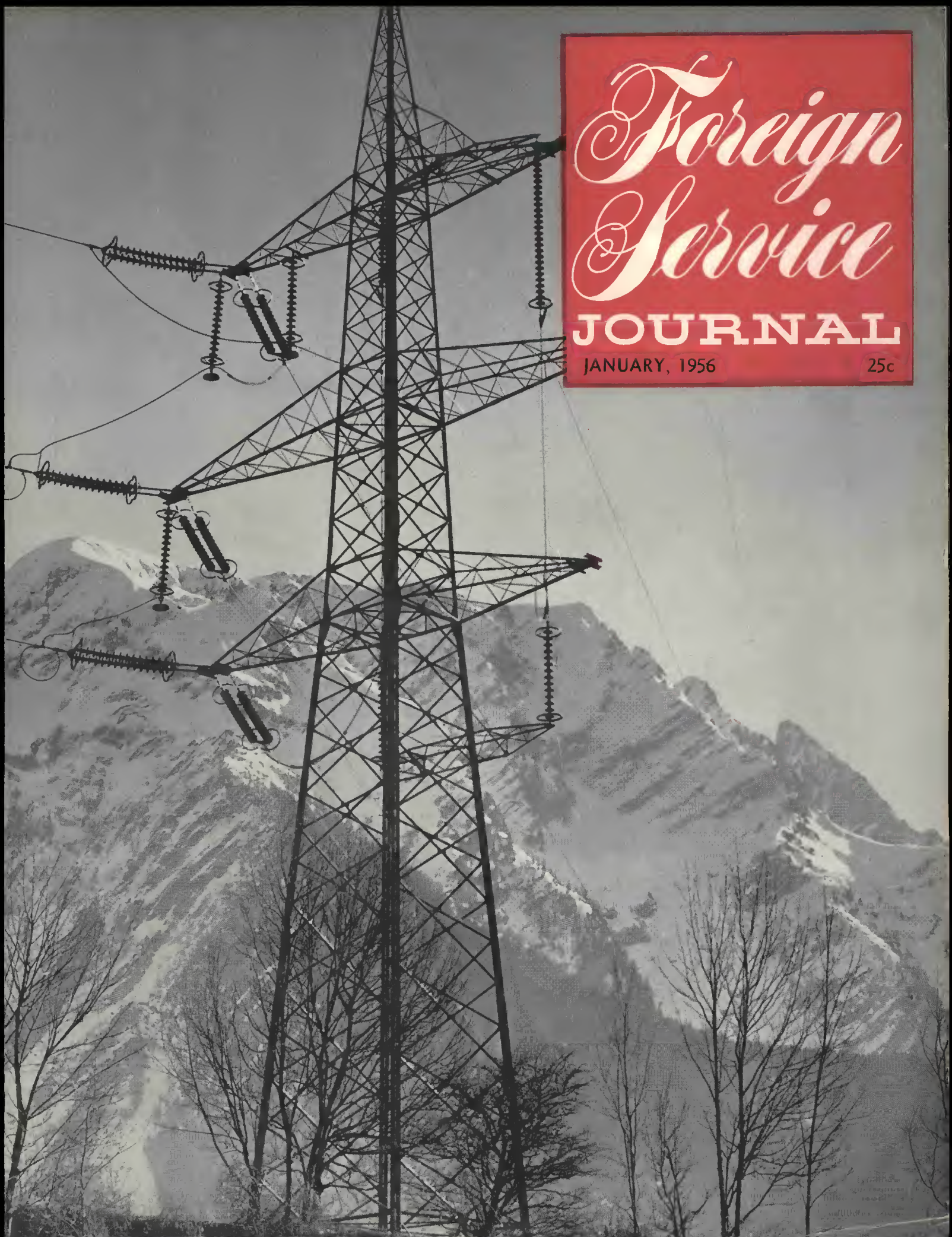

Foreign Service JOURNAL

JANUARY, 1956 25c

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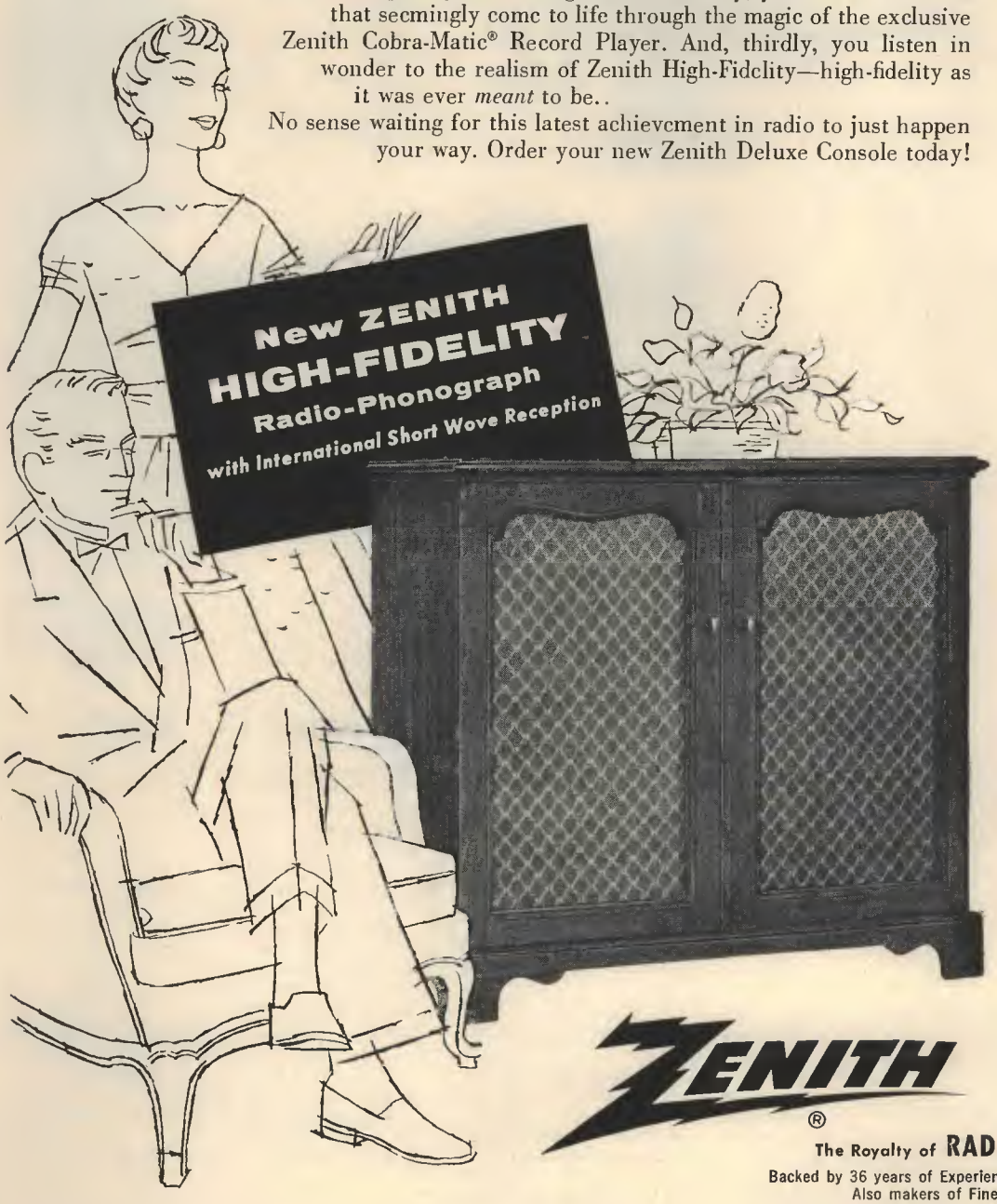

Powerful New 4-Band International Chassis

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

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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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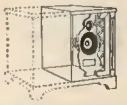
It's your infallible turntable speedometer! Lets you check to make sure your record is playing at the exact RPM it was recorded. No phonograph without it can give high-fidelity, except by chance.



