it might be a compact of equals or, as in the Triple Alliance, one of the partners might stand out as dominant but never more than in the sense of *primus inter pares*.

And characteristic of the alliances of the Vienna period was an implicit acceptance of the basic international status quo. A Bismarck indeed might cynically maneuver a blundering and inept France into a disastrous war. True the result for the vanquished entailed a loss of hegemony, the detachment of frontier provinces or overseas territories and financial indemnities. But the right of the vanquished to go on existing as a national entity was never in question. A defeated nation might move to a lower rank in the pecking order but it was still an accepted member. Throughout this period, wars, such civil conflicts as the American aside, were brief in duration and limited in aims. In their conduct were no overtones of the fanaticism of the religious wars of the 17th century or the crusading fervor of the early French revolutionary armies.

Within each nation, political groupings could be, and often were, sharply defined and deeply divided. But, as such dramatic incidents as the 1914 war credits vote of the internationalist and pacifist German Social Democrats showed, common allegiance was felt to be the symbol of the nation, however much small and impotent radical groups might preach an international class allegiance. In this connection the strength of this symbolism is even more strikingly demonstrated by the fact that in even so ramshackle and polyglot an organization as the Austro-Hungarian Army it was late in World War I before mass desertion became a serious problem. The existence of organized political groups within a country dedicated to the service of a foreign power was so unthinkable as to be beyond comment. And even individual traitors were rare enough to be excoriated by name in the pages of their national schoolbooks.

There was yet another outstanding characteristic of the

international system which existed until 1940. This was the fact that those engaged in administering it had a common cultural heritage and used the same terms with the same meanings. The increasing integration of the world through improved transportation and the global moral and intellectual hegemony of Western Europe with its integrated cultural heritage was a powerful factor in this connection. Although it should be noted that, along with the other aspects of the dotage of the Vienna system, this diplomatic *lingua franca* too began to lose its pervasiveness after World War I.

Such were the outlines of the international world in which American diplomatic representation functioned. It was an ordered and secure world. It was an international society which spoke a common language and conducted its affairs according to a uniform code of ethics. Its crises were few and far between. The diplomatic representatives of the Great Powers of Europe were all men of vast experience and long tradition, sharing a common social background and viewpoint. Within this small group lay control of the political destinies of the world. Japan aside, Asia was inert dough to be moulded at will and the United States a distant and introverted titan only reluctantly and spasmodically involved in world affairs. Like the maneuverings of Italian Renaissance armies, the objectives were limited, the tactics highly stylized and the possibilities of violent encounter (it was thought) rigidly circumscribed.

Not Very Arduous Duties

It was in this atmosphere that American diplomatic representation was called upon to perform its not very arduous duties. Matters of commercial interest and such policy landmarks as the Monroe Doctrine aside, the United States had no concern with the all-absorbing political problems which held the interest of the other Great Powers. A Congress of Berlin could rearrange the map of a large section of Europe without the presence or absence of the United States being a subject for either comment or concern. A Cleveland or a Roosevelt might dramatically appear as an arbiter of a boundary dispute or a war but these were highly personalized actions by unusual men with no bearing on the regular functioning of American diplomatic representation. More characteristic of the role of American diplomacy in this period are the pictures drawn in various memoirs of diplomats then serving as young secretaries. Representation at ceremonial functions, the occasional leisurely writing of what would now be described as a "think piece" on political developments—these were the none too arduous duties involved.

By 1940, however, it had become apparent that this pleasant *milieu*, already fatally undermined by World War I, could not continue in the most attenuated form. The emergence in the 1930's of Soviet Russia as an important power, the rise to power of the Nazis, were rapidly and brutally sketching the outlines of an *ars diplomatica* in a totalitarian Spenglerian age of neo-caesarism. The years following World War II with relentlessly increasing tempo and accelerating violence continued to make brutally clear the nature of the world in which American representation must function in the second half of the 20th century.

It is first of all a world in which no trace of the Vienna Great Power system remains. There are no longer seven or more virtually equal great powers of national magnitude. Instead the world is divided into two huge blocs, each headed by one of the great super-powers which emerged from World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union. And, above and beyond national interests and ambitions, each personifies a different culture and civilization which, ultimately to survive at all, must vanquish the other. Outside the two great coalitions there exists no force capable of applying the old balance of power principle. True, a group of Asian states, headed by India, likes to think of itself as a mediating Third Force, but their ability to exercise an effective influence is, as yet, negligible.

Difference is Striking

The difference in the internal organization and alignment of the two blocs is striking in itself. Within the Soviet bloc exists a unity of purpose, a singleness of action and a razor-edged ruthlessness of action. The reasons for this, aside from the unifying force of a fanatically held prophetic religion, have been too often discussed to need elucidation here.

In sharp contrast to the Soviet bloc's monolithic unity is the situation prevailing in the loose confederation headed, but not always led, by the United States. In part the reasons for this difference would seem to lie in the fact that all of the former "Great Powers," except for Soviet Russia, are included in this coalition and, for several of them, notably France, it is often a matter of psychological impossibility and emotional outrage to accept a secondary role. Nor can such an anti-Soviet coupling as "allies" of Franco's Spain and Tito's Yugoslavia produce other than uneasy political bedfellows reluctantly accepting resented exigencies.

The leadership of such a coalition is no easy matter. On the part of the diplomatic service charged with such a responsibility it calls for the wisdom of a Solomon, the patience of a Job, the persuasiveness of a Demosthenes, the prophetic insight of a Cassandra and a Herculean willingness to shoulder crushing burdens and consistently accomplish the impossible. In a brief ten years American representation has found itself catapulted from the role of a semi-detached observer to that of furnishing the only possible leadership capable of holding together the inconstant and contradictory elements of the anti-Soviet world. Far from American attendance or absence at a Congress of Berlin exciting little interest or comment, a lack of representation at the most innocuous and highly specialized of international gatherings now causes speculation and concern.

Adding to the difficulties has been the disappearance of the old *lingua franca* of international semantics. Conference after conference has foundered on the rocks of deliberate or accidentally differing interpretations of the meaning of "democracy," "free elections" or "aggression." It is no longer sufficient to understand one's own meaning of those terms, now it is necessary to have sufficient knowledge of the history, psychology and cultural background of the other side of the conference table as a basis for informed rejection or acceptance of proposals.

Effective representation abroad in the hydrogen age of the global time of troubles demands the services of individuals with the paradoxical combination of the widest backgrounds and most intensive technical training available. Diplomacy has ceased to be a select art and become a total technique. Its effective conduct demands nothing less. Heavy on the shoulders of American representation rests the dual responsibility of frustrating Soviet imperialism and

(*Continued on page* 36)

International Law & Colonies

By Barbara B. Burn

Until recently colonial administration has been generally regarded as the business only of colonial states. However, in actual fact, rules of international law affecting colonies have existed since states first began to acquire them. Since the middle of the nineteenth century in particular the international community of states has expressed increasing interest in colonial matters, and has attempted to influence colonial administration by developing international law on the subject.