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Seals-in sound and funnels it through the speaker cones, holding "sound seepage" to a minimum and favoring you with incomparable sound reproduction of radio and fine high-fidelity recordings.

In beautiful Mahogany veneers and selected hardwood solids, Model HFT1080BTR.

In select Limed Oak veneers and solids, Model HFT1081BTE.

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Foreign Service JOURNAL

published monthly by
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JANUARY, 1956 Volume 33, Number 1

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 eetablish 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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departments

COVER PICTURE: A Winter Scene in the Ennstal, famous valley in the Austrian Alps and one of the skiing centers of Austria. *Photo courtesy of Austrian Embassy.*

Letters to the Editors

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

THE GENERALIST AND THE "SUMMUM BONUM"

Washington, D. C.
November 21, 1955

To the Editors,
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

The recent well-written and able discussions and articles which have appeared in your JOURNAL concerning the respective merits of the diplomatic "generalist" and diplomatic "specialist" prompt me to add certain general principles which might prove of value in further elucidations.

It seems that any discussion of the necessary qualifications of a diplomat must, if it would be realistic, consider the end or term of a diplomat's function—the end which he is expected to attain. It would appear proper to equate the end of a diplomat's acts with the end of all political life, the traditional "summum honum." If this he true, then we have determined that the diplomat must primarily be about the business of "doing" (not "making"—even the making of treaties—for this is hut a relative means), and that this "doing" terminates in the multiple good of himself, his country, and the state to which he is accredited.

Bearing in mind that the "summum bonum," encompassing the entire gamut of political life (personalities, legal, cultural, economic, political phenomenon, etc.), is the very term of a diplomat's life, it would seem quite impossihle to accept the hopes of some that "under the new system [the individuals] should be specialists before anything else." I say "impossible" for two reasons: 1) the "generalist," or, if you will, the traditionally ideal "educated man," alone has the intellectual endowments which permit the world-view or "weltanschauung" demanded by man's political end; and 2) the "specialist" per se is not, hy definition, this type man, for intrinsic to the meaning of this term is the concept of a man possessing a circumscribed intellectual scope, with views and interests specified by a particular aspect of a whole field. As opposed to the "generalist educated" diplomat whose intellectnal perception is such as to render intelligible the ubiquitous mass of political phenomenon, the "specialist" per se is precisely one whose ken is not the totality of political life, but rather a certain phase of that life, a part of the whole. While the view of the "generalist" is universal and thus capable of being adequate to the rich diversity and swarming multiplicity of political life, that of the "specialist" is determined by the individual particular facet of such life. Such respective capabilities should cause no surprise if one recalls that the "educated man" is wholly developed, while the "specialist" is but trained or instructed in a specific skill.

I shall be the first to acknowledge that my treatment of the subject is extremely cursory and that the premises and scarcely developed concepts are subject to innumerable interpretations and discussions. I shall, however, accept

(*Continued on page* 12)

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SINCE 1870 Famous Old Forester is the favorite whenever men of affairs relax in good fellowship. It's a traditional symbol of hospitality — the whisky you serve the guest whose friendship you value. As fine in quality as it is rich in full-bodied goodness, Old Forester sets the standard for all Kentucky whiskies. ... As it says on the label:

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ENTERING THE FOREIGN SERVICE

By A 1955 CANDIDATE

From: *The London Observer*, November 6, 1955

The examination for the Foreign Service has changed completely since the early thirties. In those days it consisted, I believe, mainly of written answers to questions of an academic kind, requiring a knowledge of several languages and cultures. Now it is enough to show aptitude for languages, and the tests seem directed mainly at general intelligence and character.

The present examination is in three stages, taken in successive months — the Qualifying Examination, the Civil Service Selection Board, and the Final Board. All three stages are run by the Civil Service Commission, not by the Foreign Office itself.

In an explanatory leaflet we were reminded that a candidate would not be appointed if his political affiliations raised legitimate doubts about his reliability. We were told later that the reports from our school, university and Army authorities, together with those from two personal references whom we had named, carried great weight, particularly if they included a certain amount of criticism.

The Qualifying Examination, with six papers, lasted two days. There were 216 of us, competing for fifteen vacancies. The questions, mainly intellectual, required no preparation. There was an essay paper (fifteen alternative questions such as "What facts are the theories of psychologists intended to explain?"); two general papers (for example: "Does British political life suffer from a lack of idealism?"); an English paper; some statistics to analyze; and two intelligence papers, with mathematical, current affairs and linguistic problems, besides the common "sequence" tests. All the papers had a strict time-limit.

Three Tests

This examination eliminated half the candidates. Those who survived went in batches of fourteen to one of the series of C.S.S.B. tests and interviews, lasting two and a half days. We were split into two groups of seven, with a chairman, an "observer" and a psychologist assigned to each group. We were told that, contrary to belief, no conclusions would be drawn from our table-manners and general behaviour "off-parade."

The tests were of three kinds — written papers, interviews and group tests. The central problem was to decide exactly how a large sum of money, left by an American millionaire philanthropist to endow a school, should be spent. Another problem was plainly an "integrity test." Should a man with confidential Government information use it to help a friend under any circumstances? The strangest of these written tests was one in which we were required to write two character-sketches of ourselves; one by a "discerning critic," one by an "appreciative friend."

For group tests we first sat on a committee to discuss various problems arising out of the educational project, taking fifteen-minute turns to be chairman while the omnipresent examiners hovered in the background, their pens poised. At the first, lasting three-quarters of an hour, we had to analyse the present aims of British foreign policy.

(*Continued on page* 8)

ENTERING THE FOREIGN SERVICE *(from page 6)*

Then we were each interviewed for about three-quarters of an hour by each of our three examiners. The psychologist went carefully over our careers, presumably to see how we reacted to our environments and whether we had had any periods of nervous strain. Next came the "observer." We had been asked to write down three propositions which we were prepared to defend. For one of mine I had got down: "*Apartheid* is both morally and politically indefensible." The statement, which I thought sounded impressive, failed to impress my examiner; he made such a shrewd attack on my argument that I came away practically convinced of the necessity for racial segregation in South Africa.

Spending £200

At my third interview, the friendly looking chairman turned out to be a penetrating, almost hostile, questioner. Why did I want to join the Foreign Service? It was an expected question, but none the less difficult to answer genuinely and with any show of originality. Where would I travel, given £200 and two free months? "Italy," I said. "What then," he continued smoothly, "do you think are the chief diplomatic problems at issue between Italy and this country at the moment?"

The last (and rather surprising) test was to grade our fellow-competitors in order of preference, (a) as potential diplomats, (b) as holiday companions. We were told that not much notice was usually taken of our gradings, except as an indication of our ability to judge character. I put the same man at the top of both my columns. I discovered later that he did not get in.

The assessment made of us went forward, together with our Qualifying Examination marks and the reports on our earlier career, to the Final Board. There were seven of these ultimate judges. One was in the Foreign Service; the rest were, I believe, drawn from other branches of the Civil Service and from other professions. About seventy of us were left. We knew that the odds were still against us, and felt that our future careers were to be decided by a short interview.

The chairman started cross-examining me about my scholastic and military careers. What good did I think the Army had done me? What did I feel I had to offer the Foreign Service?

Next came a question demanding what papers I read, and why. The only woman on the Board now asked questions about my subject at Oxford (Greats). Why had I found it so interesting? Why did I consider it good training for Foreign Service work (I had suggested it was), and did I consider that philosophy and history played different or similar roles in the training? Naturally I had defended my subject before. But never had the questions been quite so difficult.

I was also asked what I did in my spare time, and when I included reading, I was pressed for details. "What novels written in the last ten years do you think will live?" "Why do Evelyn Waugh's novels appeal more to the young than to the old?"

So, after forty minutes, the fateful interview ended. It was an agonizing fortnight before the results came through. I had passed.

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Thus, in heavily-traveled areas, multiple and accurate routes can be provided for aircraft to fly safely and efficiently, maintaining heavy traffic schedules in adverse weather.

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LOWER HOUSEHOLD AND PERSONAL EFFECTS INSURANCE

The Personal Purchases Committee wishes to call the attention of the membership to a letter it received recently from Philip L. Gore, president of Security Storage Company. Portions of the letter, which follow, called to our attention the fact that Security Storage is reducing the premiums on household and personal effects insurance for those persons now insured who made no claims against the company last year. The letter reads:

"To the Members,
Foreign Service Association:

"Early in 1953 certain officials of your Association, in an effort to increase the perquisites of the membership, consulted the Security Storage Company of Washington about providing reduced rates for insuring the household goods and personal effects of members.

"In July 1953 an agreement was reached which was published in the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL of November 1953. Subsequently the arrangement was renewed and the JOURNAL of February 1955 carried an article to that effect.

"During the first year of this arrangement 125 members of the Association availed themselves of this insurance with coverage of about three quarters of a million dollars. During the first nine months of 1955 some 300 members of your Association found the advantages of this policy by effecting coverage in the neighborhood of 1.6 million dollars.

"This policy has been popular with you. Our underwriters too, have had a satisfactory experience. Members of the Association are considered a preferred risk and have become increasingly aware of the desirability of avoiding small, trivial or exaggerated claims. These constitute a heavy burden on underwriters.

"Now, our underwriters are granting a further reduction in the cost of this insurance. In all instances in which no claim has been filed during the preceding year, *a ten per cent (10%) reduction of the annual premium* will be granted to members renewing their policies.

"For the benefit of those members of the Association not already acquainted with the terms and coverage of this policy we quote from the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL mentioned above.

" 'The coverage offered is as follows: While in owner's residence abroad, fire, burglary, theft and larceny and mysterious disappearance; also transportation risks on luggage and personal effects of the insured and members of his family, while travelling. Premium to be 1½% of the first $5,000.00 and 1% thereafter, with a minimum premium of $17.50. The policy also covers the furniture and effects of the insured during packing, shipping and transportation upon notice furnished to the Insurance Department of the Security Storage Company of Washington by the insured, giving date goods removed from residence for packing and/or shipping, the destination, and, if possible, the routing. Transportation coverage is all risks of transportation and navigation, and the underwriters interpret this to mean General Average and Salvage charges, if incurred, sinking, stranding, fire, collision, theft, pilferage, both fresh and salt water damage, and breakage (unless the latter is due to insufficient or bad packing). The ad-

(*Continued on page* 16)

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FOREIGN SERVICE STAFF CORPS PROMOTIONS

The following promotions have been processed recently.

From Class 2 to Class 1

Peterson, Oliver A.

From Class 3 to Class 2

Nichols, Donald H.

From Class 4 to Class 3

Kelley, Edward R.
Wellington, Roberta G.

From Class 7 to Class 6

Ferguson, Charles B.

From Class 8 to Class 7

Howe, Stanley M., Sr.

From Class 9 to Class 8

Atkinson, Mary Louise
Owen, Ruth Juanita
McDonough, Ruth T.
Weigold, Evelyn

From Class 10 to Class 9

Jesky, Ralph J.
Pitman, Chalmer

From Class 12 to Class 11

Bail, Lucille J.
Bailey, Claire H.
Bartimus, Alice W.
Bider, Lorice M.
Blake, Eileen M.
Bruce, John Robert
Butler, Richard H.
Cavallaro, John F.
Cole, Judith A.
Dohm, Ethyln Ann
Downs, T. Josephine
Fox, William J.
Fuge, Helen E.
Gerling, Jack L.
Hairston, Mary E.
Harrington, Daniel M.
Hawkins, John H.
Hill, Warren E.
Hotaling, Charles A.
Hughes, H. Jayne
Hunter, Colleen
Kelso, Margaret H.
Kenna, Hendryk Z.
Lema, Catherine R.
Lide, Frances T.
Lukso, Alice B.
Means, Willard
Meisol, Mildred L.
Mentag, Grace E.
McLean, Arleen
Newman, Magness L.
Olsen, Mildred A.
Opavsky, Frances V.
Paradis, Roland E.
Podborski, Josephine
Ritter, Norma J.
Sakellarios, Nicholas J.
Sardy, Joseph
Seeley, Helen J.
Shannon, Terrence S.
Sink, Phyllis
Sorenson, Maxine E.
Spring, Barbara H.
Steiner, Helen M.
Strom, Eleanor S.
True, James W.
Tuley, Enid K.
Vient, Merilyn L.
Weyres, Virginia A.
Williams, Ann D.
Zacharias, Geneva C.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS *(from page 4)*

all those students of foreign affairs who enter into such discussions as material witnesses to the truth of my thesis: it is the "generalist," not the "specialist," who alone can reduce the manifold of political life to a unity sufficiently intelligible to provide a fulcrum in the everlasting search for the "summum bonum."

Parenthetically, I should like to add that the above thesis acts in no way as a prohibitive to specialization, rather it implies that such specialization, to be meaningful, demands as a prerequisite the "generalist" type diplomat. It is simply a statement of right order: substance preceded accidents, the first is prior to the second.