International law consists of rules which states feel bound to observe in their relation with one another, and the violation of which may result in sanctions. Because attempts by the international community to regulate colonial administration are still relatively new, rules of international law affecting colonies are in the process of development. While mostly not international law now, they may become so in the future as they achieve increasing legal validity. This article will describe the development of international law affecting colonies.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Popes created rudimentary international law dealing with colonies when they parcelled out to various states rights to colonies in the New World and Africa. With the decline of the Popes' temporal powers, states themselves, through practice and treaty agreements, created rules of international law governing the acquisition of colonies. By the nineteenth century it was a firmly established rule of general international law that to acquire territory, including a colony, a state had to claim it and establish effective occupation of it. This rule was included in the General Act of Berlin, 1885, which applied it to the future acquisition of territory on the coasts of Africa.

When explorers opened up Africa in the nineteenth century, and reported on the ravages of the slave trade, the conscience of the world was shocked. Officials realized that if African colonies were to have any commercial value, the trade must be curbed. In the General Act of Berlin mentioned above, most European states, together with the United States, undertook not only to cooperate in suppressing slavery and abolishing the slave trade in the Conventional Basin of the Congo, but also agreed to preserve the native races, maintain religious liberty, neutralize the Congo Basin, and establish free trade and navigation there and on the Niger River. The Act of Berlin was followed up by the Act of Brussels 1890 which prescribed measures to be applied by the signatories in Africa to abolish the slave trade and to prohibit trade in liquor and in arms and ammunition.

These Acts not only created treaty international law affecting colonial administration in Africa, but also created a climate of opinion in which the principle of international concern with the internal administration of colonies was increasingly acceptable. They thus laid the foundation for the development of general international law dealing with colonial administration.

In the twentieth century, humanitarian sentiment towards backward people, combined with the realization that enlightened colonial administration by facilitating the economic development of colonies made them more valuable, resulted in attempts by the international community to influence the business of running colonies in this direction. The Mandate System of the League of Nations reflected the prevailing view that rules of international law should ensure respect for and the promotion of native rights and welfare in colonial territories.

Although the Mandate System was limited to only a few colonies, its establishment was important to the principle of international responsibility for colonies in general. International law affecting colonies was created, and a system of supervision over colonial administration was established. The Mandate System strengthened the idea that colonial administration is a "sacred trust," provided a model for the administration of colonies everywhere, and engendered a climate of opinion which fostered the idea that colonial administration is a matter of legitimate concern to the international community.

Article 23(b) of the Covenant of the League, the only article applicable to all colonies, provided that League members undertake to secure just treatment of native inhabitants in their colonies. Although implemented only in the Forced Labor Convention of 1926, its inclusion in the Covenant strengthened the principle that respect for native

(*Continued on page* 46)


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EDITORIALS

OUR YEAR ON THE HILL

This year we can survey an impressive list of legislation enacted by the 84th Congress which will make our life in the Foreign Service a little easier, a little less expensive and a little more in keeping with our long nurtured hopes. We are pleased with the score or more of legislative enactments because they constitute a sympathetic recognition by the Congress of many of the problems which have beset the Service in the past several years, because they will go far in assisting us in personal ways to escape some of the financial burdens we have individually borne, and — most important of all — because they serve to equip the Foreign Service with the means to perform its tasks in a more effective manner.

While the increase in our annual appropriation was not of great size, it will enable the Service to return to the two-year statutory leave program, to provide better professional training facilities for our personnel, to acquire more office and living space abroad and more adequately maintain existing space. Our representation allowances will be increased by about twenty percent and the funds necessary to implement much of the Department's new personnel policies (including, we hope, regular promotions) have been granted.

The legislation has brought some immediate personal benefit to every individual in the Service in the form of a general increase in salaries, liberalized travel and per diem allowances and assumption by the Federal Government of the cost of our bonds. Worth many hundred dollars to most career personnel in the Foreign Service will be the Department's newly received authorization to defray part of the costs of educating our children while stationed abroad and the institution of a home service transfer allowance to ease the transition from an assignment abroad to one in Washington. With nearly a third of the Foreign Service assigned to hardship posts at a given time, the authority to pay FSO's the salary differential has already meant comfort to many families. For others the inclusion of certain Foreign Service personnel in categories eligible to receive unemployment compensation represents a distinct advance.

Among the most lasting benefits to the Foreign Service from this year's legislation was the strengthening of the career principle, for which we have so long fought, by the creation of the new top rank of Career Ambassador of the United States, by the careful controls placed by the Congress on entry into the middle and upper ranks of the Service, by the provision of funds to commission several hundred new Foreign Service Officers in Class Six and by increasing the ceiling for FSO annuities. We could go on.

The gains made this year have never before been equaled in the history of the Service for their general applicability. Our gratitude goes to our many friends among the members of Congress who by their understanding and cooperation in enacting these long-needed improvements are providing us with the support and the tools to do the job our country expects of us. Our admiration for the personal efforts of the Secretary and Deputy Under Secretary Loy Henderson on our behalf this year is profound and our appreciation for the protracted efforts of platoons of budget, personnel, administrative, legal and congressional relations officers in the Department has never been greater.

At a time when the Service and Department are undergoing the inevitable stresses and strains of the integration program, these actions will make everyone's step a little lighter and smile a little brighter with good reason. We hope that a pattern has been set forth for mutual understanding and support which will long endure in our future relations with the Hill.

JOINT BOARD OF DIRECTORS — EDITORIAL BOARD RESOLUTION ON MARVIN WILL

Whereas for more than 41 years Marvin Will has devoted his life to the service of his country;

Whereas during this time he has with unfailing devotion, understanding and good humor proven himself a friend, counsellor and benefactor to untold numbers of Foreign Service and Departmental employees;

Whereas his unique contributions to the welfare and well-being of the Foreign Service and the Department of State have previously been recognized by his election as an Honorary Member of the American Foreign Service Association;

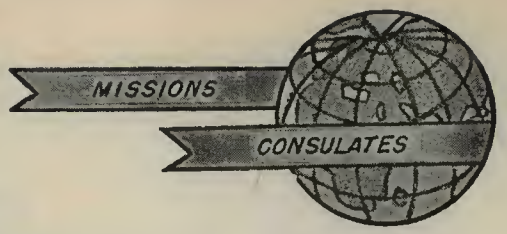
Whereas his admirers and friends in the Service and Department are legion and, upon the occasion of his retirement, are anxious to pay further appropriate tribute of their appreciation and admiration for the high qualities of service and human understanding which have characterized his career;

The Board of Directors of the American Foreign Service Association and the Editorial Board of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, acting jointly,

Wish to record, on behalf of the Association's membership and the JOURNAL's readers, their deep appreciation and admiration to Marvin Will as a beloved friend and sympathetic counsellor whose name will long and warmly be remembered throughout the far-flung Foreign Service to which he has made so many outstanding contributions;

Wish Marvin Will in retirement many years of leisurely, prosperous enjoyment of life.