John Donnelly Leonard

APPOINTMENTS AND DESIGNATIONS

The following recess appointments and designations were made by the President on November 25, 1955:

Appointments to FSO Corps

Class 1

William S. B. Lacy

Class 2

Robert W. Barnett
Edward A. Bolster
Richard C. Breithut
Henry Brodie
Seaborn P. Foster
James Frederick Green
Ralph Hilton
Barr V. Washburn
Lincoln White
David Wilken

Class 3

Halvor O. Ekern
William J. Galloway
Edward J. Gaumond
Millard L. Kenestrick
R. Clyde Larkin
J. David Linebaugh
Sylvain R. Loupe
Jack W. Lydman
Bruce L. McDaniel
John P. Meagher
Miss Dewilda E. Naramore
David Persinger
Oliver A. Peterson
Henry J. Sabatini
Robert Adams Thayer
Lawrence W. von Hellens

Class 4

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Rudolf O. Altroggen
William O. Anderson
Gordon Donald, Jr.
Lester E. Edmond
Miss Virginia Ellis
Ronald A. Gaiduk
Russell L. Gibbs
Juan L. Gorrell
Joseph A. Greenwald
Martin Y. Hirabayashi
H. Franklin Irwin, Jr.
Martin G. Manch
G. E. Robert Meyer
Harry J. Milton
William T. Sandalls
Cecil B. Sanner
Henry L. Taylor
George D. Whittinghill

Class 5

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Frederick O. Beattie
Harold T. Christie
Norbert Chwat
Athol H. Ellis
Arthur W. Feldman
William C. Hamilton
Tobias Hartwick
Robert A. Jackson
William R. Jochimsen
Henry A. Lagasse
Charles A. Lemmo
Warren H. McMurray
Ernest J. Mansmann, Jr.
Gordon K. Mott
Paul Moy
Miss Alice G. Mulhern
David B. Ortman
John Marshall Pifer
Woodward Romine
Edward W. Schaefer
Denman F. Stanfield
Jacob Walkin
George J. Warren
Richard W. White

Class 6

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Edward J. Chesky, Jr.
Harland H. Eastman
Miss Joan Gillespie
Wever Gim
Meyer Glickman
John Donnelly Leonard
James W. Mahoney
Frazier Meade
Glenn R. Ruihley
William N. Simonson
Clyde H. Small
Miss Suzanne White

Designations

To be Consul General

Elbridge Durbrow

To be Consuls

Alfred L. Grigis
Joseph A. Horne
Marshall W. S. Swan
Robert D. Gahagen
James Moceri
Sam H. Wright

To be Consul and Secretary

L. Eugene Milligan

To be Vice Consuls

John K. Allen, Sr.
Vivian L. N. Parker
Frederick C. Randall

To be Secretaries

Morrill Cody
Raford W. Herbert

BIRTHS

AYCOCK. A daughter, Bonnie Cecilia, born to Mr. and Mrs. Leroy C. Aycock on September 22, 1955, at Caracas, Venezuela.

BECKER. A son, John Steven, born to Mr. and Mrs. Raymond J. Becker on August 19, 1955 at Gothenburg, Sweden.

DE ORNELLAS. A daughter, Cecile Louise, born to Mr. and Mrs. John L. De Ornellas on September 23 at Mexico City.

COBB. A daughter, Georgia Harkness, born to Mr. and Mrs. William B. Cobb, Jr. on August 14, 1955 in Washington, D. C.

HARRIS. A son, Mark Steven, born to Mr. and Mrs. Stanley P. Harris on October 13, 1955 at Washington, D. C.

HOWISON. A daughter, Martha Lynne, born to Mr. and Mrs. John M. Howison on August 23, 1955 in Washington, D. C.

JOVA. A daughter, Margaret Ynes, born to Mrs. and Mrs. Joseph J. Jova on July 26, 1955 in Lisbon, Portugal.

KRAUSSE. A son, Henry Gustave III, born to Mr. and Mrs. Henry G. Krausse, Jr. on September 10, 1955 in Calexico, California.

KUHN. A son, William Speer, born to Mr. and Mrs. John L. Kuhn on September 27, 1955 in Washington, D. C.

LANE. A son, Thomas Grant, born to Mr. and Mrs. Lyle F. Lane on September 18, 1955 in Madrid, Spain.

LILIEN. A daughter, Ann, born to Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. Lilien on March 27, 1955 in Brussels.

MARTIN. A son, Paul Dudley, born to Mr. and Mrs. Doyle V. Martin on October 8, 1955 at Dakar, French West Africa. Mrs. Martin is the daughter of retired Foreign Service Officer and Mrs. Paul R. Josselyn.

STOESSEL. A daughter, Christine McMelan, born to Mr. and Mrs. Walter J. Stoessel, Jr., on September 29, 1955 in Washington, D. C.

IN MEMORIAM

PISAR. Mr. Charles J. Pisar, retired Foreign Service Officer, died on October 16, 1955 at Boonton, New Jersey. At the time of Mr. Pisar's retirement in 1943, he was Consul General at Liverpool.

MATTHEWS. Elizabeth Luke Matthews, wife of the Honorable H. Frecman Matthews, and mother of H. Freeman Matthews, Jr. and Thomas L. Matthews, died on October 25, 1955 at Hot Springs, Va.

25 years ago

BY JAMES B. STEWART

NEW YEAR'S GREETINGS! A certain elder statesman of merrie old England, famed for preciseness in his use of English, does not at the New Year (or any other time) greet an old friend with: "Have you time for a drink?" Rather, this merry but exact old soul says to him, "Have you time for a few drinks?"

PERIPATETIC DIPLOMATIST: "A year ago NELSON TRUSLER JOHNSON, energetic new U. S. Minister to China, arrived in Peiping, gave foreign correspondents the shock of their lives by delivering a long fluent speech in perfect Chinese.

" 'I have no intention of squatting in the Legation,' said he, and so, following that promise, the Minister set out from Peiping on foot, in his shirtsleeves, puffing a cheap Chinese cigarette, carrying a felt-covered canteen of chow (boiled) water at his hip.

". . . Buying eggs and potatoes en route (Minister Johnson leading a sad-eyed pack pony) they, meaning the Minister and a few strong-footed friends, went along the borders of Shansi province, whither a round-faced young engineer named Herbert Hoover took his bride while he surveyed mineral deposits in 1899.

". . . At Saratsi Mr. Johnson visited millet fields that had been swept clear of grain by rats. The Saratsi farmers, crafty little people, did not complain. They simply hunted out the rat's holes and stole the grain the rats had harvested. . . ."

—*Time.* December 1, 1930.

CHANGES:

WILLIAM P. COCHRAN, JR., Wellington to Department.
CECIL WAYNE GRAY, Buenos Aires to Berlin.
HARRY A. MCBRIDE, resigned as Vice Consul, Malaga.
EDWARD ANDERSON, JR., Port Said to Singapore.
JOHN G. ERHARDT, Department to Bordeaux.
CHARLES B. HOSMER, Department to Naples.
DALE C. MCDONOUGH, Sydney to Madras.
STEWART E. MCMILLIN, Belgrade to Warsaw.

A daughter, Edith Harriet, was born November 18, 1930, at Leipzig, Germany, to VICE CONSUL and MRS. PAUL J. REVELEY.

WANTED—A HAPPY COLLEAGUE: PEN DAVIS vouches for this one: A certain Chief of Mission gladly accepted transfer from one undesirable post to another even less desirable, believing that the new post, which had been raised to an Embassy, would pay $17,500. Quite understandably, he had laid in a generous stock of champagne but, when he learned that his salary would remain at $10,000, he appealed to the Department to take the champagne off his hands or to put him in touch with a happy colleague—one who was in a celebrating mood.

NECROLOGY. At MR. EDWARD P. LOWRY'S funeral at Arlington, November 24, 1930, a package of earth brought especially from Mexico was broken and sprinkled over the

(*Continued on page* 16)

Ring the Bells!
Shoot the Cannon!
Sound the Sirens!