NEWS FROM THE FIELD



MOSCOW

The high spot of July in Moscow was the American Independence Day reception held at Spaso House. Although the day before and the day after the Fourth were cloudy and rainy, the weatherman smiled on plans to hold the reception in the garden. Guests included members of the other Diplomatic Missions in Moscow, the heads of the Soviet Government, and the American chess team which was in Moscow for a match with Soviet players.

A dance orchestra has long been a traditional part of the Moscow diplomatic scene. Although the idea was allowed to lapse for a period, last fall a final group was started, consisting of a pianist and a sax player from the British Embassy and our own Attachés EDWARD SMITH and HARRY HUTSON, on the bass fiddle and drums respectively. With the departure of the British Embassy's doctor last month, the orchestra was threatened with the loss of its piano player. Happily, the vacancy was filled with the arrival of the newly assigned American Embassy doctor, Air Force Lieutenant Thomas F. Herbert, and the orchestra is again flourishing; many members of the Moscow diplomatic corps have enjoyed dancing to its strains at the American House Club, where dances are held once or twice each month.

In order to provide English translations of the Russian press, there is in Moscow a "Joint Press Reading Service" sponsored by the American, British and Canadian Governments, and staffed by American and British employees. This Service provided the setting for an Anglo-American romance when Peter Maxey, Third Secretary of the British Embassy, and JOYCE MARSHALL, American Embassy Attaché, met there early this year. By careful, but rather breathtaking planning of itinerary, Joyce and Peter were able to arrange matters to have their wedding in Paris with the parents of the bride and groom present. However, because of the requirements of French law and a tight leave schedule, a civil ceremony was first performed in Moscow, after which the couple received the congratulations and good wishes of their friends in the bride's apartment. As this is written, we are looking forward to greeting them upon their return from Paris.

William A. McFadden

NAPLES

Friday evening, May 27, at the officers' club, Bagnoli (NATO), the staff of the Consulate General entertained CONSUL GENERAL and MRS. ALFRED T. NESTER and MR. and MRS. WILLIAM GARGIULO. The honored guests were feted on the occasion of their impending retirement on May 31. Mr. Nester has served in the Foreign Service for thirty-five years and Mr. Gargiulo, a local employee, has completed forty-nine years of service. A very delicious buffet supper was served and dancing was enjoyed throughout the evening.

Mr. and Mrs. Nester were presented a beautiful antique clock and Mr. and Mrs. Gargiulo were presented a silver tea service.

It is interesting to note that Mr. Nester commenced his Foreign Service career at Naples on November 22, 1919. After three years he was transferred and served at various other posts before returning to Naples as Consul in 1926 where he remained for a tour of four years. Again in January, 1950, Mr. Nester was assigned as Consul General to Naples where he has rounded out his thirty-five years of interesting foreign service.

Mr. Gargiulo entered on duty at the Consulate General in March, 1906, and remained on the staff until the office was closed in July, 1941. He served on the Rome Embassy staff from July to December, 1941, and when the Embassy was closed he served on the staff of the Swiss Legation handling American interests. In January, 1942, the Fascist government interned Mr. Gargiulo because of his long association with the American Government. He was released from internment in May, 1942, and returned to his home in Naples. However, until the entry into Naples of the American forces in October, 1943, he was under continuous surveillance by the Fascist government and was not permitted to go outside the city limits.

On the day following the entry of the Allied forces Mr. Gargiulo was employed by the Allied Military government and remained with the forces until February 1, 1944, when he again joined the staff of the Consulate General which was re-established on that date.

To Mr. Nester and Mr. Gargiulo the Consulate General, Naples, extends the fondest "auguri."

CONSUL and MRS. ROBERT J. CAVANAUGH celebrated their silver wedding anniversary on June 3, and were the proud recipients of a telegram from Vatican City imparting the Pope's paternal apostolic blessing.

The new principal officer, CONSUL GENERAL JAMES E. HENDERSON and MRS. HENDERSON are due to arrive in Naples on June 17.

Robert J. Cavanaugh

ANTWERP

Our only Antwerp news of late has been our eventual survival of the farewell parties for CONSUL and MRS. MAX KREBS enroute to California and the Department and awards to three locals for length of service. ADMINISTRATIVE VICE CONSUL O'GRADY has returned from home leave and CONSUL WEISENBURG has started his. AMBASSADOR and MRS. ALGER gave a gala reception for 400-500 in Antwerp after the opening here of the George Gershwin opera "Porgy and Bess" which had a tremendously popular week's run here last month. The leading members of that cast were also entertained at a buffet supper by the very active Antwerp Branch of the American Belgian Association after their last performance here, which was their last performance in Europe before flying down to Rio. A probable real first was the arrival here the other day of GEORGIA PUTNAM, a new clerk for our Refugee Relief Program unit. *She arrived here by helicopter* (from Brussels) after a transoceanic flight to Brussels.

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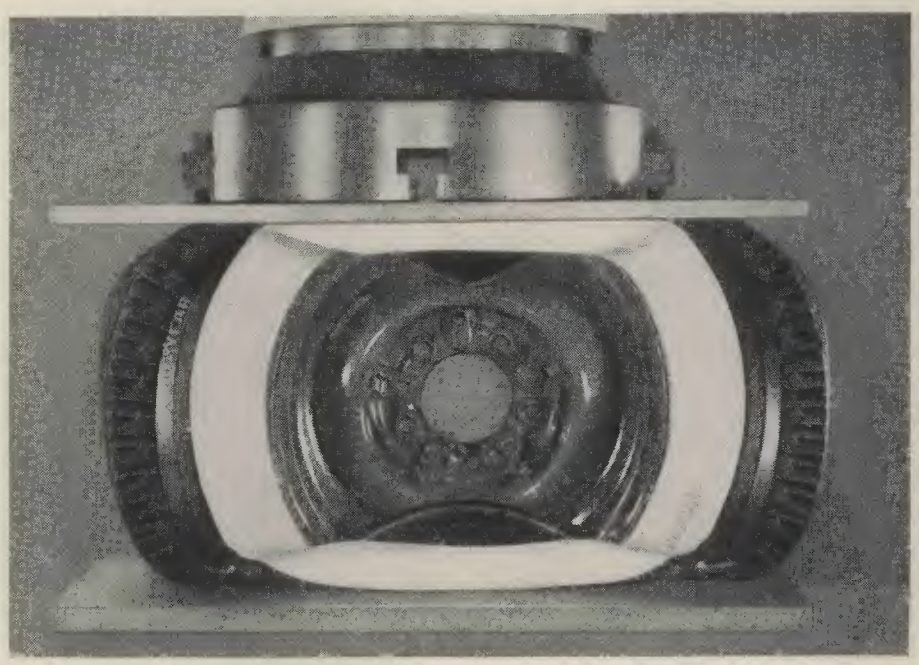

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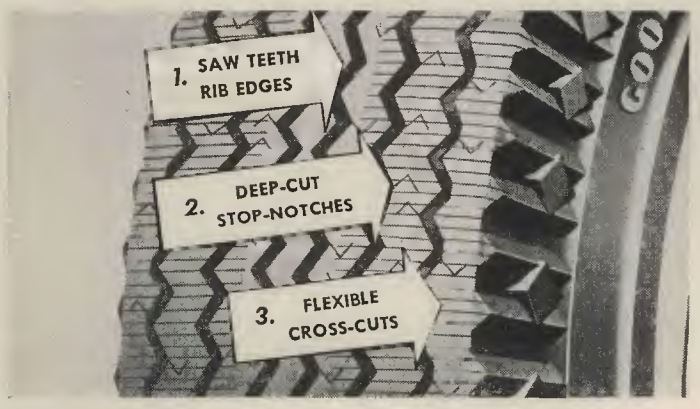

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became an FSO-1 in 1954, is a graduate of the University of North Carolina and obtained his M.A. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in 1938. He entered the Service in 1939, and has since served in seven posts overseas. His last post overseas was as Deputy Chief of Mission in Korea. In Washington, he has served as Assistant Chief, Division of Northeast Asian Affairs and as Officer in Charge of Korean affairs. In 1950 he was detailed to the Air War College.

Joseph Wagner

JOSEPH WAGNER, who recently became a member of the Editorial Board, is now Regional Personnel Officer for NEA. A graduate of the Roudybush Foreign Service School, Mr. Wagner was employed by an oil company for 14 years before entering the Service in 1940. Since then he has served at Habana, Bombay, Lisbon, and Tehran. His last post was as Consul at Nicosia.

Jane Fishburne, the pleasant and efficient circulation manager and editorial assistant in the JOURNAL office, left in the middle of September to go to Quito, where her husband, JOHN I. FISHBURNE, will be economic officer. She was replaced on the editorial staff by Hester Henderson, whose husband, JOHN HENDERSON, is now assigned to the Department in FE/P after five posts in the far east: Shanghai, Hong Kong, Manila, Tokyo, and Bangkok. Mrs. Henderson met her husband when they were both students at the University of Iowa Journalism School, and worked with him on the *Daily Iowan*, a newspaper edited by the students of the Journalism School and one of the two daily morning papers published in Iowa.

Association Luncheon Schedule

The Association announces that luncheons will be held in the coming months at the Officer's Club at Fort McNayr on the following days: Thursday, October 20; Wednesday, November 23; Thursday, January 26; Wednesday, February 29; Thursday, March 29; Tuesday, April 24.

Right Hand Drive Cars

The Personal Purchases Committee has asked that, in reply to numerous inquiries from areas where automobiles with right hand steering is required, the field be informed that right hand drive is available on the following makes of cars, although not on all models: Chevrolet, Dodge, Plymouth, Pontiac, Nash, Studebaker and Willys. There is no right hand drive available on Fords except from Canadian Ford Company at a smaller discount. The Committee has no current information on Packard. No right hand drive is available on Chrysler, DeSoto, Buick, Cadillac or Oldsmobile.

Details of the above specifications may be obtained from the Personal Purchases files at posts, or by direct correspondence with the Chairman of the Committee.

preventing atomic holocaust. Since World War I various efforts have been made to reorganize American representation to meet its tasks more efficiently. These, briefly, we shall examine.

Reorganization of the Foreign Service, 1924-1954

By the end of World War I the organization of American representation abroad had but barely achieved a professional status. Between the Congressional Acts of 1855 and 1915 there was a slow but progressive development towards the establishment of career consular and diplomatic services. It was not until 1924, however, that, by the Rogers Act, these were amalgamated into a single Foreign Service whose members, designated as Foreign Service Officers, were interchangeable in diplomatic and consular assignments. The effect of this long overdue Act was merely to rearrange the existing factors in the interests of greater administrative and technological efficiency. It was neither its purpose nor intent to challenge any of the fundamentals on which the old divided services had been based. Its basic concepts remained those of pre-World War I.

Nor when the Moses-Linthicum Act in 1931 became the organic legislative base was there substantive modification. Its results were a reorganization of the promotion, classification and leave systems and increases in the salary and allowance structure. In 1939, with the Roosevelt Reorganization Plan No. II, the first important step in expanding the traditional diplomatic-consular functions of the Foreign Service was taken. By that plan the "foreign services" of the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture were absorbed by the Foreign Service. As yet unrealized was its significance as the opening phase of a yet continuing evolution towards a unified Foreign Affairs Service comprising functions and job descriptions undreamt of in the classic concepts of diplomatic representation.

The most extensive changes in the concept of the Foreign Service since its inception resulted from the Foreign Service Act of 1946. The narrow break in the traditional structure made by the Reorganization Plan of 1939 became a gaping hole through which entered such a variegated group of specialists as to change the Foreign Service irrevocably. Within the Foreign Service were now grouped the continuing overseas responsibilities of the Office of War Information, the Office of Strategic Services and the Surplus Property Administration. The 1946 Act also increased basic salaries and allowances for the first time since 1931. And, as a result of war experience, cultural representation and informational activity were now accepted (albeit grudgingly in some quarters) as a necessary and permanent addition to the functions of foreign representation. Bypassing the old established entrance into the career service by examination only procedure, provisions were made for highly competent people to join by means of "lateral entry" at an appropriate grade and salary level. Perhaps an even sharper break with tradition was the creation of a corps of specialists, skilled in everything from agronomy to information, designated as Foreign Service Reserve Officers, subject to four year maximum duty tours.

All in all the 1946 Act represented the first major recognition of the fact that the diplomatic problems of the postwar era were not those of the Vienna period. The recognition had begun but that it was still imperfect and inadequate was shown when the report of the Foreign Affairs subcommittee of the Hoover Commission published its report

(*Continued on page* 38)

IN MEMORIAM:

JACK PEURIFOY

Our Loss and All Humanity's is Irreparable

WALTER H. SWARTZ

BALTIMORE

some two and a half years later in January of 1949.

Unequivocally the Commission recommended the establishment of a single foreign affairs service, comprising both State Department and Foreign Service personnel above a certain level, the personnel of which would be interchangeable for either domestic or foreign duty. Specifically in connection with the Foreign Service it was pointed out that it suffered from a "diffused command," friction with the Departmental service, internal divisions, problems of recruitment, assignment and transfer, inadequate utilization of the overseas missions, poor coordination with other agencies abroad (specifically special aid missions), inadequate opportunity for "reamericanization" and the problems of meeting the overseas requirements of such other departments as Commerce, Agriculture and Labor.

Significantly the Commission urged that both foreign assistance and propaganda programs should be removed from the scope of the State Department's foreign activities and transferred "to ECA or to some similar agency" and. in the latter case, "to a Government corporation or Presidential agency." Stressed also was the general overall need for winning the confidence of an already hostile and disturbed puhlic.