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a New SSS Tuxedo

DESTINED TO SET AN INCOMPARABLE STANDARD OF WORKMANSHIP, QUALITY & VALUE

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Conventional Dry Clean Jacket *$24.70*
Black Tuxedo Pants (Dry Clean) *$10.70*

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* **CUTAWAY COAT AND MATCHING VEST** distinguished in fabric and design and comfort. Rich Oxford grey, lightweight all wool **52.50**

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* **COCKTAIL COAT WITH MATCHING VEST** Hand-needled to provide custom like fit and action-free comfort. Oxford grey in lightweight all wool. **47.50**

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* **STRIPED TROUSERS** of 10½ oz. 2-ply lightweight pure worsted. Pleated. **17.50**

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* **WHITE PIQUE VEST** Backless, self-adjustable **6.50**

★

* **FULL DRESS SUITS** in perfect taste. Same magnificent mid-nite blue worsted as tuxedo. All silk facings and Bemberg linings **59.90**

** One week delivery . . . Stock sizes only*

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO *(from page 14)*

casket before the local earth was filled into the grave. Mr. Lowry had expressed the wish that when he died he would like to have some Mexican soil buried with him.

SNAKE!

Herewith is another in the series of adventures of the American Consul at Foochow—JOHN J. MUCCIO.

"Yesterday morning I was startled by a monster snake sunning itself at the foot of the Consulate steps. A shriek brought the gardener who started after it with a bamboo pole. There was a clatter of toppling boxes, crashes of empty flower pots, bangs of the bamboo pole against the concrete. Occasionally the crashes were muffled by gleeful Ah's from the ricksha coolies who had now joined the gardener.

"In a few moments the gardener reappeared grinning, the snake clinging around his neck. It was not 20 to 30 feet long; it was only 11 feet long.

". . . That afternoon I found the gardener, caretaker, coolies and several friends joyfully seated to a grand feast. They had purchased some Chinese wine in which the snake was steeped. Ah, that wine and snake flesh would make them all sturdy, forceful and bold! It made one of the ricksha coolies so bold that he came back to duty the next morning with the finest black eye I have ever seen outside of the United States."

THE BUZZER BUZZED ONCE: One day in Old State, according to MISS SADIE MOORE, a very young officer named NORMAN ARMOUR stared at the little mahogany box on his desk and slowly pushed down the lever marked "The Secretary." At that moment panic siezed the young diplomat. He bounced from his chair, ran from the room, and away from that little brown box and the voice of CHARLES EVANS HUGHES.

THEN CAME THE PAY-OFF: MONNETT B. DAVIS succeeded NATHANIEL P. DAVIS as Chief of the Division of Foreign Administration. M. B. was having to explain continually that he was not N. P. One day they had lunch together. Monnett told Pen that just as he was becoming fed up with having to assure people that he was himself and no one else, the pay-off came. An official from another Department inquired: "Is this Mr. Davis?" Monnett allowed as how he was and the caller exclaimed, "But you are better looking than when I last saw you!" (From Pen Davis.)

HOUSEHOLD EFFECTS INSURANCE *(from page 10)*

ditional premium for the transportation coverage will be one-half the normal premium for the transportation involved (obviously, premium on shipment London to Paris, for instance, should be a fraction of the premium London to Asuncion or to Addis Ababa). Risks of war, riot and civil commotion are not included save by specific request and payment of additional premium. If the packer is one approved by the underwriters, Appleton and Cox, or the agents, Security Storage Company of Washington, then the additional premium will be only 3½% of normal premium; and if, in addition, the goods are shipped in approved steel lift vans, the additional premium will be only 25% of normal.

"Enquiries or orders should be addressed to the Insurance Department, Security Storage Company of Washington, 1140 Fifteenth Street, N.W., Washington 5, D. C. (cable address: STORAGE), but the Personal Purchases Committee of the Association will be glad to help whenever it can.' "

NEWS to the FIELD

By Lois Perry Jones

The Department's insignia and certificate in recognition of his 30 years in the Foreign Service was presented to the Honorable Ellis O. Briggs, Ambassador to Peru, by the Honorable Henry F. Holland, Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs. The presentation was made when Ambassador Briggs was in Washington for consultation.

Study of FSO-6 Candidates

Of 647 candidates who passed the FSO-6 exam last June and on whom background information is available, 585 were college graduates and 53.5 percent had had one or more years of graduate study after receiving their baccalaurate degree. Successful candidates represented 200 colleges and universities distributed as follows: New England 108; New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey 170; South 97; Middle West 138; and West 125.

An analysis of the results of the examination based on the major subject of study in college showed that: 33.9% of the philosophy majors passed; 32.6% of the English literature majors passed; 30.8% of those majoring in mathematics, chemistry, physics and engineering; 23.4% of those majoring in government, history and international relations; 19.7% of the economic majors passed; 13.9% of the modern language majors; and 13.4% of those majoring in education, psychology, sociology and anthropology.

Language Competence

Assignment and Training reports submitted by present and prospective FSOs indicate that some 35 languages are represented in the self-appraised language skills of the Service. Major languages represented, with the number of those claiming "useful" or "fluent" competence in them are: French—484; Spanish—362; German—324; Italian—101; Portuguese—56; and Russian—46.

1957 Budget Estimates

The SECRETARY OF STATE, in submitting the Department's estimate for fiscal year 1957, informed the Bureau of the Budget that the Department's minimum Salaries and Expenses requirements were $3,410,000 in excess of the ceiling prescribed, and reminded Mr. Hughes, Director of the Bureau, that he had agreed to permit the Department to submit such an estimate.

In the explanatory material contained in the letter, the Secretary pointed out that the Department and Foreign Service are understaffed at a time when their responsibilities are increasing. He added that we should make provision for: certain increases in staff both overseas and in Washington, additional means for training and development of that staff, and improvement in certain overseas facilities.

He stated that it would be necessary to open new posts in order to provide adequate American representation in new and expanding areas, and that the more essential overseas positions should be staffed full-time, a condition now impossible because of home leave, transfer, illness, etc.

Increases requested would release officers for training, and would also provide for an acceleration of our foreign buildings construction program.

Speaking of representation allowances, the Secretary said: "The present arrangement, under which a large portion of these official United States expenses are borne by individuals, is unreasonable, inequitable and damaging to the conduct of our foreign relations. Unless reasonable adjustments are made, we cannot pretend that the Foreign Service is open to all American citizens on terms of equality without regard to their private income. Furthermore, where individual officers are unable personally to subsidize necessary official entertainment, United States interests suffer."

Increases were also requested for conference activity, emergency situations, and the Educational Exchange Program.

Appointments

Max Bishop

MAX W. BISHOP, special assistant to UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE HERBERT HOOVER, JR., has been appointed Ambassador to Thailand succeeding the late JOHN E. PEURIFOY. Ambassador Bishop, a native of Arkansas and a graduate of the University of Chicago, entered the Service in 1935, as a language officer in Tokyo. He has served, in the field, in Osaka, Colombo, New Delhi and Dhahran. In the Department, he has been assigned to the National War College, the Policy Planning Staff, and as chief of the Division of Northeast Asian Affairs. In 1949 he was Department of State representative of the National Security Council Staff.

HERBERT V. PROCHNOW, the new Deputy Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, was formally presented a Presidential commission during the later part of November. A Chicago banking executive, Mr. Prochnow succeeded SAMUEL C. WAUGH. Mr. Prochnow holds B.A. and M.A. degrees from the University of Wisconsin, and a Ph.D. degree from Northwestern University. He has served as Secretary of the Federal Advisory Council of the Federal Reserve System for the last ten years, and is Director of the University

(*Continued on page* 49)

George Washington delivers his first Inaugural Address.