With the latter situation becoming increasingly acute over the years, March of last year saw the appointment of the so-called Wriston Committee to review the recommendations of the Hoover Commission and various other study groups, notably the 1950 Advisory Committee on Personnel. Charged with making recommendations on such matters as basic organization, amalgamation. recruitment, training, promotion, separation and, indicative of the temper of the times, public confidence and intra-service morale, the Committee submitted in May a report notable for the bluntness and scope of its recommendations.

Basically it indorsed strongly the recommendations of the Hoover Commission for a single Foreign Affairs Corps. New was a recommendation "to improve and broaden" Foreign Service recruiting by the establishment of a system of nationwide competitive college and university scholarships. Criticized were the failure to implement the lateral entry provisions of the 1946 Act, a continuing indifference to specialists and inadequate use of the Foreign Service Institute's potentialities. Particularly stressed was the vital need for improvement in discipline and morale.

Such have been, in brief summary, the changes either accomplished or recommended over the past thirty years. In terms of what has been done, is being done and, above all, *can* be done, how can we envisage the organization of American representation abroad to meet the challenges of the Hydrogen Age? In this essay's final section some suggestions are offered in that connection.

Suggestions on the Future of American Representation Abroad

1. No reorganization can be implemented without the understanding and support of the American people and their legislative representatives. Therefore the first and all-important step in reorganization must be an intensive grass roots program of public relations. The plaint is frequently heard that the State Department suffers from having no specific public interested in its activities in the same sense as does the Department of Agriculture or Labor. And yet the irony is that the *real* "State Department public" is not merely any one special interest group but rather 160,000,000 Americans! When and only when this is realized both by the Foreign Service and the American people can the foundations for the necessary long range program be laid. How to accomplish this is a challenging problem for the best of public relations experts. But the necessity is obvious and urgent for without such rapport and understanding there is little hope of accomplishment. And it is not a program that can be carried out on a "crash" basis but rather must be planned for the years and the decades.

2. Utopian though it may be under present conditions, until there is a measurable degree of stability, both immediate and prospective, in budget appropriations, planning will be either crippled or stillborn. The present fantastically costly (and stupid) cycle of RIF and recruitment, feast and famine, does no good to either individual or group morale. Financial stability is a prime requisite. Its intimate connection with point 1 above is obvious.

3. By whatever name it may be designated, a uniform foreign affairs service, available for both foreign and domestic duty, seems to offer the most feasible type of organization. The reasons have been discussed and rediscussed from the Rogers Act to the Wriston Report. Experience only seems to add weight to such recommendations.

4. Initial recruitment for such a corps will certainly have to be based on some sort of an amalgamation between present Departmental and Foreign Service personnel above a certain "officer" level. Lateral entry for specialists would also seem necessary—initially at least and probably for some time until a home-grown variety can be produced. With proper attention to this prohlem, the need for the present Foreign Service Reserve should disappear since, as the Wriston Report comments, ". . . the demand for specialists is not temporary but continuing." The present Foreign Service Staff corps should be confined to administrative and fiscal specialists as originally intended.

5. Basic officer recruitment for an expanded Foreign Affairs Corps it would seem could best be served by the series of college scholarships suggested by the Wriston Committee. The manner in which such a program could be tied in with point 1 of these suggestions to reap golden dividends in public relations is apodictic. The often-made proposal for the establishment of a "Foreign Service Academy" would seem to contain little that is either practical or desirable. Far easier and cheaper to utilize the already existing excellent university facilities so widely available. Other considerations aside, a new and fruitful contact between governmental and academic foreign affairs experts would be opened.

6. Rather than the improbable benefits to be reaped from the establishment of a Foreign Service Academy, attention should be focused on the very concrete dividends which a revitalization of the Foreign Service Institute would produce. Given the opportunity, the FSI can well become the War College of the State Department. Indeed, if appropriate personnel are to receive the essential in-service training required to fit them to face the problems of this global time of trouble, it must. It is unfortunate that our pragmatic outlook on the world has up to now made us so willing to leave to the Communists the comprehension of the deadly combination of theory and practice and their effective employment as a double-edged not so secret weapon of global struggle.

7. Pay scales for such a unified Foreign Affairs Corps as proposed above must, obviously, be equitable. The curious injustice of the present system, under which staff personnel receive as much as 25% of base pay for service in a hard-

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ship post while career officers have no choice but to accept the shabby recompense of an additional credit towards accelerated retirement they probably will not be able to afford, demands speedy correction. Such a divisive and corrosive situation with its obvious influence on Service morale can only be corrected by the substitution of a standard system of base pay, rental allowances and hardship differentials.

8. Problems of loyalty and security which will continue to exist as long as the Cold War does should be handled by adequately trained and well-informed personnel *familiar with the unique problems faced by foreign affairs personnel abroad.* A political officer, for example, should be able to utilize every opportunity to exploit the broadest possible strata of contacts without wondering whether five or ten years hence he may find himself condemned thereby almost automatically.

9. As recommended by the Wriston Committee, the present unfortunate situation of "a Service in exile" should be corrected. It would seem proper that a proportion of approximately one-third of a typical foreign service career should he spent in home service. This would benefit both the individual in terms of reamericanization (and the children's education) and the Department in terms of the field experience it would make available. While this is a matter for study by qualified experts, certainly consideration at least should be given to a more liberal interpretation of provisions for accumulating leave. To penalize an individual for inability to take leave, whether for personal or office reasons, is unfair both in the abstract principle and concrete application.

10. The individuals who fill the officer positions under the new system should be specialists before they are anything else. It is no longer any more possible for a foreign affairs practitioner to be a successful generalist than for a scholar to follow Bacon's admonition and take all knowledge to be his province. Nevertheless it is difficult to see how an individual can function successfully in terms of his technical speciality unless he also has a basic understanding of the culture and psychology of the foreign people concerned. This should include language study.

11. Basic to the efficient and smooth functioning of representation abroad is the establishment of a unitary command chain. In each country the diplomatic chief of mission should be the ranking American representative to whom all groups, whether regular staff, technical aid, information or any other type, are responsible. It should be through him alone that, by a two-way process of consultation and discussion, a unified foreign policy is formed. Past experiences have demonstrated the virtually inevitable evil effects of divided or co-equal authority in the official American representation. In unity there is not only strength, there is also consistency of policy and coherence of leadership.

12. There are good reasons, considering their transitory and changing nature, for having the various types of foreign aid administered through a separate independent agency. There does not seem to be equal justification for the information program. Psychological warfare is a highly important aspect of cold war techniques which functions best in the closest possible relationship with the units charged with the execution of more traditional foreign policy procedures. With the best of intentions on both sides, separate organizations will remain separate. Only a centralized control can insure the necessary fluidity and coordination of action necessary for efficient and successful operations.

period of time. The Swiss hoped to wind things up by early 1946. Actually it took until 1948. One of the last to regularize its relations with the United States was Bulgaria, although a peace treaty had long heen signed. It may be interesting to note that Switzerland is today again acting as intermediary between the United States and Bulgaria, Washington having broken off relations with Sofia in April, 1950.

What activities make up the functions of a protecting power? In his detailed account Dr. Franklin has given us the benefit of American experience, and a similar but more condensed survey has been made by Dr. Antonio Janner of the Swiss Foreign Office. Manifestly these functions will not be political in nature, but will embrace the broad task of ensuring the physical safety of persons and property of a country located within the territory of its enemies.

Ever since the departing French minister at Mexico City in 1867 hurriedly informed his American colleague that he was sending him six cases of correspondence files, the activities of a protecting neutral have been largely concerned with safeguarding official property left behind by the client state. This custody extends to buildings or premises occupied by the departing mission, to all furnishings, supplies and records. The protecting power will oppose any attempts to seize or otherwise tamper with such property, and to enforce this guardianship, may raise its own flag or affix its official shield and seals on the property. Any violations of these emblems are an injury to the protecting power which it will resist in its own name. Thus the United States in 1914 acted vigorously to protect some staff automobiles belonging to the Austro-Hungarian embassy at St. Petersburg.

The protecting power may utilize the premises and property under its care for its official needs or may authorize any appropriate use thereof. In 1904 the American consul at Vladivostok permitted the Russians to quarter wounded soldiers in the Japanese consulate, and in the last war, the Swiss acted similarly with regard to British premises in Bangkok. Locally the protecting power meets all responsibilities for the upkeep of the protected property, such as the cost of lighting, heating, necessary repairs, gardening and similar services.

Private Property

In the same spirit the protecting power takes charge of private property left behind by departing staffs of its client country, arranging for its safe storage or suitahle disposition. During the last war, Swiss officials superintended the packing and homeward transportation of household and personal effects of authorized American personnel as prescribed in Department of State service regulations. Swiss protection also extended to various semi-official properties, such as the American Church in Berlin, the British Pavillion in Venice and the American School in Tokyo.

As regards property of private citizens, the measures of a protecting power are much more limited. Private alien property enjoys no special privileges even in time of peace, and upon the outbreak of war becomes subject to more or less stringent enemy control. The United States, whose citizens owned extensive property in enemy countries did not encourage any large-scale action for its protection, and Swiss officials confined themselves to rendering periodic reports of its status. From time to time they did intervene

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on their own initiative to prevent or mitigate seizures or other forms of unwarranted alienation.

When it comes to the persons of enemy nationality, the tasks of a protecting power are more complex. Among the first of these is the safety and repatriation of official diplomatic and consular personnel, after hostilities have interrupted their normal means of travel. Official staffs of an enemy country may still rely on a measure of personal immunity, including the right to depart without hindrance. Earlier times were punctilious on this score, but some deplorable experiences occurred on the outbreak of war in 1914. To avoid such incidents, and perhaps from considerations of security, a belligerent will sometimes intern or restrict enemy diplomatic personnel until arrangements are completed for their departure. The axiom of reciprocity by which nations enforce their wishes upon one another will normally lead to an "exchange" of personnel from both sides in approximately equal numbers and categories, to take place simultaneously on neutral territory. In planning such exchanges Switzerland, being completely Axis-encircled for most of the war, had to provide for the physical exchange on territory of one of the few remaining neutrals on the "rim" of the zone of hostilities, like Portugal, Spain, Sweden or Turkey. In making up the repatriation lists, Switzerland often ran into wearisome squabbles over the inclusion of certain semi-official categories of persons.

Exchange of Diplomats

Despite these obstacles, Switzerland in the spring of 1942 brought about the exchange of 1,800 Allied and Axis diplomatic and protected persons through neutral Lisbon. In 1943 followed the giant Orient-Occident exchanges totaling 6,600 persons, through Portuguese colonial ports. Swiss foreign service officers accompanied each movement to the point of embarkation and went along on the onward sea voyage. As part of the arrangements, negotiations had to ensure the safe passage of the specially-chartered repatriation vessels through naval war zones.

Private persons of enemy nationality in the past had often suffered internment on the grounds of security or because they were of military age. During the last war, there was little interference with the personal freedom of enemy aliens in the United States or most European countries. In the Far East, however, large numbers of Americans and Europeans were interned under conditions tantamount to imprisonment. Swiss representatives in Tokyo, Manila, Shanghai and Batavia, officially in charge of protecting the citizens of most Allied countries, labored prodigiously to ameliorate the lot of these internees. Swiss efforts were also directed toward the repatriation of private civilians. This required in each case patient negotiation, through Swiss channels, between the belligerents whose citizens were involved. Soon after 1942, Switzerland was successful in carrying out a broad Allied-Axis exchange of 2,000 persons. In due course there followed a British-Empire-wide movement of 900 aliens, an exchange of 1,700 persons between the United States and Germany, and of 1,000 persons between Germany and Palestine, half of whom were persons of Jewish race literally snatched from extermination camps. All these accomplishments, however, were dwarfed in 1943 by the homeward transportation of some 28,000 Italian settlers from former Italian colonies in East Africa.

Even where enemy aliens escaped internment or other restriction, their economic situation was certain to be disastrously affected by the war. If they were engaged in trade or industry, their businesses were often placed under sequester, which meant that they lost any gainful benefit therefrom. Persons exercising professions, too, in many cases were deprived of their means of livelihood. As for the many persons without gainful occupation who lived abroad on incomes—the retired British civil servant in the South of France, the art student in Paris or Florence, or the American former immigrant who had retired to the "old country"—they staggered under a double blow. Not only were they bracketed into the unfriendly category of enemy aliens, but their home countries balked at permitting funds to flow to them, not wishing thereby to contribute to the enemy's economy. The onerous strictures of foreign-exchange controls, already familiar before the war, were now accentuated by the state of hostilities. Even the United States, which previously had imposed no restriction on remittances abroad enunciated in a war-time Department of State directive that "the conservation of foreign exchange . . . is an essential factor in the present economic policy."

Humanitarian reasons, however, dictated that a country's nationals abroad should not be abandoned to destitution. While still a neutral the United States had installed a system of relief payments to British citizens in enemy countries. After our entry into the war, it was our turn to make similar provisions, to be carried out by the Swiss foreign service. Accordingly, the Department of State early in 1942 set forth a schedule of standard relief payments for residents abroad—known as Instruction No. 1202—which took the place of any privately transmitted funds. These payments were not bountiful but were calculated as fairly as possible to afford an adequate level of subsistence according to the living costs in various countries. All eligible persons basically received the same amount, regardless of their own financial circumstances. Swiss consuls registered the applicants for this assistance, verified their personal data and disbursed the money to them from funds made available by the home government. Where the need arose, Swiss officials would arrange for special supplements to cover cases of hardship, illness, medical or burial expense or similar emergencies. To thousands of persons whom war had cut off from their homeland, the nearest Swiss consul was the heartening symbol of physical survival.