Notes On

By Carl Charlick

I.

Every four years, with the regularity of leap year, America stages its chief political event. There is indeed this coincidence between our presidential elections and leap year (excepting those century years which leave out the 366th day).

Only one presidential election in American history was held in an odd-numbered year—the very first. In 1789 we chose a President for the first time, and inaugurated him in the same year. There was not enough time to do otherwise. The Constitution of the United States had only been sufficiently ratified by summer of 1788. The document was then returned to the expiring Continental Congress which had carried on since the Revolution, and which set the following time-table for organizing the new government:

First Wednesday in January of the new year, 1789—the voters in each State chose a prescribed number of presidential electors;

First Wednesday in February following—the electors so chosen cast votes for two men, the one receiving the highest number to be President, the second-highest to be Vice President;

President George Washington and his cabinet, which included General Henry Knox, Secretary of War; Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury; Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State; and Edmund Randolph, Attorney General.

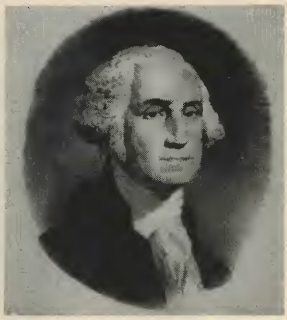
First Wednesday in March—the new government to be installed and to hold office for four years from that date. Since this day fell on March 4, 1789, that date became Inauguration Day down through 1933 when the 20th Amendment changed it to the present date.

II.

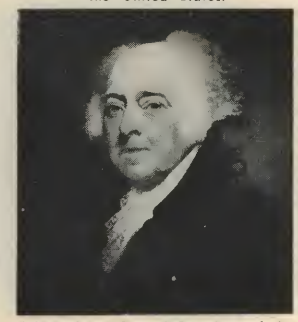
That George Washington would be the favorite choice of the electors of 1789 was a foregone conclusion. And some time after the voting had taken place in the various States, newspapers did announce that "Washington Gets All the Votes,"—69 in all. The electoral vote could have been higher —a total 91 votes had been initially allotted to the thirteen original States by the Constitution. Only ten of the thirteen, however, took part in the first presidential ballot; North Carolina and Rhode Island still held back from formally entering the Union, and New York State was so dilatory that it missed the election date. Not that the result would have been different, for the universal prestige of the former Commander-in-Chief was beyond challenge. Yet it isn't correct to speak of Washington's unanimous election. In fact, he was one of twelve candidates in the field. His nearest competitor, John Adams, garnered 34 votes. The remaining 35 were scattered among the other candidates. Georgia split its allotted five votes over three contestants, ranging as far afield as General Benjamin Lincoln, a Massachusetts Yankee who had been Secretary of War during the Revolution.

The fact is that under the original method of choosing a president, each presidential elector voted simultaneously for two men, without specifying who was first choice or his choice for second place. Thus altogether 138 votes were cast in 1789. Washington, with exactly half this total, did receive the *maximum* number any *one* could have. But he was not the unanimous, in the sense of exclusive, choice of the electors. In fact, he did not have the majority of votes which would be required for election today!

Electing A President

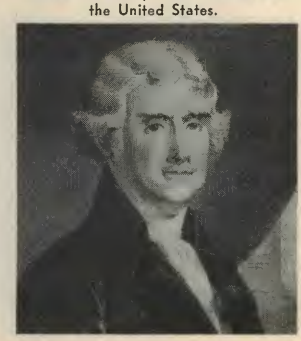


George Washington. First President of the United States.



John Adams, Second President of the United States.

Thomas Jefferson, Third President of the United States.



III.

It was in 1792, during Washington's first term in office, and in time for the approaching second presidential election, that Congress fixed the time for choosing presidential electors at "not more than 34 days prior to the first Wednesday in December, and every four years thereafter." No change was made in the Inaugural date. From this time on, our top political event is firmly linked with leap year (saving the exceptions decreed by the Julian reform). The date of election day was still a variable quantity; theoretically, it could come as early as October 28th. Variations did exist from state to state until in 1845 an act of Congress fixed the day on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November, where it is today. Beyond this, the States could still regulate all other electoral practices. Thus Maine still clings to its advanced election day in September for state officers and representatives in Congress, but every leap year must hold an additional poll for presidential electors in November.

IV.

Before the young republic could plunge into its second presidential election in 1792, a national census had disclosed a marked increase in population which called for a larger allocation of electoral votes. A total of 132 electors were now to be chosen, nearly double the number before. In a field of five candidates, Washington again polled the maximum figure of 132, popularly interpreted as an unanimous re-election. John Adams was again in second place with 77 votes, but he was crowded by New York's ambitious George Clinton who had a total of 50. There were but four votes for Thomas Jefferson, all from the new "Western" state of Kentucky, and a single vote for Aaron Burr, destined to make dramatic history a few years later.

V.

In the third presidential contest of 1796, Washington was no longer a candidate, although he did receive a scattering of complimentary votes. Thirteen candidates were in the race. John Adams won the highest figure, just nosing out (71 to 68) Thomas Jefferson, who became Vice President. Jeffer-

(*Continued on page* 46)

Extra

The Honorable G. Frederick Reinhardt delivered a speech at the dedi cation ceremonies at the Vietnamese-American Association in Saigon

The Honorable James C. Dunn, American Ambassador to Brazil, visited the binational center at Porto Alegre last spring.

By EDMUND MURPHY

Diplomats with long experience in Latin America are familiar with the work of the pro-American Binational Centers which bear the name of the United States in their various titles. Small counterparts of them have developed with such rapidity in provincial cities—especially in Brazil —that it is almost impossible to account for all of them. Cooperation between these cultural centers abroad and the United States Government has proven productive and rewarding, and both parties to the partnership have profited from the association. That the Binational Center technique is dynamic is implicit in the opening last summer of the fifth Center to develop in the Eastern Hemisphere with United States government cooperation and assistance.