Private Enemy Aliens

Private enemy aliens could look to Swiss officials for other essential services as well. Swiss consulates had authority to certify various legal documents, deeds, wills or other instruments required by local civil law from persons under their protection. At one time the United States refused to accept the authenticity of such documents but later, on Swiss request, modified this standpoint. The British government, on the other hand, in its amended nationality legislation, gave express statutory recognition to the signature of a protecting power on documents of this kind. Swiss consuls, acting under their own service regulations also issued or renewed important identity papers for persons under their protection and furnished them temporary passports—the so-called *Schutzpass* or *passeport de protection.*

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DIPLOMATIC CARETAKER *(from page 42)*

Probably the most dramatic work of a protecting power has to do with prisoners of war. Originally this work was not conceived as part of neutral good offices, and prisoners of war were covered by specific international agreements, beginning with the famous Dunant Convention of 1864. However, at the time of the Russo-Japanese war fifty years ago, the protecting power—the United States—interested itself in the lot of war prisoners, by transmitting lists of names to their home governments and undertaking the distribution of relief packages consigned to them. During the first World War the American ambassadors in London and Berlin, each in charge of the interests of his colleague's country of residence, managed to coordinate an effective if unofficial *quid-pro-quo* system for the inspection and relief of prisoners of war detained in the two countries. In 1929 the status of war prisoners was further codified by the Geneva Convention. This instrument, signed by nearly 50 nations, in a number of its provisions clearly implies that a protecting power has important responsibilities on behalf of prisoners of war. The main theme of the Convention is to require belligerents to afford prisoners in their hands adequate standards of food, shelter, medical care, labor, and social privileges. Of great importance is the duty of prompt and accurate reporting of prisoners, as part of the function of the International Red Cross.

Key Role in Relief

Switzerland, as the executive power of the Red Cross Convention and as the chief protecting state during the last war, naturally played a key role in the relief of prisoners of war. Swiss officials in the various belligerent countries undertook painstaking inspections of prisoner-of-war cantonments to verify the physical facilities provided by the detaining authorities. They sampled the food in prisoner messes, checked the weight and health of the inmates, and listened to objective complaints. On their own initiative they brought deficiencies and violations to the attention of the detaining powers, with a view to their prompt correction. They particularly intervened against the use of manacles or other unlawful forms of discipline, and insisted on attending any criminal trials of prisoners. In cases where capital sentences were imposed, Swiss efforts were directed toward staying any executions, and exchanging the convicted persons instead. The burden of this work is illustrated by the fact that in 1944 in Germany alone, Swiss inspectors visited 150 prisoner-of-war camps and a majority of 1,900 separate detachments in 42 different trips, and wrote 350 reports of their observations. In most cases, they found the detaining authorities desirous of living up to their obligations under the Geneva Convention. The principal exceptions were the authorities in Japan and Japanese-held territory who persistently refused to admit Swiss inspectors to their camps and disregarded hundreds of protests transmitted to them in the name of the interested belligerents. In many other instances, Swiss visiting officials could often make life easier for both the camp authorities and the inmates, by giving orientation talks on the respective rights and duties of both. There is no doubt that the lot of thousands of prisoners of war was eased by the untiring efforts of Swiss foreign service officers.

The Swiss also made noteworthy efforts for the exchange and repatriation of sick and seriously-wounded prisoners of war, permitted under Art. 68 of the Geneva Convention. Mixed Medical Commissions operated in the various countries to select the cases for repatriation. Swiss citizens were in high demand to serve as neutral members of these commissions, and the work of Colonel d'Erlach of the Swiss army on the German-American team is still remembered. The list of these repatriations, which could be made without regard to reciprocal numbers or categories, is impressive. One of the outstanding instances was the exchange of 1,250 British military persons against 6,700 Italians at Smyrna in 1942. The next year, 1,950 American soldiers were returned to this country and in May, 1944, 1,000 Allied military personnel were traded for 850 Germans at Barcelona. Following a Swiss-Allied conference in February, 1945, a mammoth exchange took place on Swiss soil with the aid of special hospital trains of the Swiss Federal Railways, benefiting 5,000 sick and wounded German soldiers and 2,200 Allied military persons, plus 800 civilians, including a number of Jewish persecutees who had obtained admission visas to various Latin-American countries. In the closing weeks of the war in Europe, the Swiss were concerned over large groups of prisoners of war which were being herded to the rear by retreating German armies under distressful conditions. Among these was a small number of individuals who were relatives of high Allied personalities and who were repatriated at the last moment under heavy Swiss escort, to avoid any possibility of hostile incident en route.

To cover the expenses which a neutral power incurs as a result of its protective activities involves many technicalities of international finance. In time of war these are rendered more complex by the stringent controls placed on foreign exchange and on enemy assets. The United States, for example, began in 1940 to block the use of funds in this country belonging to Germany and its Axis partners, and the lengthening list of overrun countries. When Switzerland assumed charge of many Axis interests in this country, special licensing arrangements had to be negotiated in order to supply sufficient funds to cover. Similar problems were encountered in the various enemy countries. Eventually a multi-lateral clearing system was evolved by which a belligerent, for example one under Swiss protection, would accumulate credits with the Swiss National Bank in Bern, which were then applied toward defraying expenses incurred on his behalf in the opposite belligerent country.

Normally, protector and client will communicate with each other only through their central foreign offices, in order to ensure uniform treatment of all problems which may arise. During the last war, the legations of the belligerent countries at Bern were the electrodes in a steady stream of instructions, correspondence, requests and reports flowing to and from the Swiss officials in the field. So voluminous was this business that the Germans made a practice each year of sending a special "enemy-interests" mission to Bern to clear up any accumulated arrears.

A protecting power must make a hairline distinction between its neutrality and its good offices. On one hand it must actively protect the interests of its "clients," but it cannot impair its own position in the country of accreditation by undue partiality. Formerly it was believed that a belligerent should select as his mandatory a neutral who was especially close or friendly to him. In actual practice this can be a source of weakness in the exercise of a man-

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INTERNATIONAL LAW *(from page 30)*

welfare is an international obligation of colonial states.

The three Conventions of St. Germain-en-Laye of 1919 signed as part of the peace settlement prohibited trade in arms and ammunition and in liquor in most of Africa, and revised and extended the provisions of the Acts of Berlin and Brussels and their territorial applicability. Like Article 23(b) of the Covenant, they are of significance to international law for colonies in strengthening the idea that protection of local inhabitants against abuses is an international responsibility of colonial powers.

World War Two weakened the control of colonial powers over their colonies of non-self-governing territories. Colonial peoples pressed their demands for self-government, and were encouraged in this by the anti-colonialism sentiments expressed in various quarters. Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter reflects the general agreement at the San Francisco Conference on certain general principles of enlightened administration for non-self-governing territories.

The principles in the Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories recommend the following colonial policies: increasing self-government, economic development, regional and technical collaboration on behalf of non-self-governing territories, improvement in social and educational conditions, and the promotion of international peace and prosperity. The only specific obligation imposed on colonial states, members of the U.N., is to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General information of a technical and statistical nature.