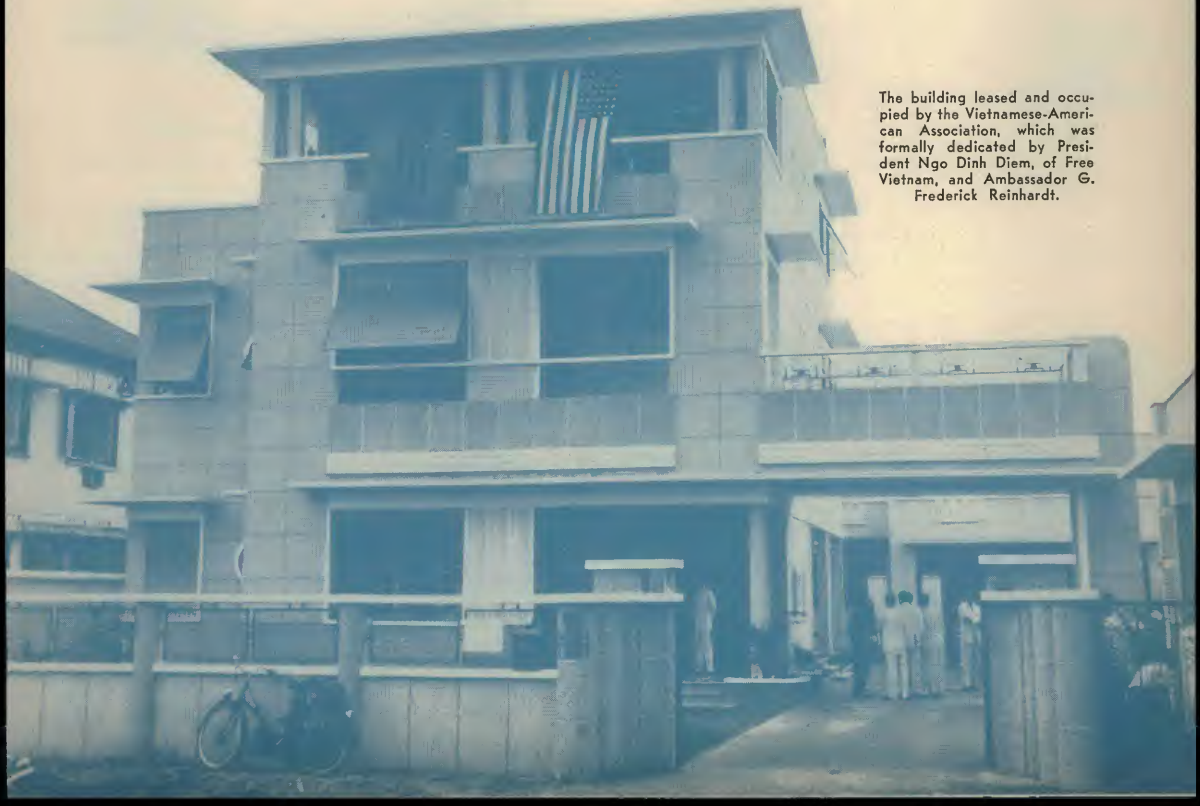
The day was July 23, 1955. The place—Saigon, Vietnam. American Ambasador G. Frederick Reinhardt attended the inauguration of the newly-formed Vietnamese-American Association and the formal opening of the Binational Center the Association had organized. This Center, dedicated to the creation of better understanding and closer cultural relations between Vietnamese and Americans, was, to some extent, patterned after the many other pro-United States cultural organizations which have been fostering good public relations for Uncle Sam in far-flung parts of the world. Such cultural centers began to receive assistance from the United States government in 1940 to help them carry on their good work. Ambassador Reinhardt had encouraged the United States Information Service officers in their efforts to help interested Vietnamese leaders and Americans in Saigon establish the new Center. Besides the Ambassador, who spoke briefly on behalf of the United States, President Ngo Dinh Diem was also present, although he arrived late, having come directly from the airport after a strenuous tour of the provinces. The appreciative audience stood and applauded as President Diem mounted the rostrum. He spoke briefly in both Vietnamese and English, referring to his high hopes for close and friendly cooperation between the people of his country and those of the United States. Thus came into being another link in the chain of pro-United States indigenous institutions which flourish in all Latin American capitals except Panama, as well as in Ankara, Tehran, Rangoon, and Bangkok.

In these Binational Centers are realized the aspirations of some foreign nationals for closer ties with the United States, and through the Centers other nationals are helped to understand the meaning and vitality of democracy. The founders hope that their work will assist in gaining general understanding that the United States is without colonial ambitions and uses its position of leadership to seek peace, justice and freedom for all peoples. The foreign nationals who participate in this program have in their ranks a high percentage of persons who have lived and studied in the United States—many of them under exchange of persons programs of the Department of State. Not only does this group understand, and feel well disposed toward our country, but its members are also the ones who best understand the dangers of penetration by and acceptance of alien political ideologies. In Saigon, for example, the conflict of democratic versus totalitarian views was uncomfortably apparent. Mortars exploded and the machine guns of insurgent forces rattled in the streets during the formative stages of the Binational Center. In other parts of the world, the conflict was less visible, but in many cases it was there.

Curricular Diplomacy

The Binational Centers which have developed in foreign countries—sometimes spontaneously, sometimes with U. S. aid, and often with the participation of U. S. Foreign Service officers—have been formed by Boards of Directors whose membership included resident Americans. The Boards have elected officers, drafted charters, and incorporated as non-profit education and cultural institutions. They have then rented headquarters and instituted three-fold programs, comprising English language instruction, library services, and general cultural programs which included lectures, exhibits, concerts, film showings, public forums and the like. The libraries feature United States books and, as often as possible, stock them in translation for the convenience of the local reader. The object of most of the programs has been to provide accurate information about the United States, its policies and its ideals.

Because of a growing demand for English classes, the fees which the Centers charge for instruction in English has become their principal source of revenue. United States Government assistance to the Centers was administered by the Department of State directly from 1943 to 1953. Since August 1953, the assistance program has been administered by the United States Information Agency. Under this program, the Information Agency helps the independent Centers in the form of providing the services of American teachers and administrators, materials, and, occasionally, grants of cash to cover operating deficits or to support special projects of mutual interest. Current support levels, including provision of the services of 77 American citizens to the Centers, amounts to nearly one million dollars annually. In addition, the Centers raise, through their own local activities, over one and a half million dollars per year.



The building leased and occupied by the Vietnamese-American Association, which was formally dedicated by President Ngo Dinh Diem, of Free Vietnam, and Ambassador G. Frederick Reinhardt.

As far back as 1928, a group of American businessmen and interested Argentines banded together to form the Instituto de Intercambio Cultural Argentino-Norteamericano in Buenos Aires. They were motivated principally by a desire to offset the anti-United States sentiment which had developed from the adverse propaganda surrounding the Sacco-Vanzetti case. By 1940, when American entry into World War II already seemed imminent, and when the leadership of all Western Hemisphere nations was concerned with problems of solidarity and mutual security against the Nazi threat, United States Foreign Service Officers saw the Binational Centers which had developed spontaneously in seven countries of Latin America as potential for establishing a firm institutional basis for closer, more informal and continuous cooperation with the people of Latin America. For this reason, they recommended that the United States Government encourage the groups and help them to do better the job which they were anxious to do. In establishing this relationship it was considered important that it be done without infringement on the autonomy of the indigenous institutions. Prominent among the early supporters of this type of cooperation were Selden Chapin, who is now American Ambassador to Iran; Philip W. Bonsal, presently U. S. Ambassador to Colombia; Robert G. Caldwell, erstwhile Minister to Portugal and to Bolivia; Edward G. Trueblood, now UNESCO Affairs Officer and Consul in Paris; and Reginald Bragonier Jr., who is presently serving as Executive Officer in Bonn-Bad Godesberg.

The first contacts of a Foreign Service Officer with the Binational Centers may be something of a novelty, and may add a new dimension to his conception of diplomacy. He may find himself poring over old college notes in preparation to giving a lecture on Mark Twain. His wife may find herself rehearsing a local choral group which delights in singing American negro spirituals. Or he may assiduously chord the guitar accompaniment to a rollicking *corrido* in one of the Centers' guitar classes. Ambassadors and American Embassy officers regularly open art exhibits, attend receptions, confer prizes and scholarships, crown queens, participate in panel discussions, and give commencement addresses. Foreign Service Officers also participate in the special interest clubs such as photography, archeology, and other activities designed to bring Americans and locals together to share in activities of common interest. Sometimes they *dos a dos* with evident relish at the Centers' square dancing sessions.