States Have Disagreed

Colonial and non-colonial states have persistently disagreed in their interpretation of the Declaration. Colonial states emphasize that the Declaration, as its name suggests, is merely a unilateral declaration of policy objectives which impose no international obligations upon them. Non-colonial states, especially those states which are newly independent and strongly opposed to the institution of colonialism, have insisted that the Declaration as part of a binding international treaty does impose legal obligations upon colonial states, and makes them responsible to the U.N. for putting into effect the principles of the Declaration. As no international body is authorized to define the nature of the obligations in the Declaration, U.N. members have been doing so themselves in the course of debating and adopting resolutions dealing with non-self-governing territories.

Since the Charter came into force, the majority of U.N. members have joined in using the obligation under Article 73e, the obligation to submit certain information on colonial conditions, as the basis for developing a system whereby the U.N. tries to supervise colonial administration. The General Assembly has adopted resolutions recommending that colonial states send to the U.N. more and more information dealing with all aspects, including the political, of colonial administration. The Assembly has established the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories which makes both procedural and substantive recommendations regarding non-self-governing territories, and has adopted resolutions which not only recommend specific policies for colonial states to follow, but also which even pass judgment on the constitutional status of territories and the applicability of Chapter XI of the Charter to them.

Thus, the U.N. has evolved through Assembly resolutions a working system for holding colonial states, members of the U.N., responsible for how they run their colonies. Because Assembly resolutions cannot create new legal obligations for states, they have not increased the accountability of colonial states under international law. However, colonial states have for the most part pursued policies tending to implement the obligations in Chapter XI and Assembly resolutions related to non-self-governing territories. While this may be mere coincidence between the self-interest of colonial states and U.N. provisions, and therefore does not constitute evidence that colonial states feel obligated to follow the policies they do, the coincidence is important. In that international law tends to develop through the coincidence of the self-interest of states affected and the will of the international community, the obligations imposed by the United Nations regarding colonial administration are achieving an increasing legal validity, and are enabling the organization effectively to enforce the international accountability of colonial states for their colonial administration.

In conclusion, it seems likely that the influence of the U.N. on colonial administration will continue to develop unless the non-colonial states push the colonial states too far in their demands for progress in the non-self-governing territories. Colonialism has been declining as a respectable institution since the First World War. The Second World War and the granting of independence to a number of former colonies has given considerable impetus to this decline. Communist propaganda frequently attacks the institution of colonialism, and this propaganda has a wide appeal to a number of non-Communist states. The free world, in an effort to decrease the effectiveness of the Communist attack, is accelerating the pace at which self-government is being granted to colonies.

If anti-colonial states do not push the colonial powers beyond what they can achieve, if the responsibility for colonial progress continues to be increasingly shared by the international community, and if the cooperation of the colonial states with the U.N. is not a casualty of the battle of colonialism versus anti-colonialism, the international accountability of colonial states for the administration of their non-self-governing territories will continue to develop and become increasingly effective, with benefits accruing to the territories, themselves, and to the whole international community.

DIPLOMATIC CARETAKER *(from page 44)*

date. A more practical suggestion is that of our Department of State, namely, that a protecting neutral should always be in charge of the affairs of a pair of belligerents, in both directions. Such a two-way agency would give to the neutral intermediary a valuable lever of reciprocity with which to enforce his position, to say nothing of the greater ease of administration.

The protection of foreign interests, the good offices exercised on behalf of weaker or less-favored countries, began as an adjunct to the diplomacy of the Great Powers. These Powers, however, lead international lives altogether too political to ever achieve that perfect neutrality which the task requires. For this reason the most frequent choice of a diplomatic caretaker will be a country like Switzerland. Beyond this, the Swiss bring to their task of caretakers a regard for the value of a human life without which the job could not be done.

referred it to a new committee of three, of whom Witherspoon was one. This committee, on July 30, brought in a revised draft, which was adopted.

Having thus disposed of the protocol problems, and having decided also on the reply to the formal remarks, the Congress on July 30, 1778, set Thursday, August 6, as the day for the formal reception, and appointed Lee and Samuel Adams to wait upon Gérard and conduct him to the meeting place on that day.

On July 31 the Congress appointed another committee of three, including Morris, to "direct and superintend an entertainment to be given by Congress to the Honorable Sieur Gérard, Minister Plenipotentiary from his most Christian majesty, on Thursday next, the day assigned for his public audience." On August 5 the Congress made final arrangements for the affair, including the allotment of tickets to be distributed by members of the Congress and the resolution of certain final questions of protocol, relating to the sequence of bowings and seatings.

On August 6 Gérard was conducted to the meeting place of the Congress by two members thereof, presumably Lee and Adams; he presented his letter of credence to President Laurens; he addressed the members briefly in French; when he had finished, his secretary handed a copy of his remarks to Laurens; Laurens replied; the secretary of the Congress then handed a copy of Laurens' remarks to Gérard; and Gérard was conducted to his house by the two members who had brought him to the meeting.

Later in the day, Gérard dined with the members of the Congress. In the words of the proceedings of Gérard's reception, as published by the Congress in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on August 11, 1778, "The audience being over, the Congress and the Minister at a proper hour, repaired to an entertainment by Congress given to the Minister; at which were present by invitation several foreigners of distinction, and gentlemen of public character."

According to the diary of Samuel Holten, member of the Continental Congress from Massachusetts, "The entertainment was grand and elegant, the band of musick was very agreeable."

Gérard, in his report to French Foreign Minister Gravier de Vergennes on the affair, noted that he had sat between Laurens on his right and the Chief of State of Pennsylvania (George Bryan, Acting President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania) on his left, and that there had been 21 toasts, drunk to the roar of cannon—toasts to the health of the French King and Queen, to the health of the King of Spain, to military success, "a la perpetuité de l'Union entre la France et l'Amérique," etc.

The entertainment cost $1,424.

Gérard was followed in the position of head of the French diplomatic mission to the United States by Caesar Anne, Chevalier de la Luzerne (1779-1784); Francois de Barbé, Marquis de Marbois (1784-1785): L. G. Otto (Chargé d'Affaires, 1785-1788); Comte de Moustier (1788-1789); Otto again as Chargé (1789-1791); Colonel Ternant (1791-1793); Edmond Charles Genêt (May to August 1793), who was recalled; and a succession of others.

Thus Conrad Alexandre Gérard was the first diplomatic representative of a foreign country to the United States. As his title was Minister Plenipotentiary, he was also the first minister to the United States. Moreover, his mission was not special or temporary; i.e., he was, in addition, the head of the first permanent diplomatic mission in the United States.

After France, the next country to station a diplomat regularly in the United States was the Netherlands, which sent van Berkel as Minister Plenipotentiary in 1783. Thereafter Spain sent Diego de Gardoqui as Chargé d'Affaires with plenary powers in 1785; and Great Britain sent George Hammond as Minister Plenipotentiary in 1791.

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