Foreign Service Officers from novitiates to seasoned diplomats, as well as their wives, have taught English in Center classes in all parts of the world—often as volunteers. They have donated books to the Centers' collections, formed library committees, and acted as part-time librarians. They have organized clubs and helped to direct parts of the Centers' many faceted activities. In some instances, Foreign Service wives have helped to make a Center more inviting and attractive by assisting in redecorating the premises. The officers and their families have profited, too, from the opportunities the Centers offer by way of an introduction to the language, history, customs and traditions, as well as to the tourist attractions of the country concerned. Thus, the Centers provide an avenue of understanding in two directions, and the efforts made by members of the U. S. Foreign Service to understand the mores and aspirations of locals do much to render the task of diplomacy easier and more effective.

The Honorable Thomas E. Whelan, U. S. Ambassador to Nicaragua, crowned the Queen of the Binational Center, Miss Maria Lourdes Leon, at the annual End-of-the-Year dance.

Miss Helen Keller was among the distinguished visitors entertained by the Uniao Cultural Brasil Estados Unidos at Sao Palo in 1953. She is shown above with her secretary, Miss Polly Thomson, being greeted on her arrival at the Center.

While a Center's Board members will be quick to advise that the Center is not run by the U. S. Embassy—as indeed it is not—at the same time the Centers welcome participation of all Americans in their programs and activities. They especially welcome Embassy participation, and are inclined, sometimes, to feel that the failure of Embassy officers to participate as members of the Center reflects a lack of interest in the cause of improving understanding. United States Ambassadors are ordinarily named honorary members of the Centers and, in some cases, they have been founding members. Several American Ambassadors traditionally organize annual receptions for the Centers' Boards of Directors. Almost without exception, the U. S. Cultural Attaché serves as an ex-officio member of the Board, with voice, but without vote.

(*Continued on page* 48)

Japanese language class, learning about a Japanese house. Mr. Hajime Aikawa is the instructor.

日本語 LANGUAGE STUDY IN JAPAN

By MARGARET MORGAN

"Speak Japanese?" a newcomer assigned to the American Embassy in Tokyo remarked after a query. "Why, it's one of the world's most difficult languages for us to learn. I'd like to study it, but. . . ."

A year later this skeptic, after part-time study at the Foreign Service Institute Language School in Tokyo was able to use Japanese to conduct simple conversations, to read at least a few signs, and to find his way about the country.

Because use of the English language is widespread, many people assume that employees of the U. S. government agencies working abroad will not ordinarily undertake to learn the language of the country in which they may be stationed for only a few years. Psychologically, however, the failure of our personnel to attempt to learn the native language gives local credence to all the delusions about American attitudes of "superiority," "indifference," and "intolerance" which plague and inhibit mutual understanding and cooperation.

To the Japanese, the deficiencies the beginner may show in speaking their language are unimportant. What is important is that the earnest effort and sincere desire to study a language not widely used outside Japan itself is a token of interest in Japan and its people that is deeply appreciated and admired.

In September 1950 because a few people in USPOLAD (Office of the United States Political Advisor) wanted to study Japanese, an informal Japanese language program was started under the direction of Mrs. Eleanor Harz Jorden. A brilliant scholar in the field of linguistics, Mrs. Jorden had been studying and teaching Japanese at Yale from 1944 until she came to Japan in 1949. With Bernard Bloch she had co-authored the manuals on *Spoken Japanese* published for the U. S. Armed Forces by the Linguistic Society of America and the American Council of Learned Societies.

At first the program consisted of informal afternoon classes in Mrs. Jorden's home for advanced, full-time students. Later, in 1950, the school graduated to one small office room and provided classes for beginners as well. Some of the classes had to be held around a table in the building's snack bar; other classes met in halls. One student recalls vividly a class meeting day after day on the stiff wooden benches in the damp unheated hall outside the consular office. Meanwhile, visitors seeking visas, or marriage and birth registrations, surrounded the class and walked between teacher and students. But the interest of the students was undiminished and an increasing number of officers and clerical personnel sought admission in the language school.

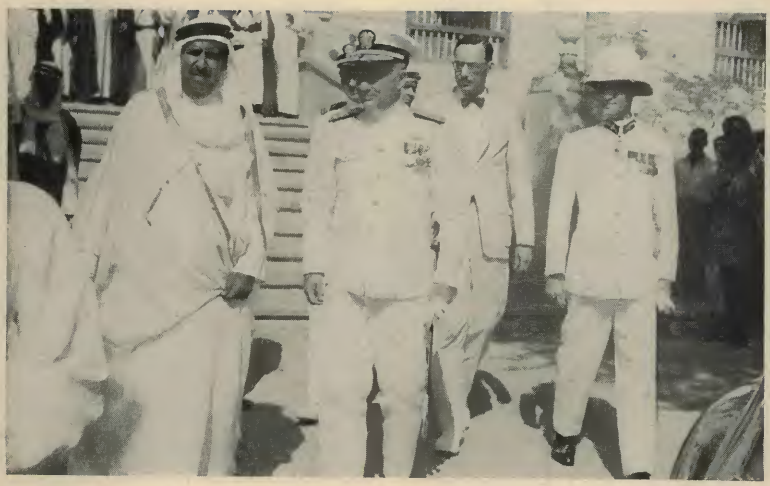
Until May 20, 1952 this language work was known as the Japanese Field Language program. On that day it became officially established as part of the Department of State's Foreign Service Institute, and was charged with the responsibility of carrying on all the Institute's language program in Japan, both in Tokyo and in the various American consulates and cultural centers. Mrs. Jorden was invited to serve as full-time director of the School.

Full-time students seeking to become Foreign Service Japanese language officers and a constantly increasing number of Embassy personnel and their wives enrolled. By the spring of 1955 the enrollment had become so big that five

(*Continued on page* 51)

Mrs. Eleanor Jorden, who established and developed the Japanese language program, was presented with a silver tray by the Honorable John M. Allison just before her departure from Japan. On the right is Kingdon Swayne, Acting Director of the School.

Service Glimpses



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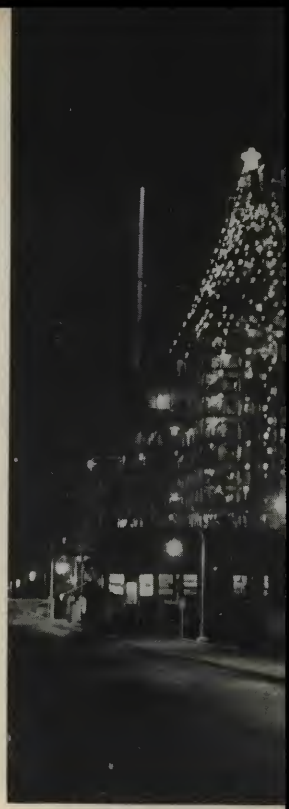

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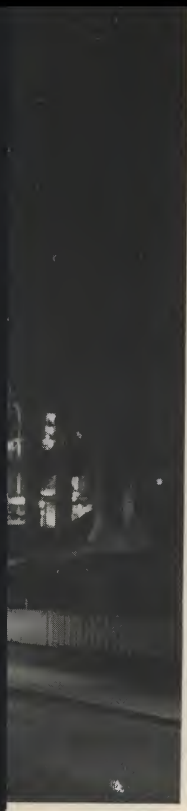
1. KUWAIT—Shortly after the new Principal Officer, William D. Brewer, took over the Consulate at Kuwait, the United States Navy Commander Middle East Forces, Rear Admiral Paul L. Dudley, called at the oil town, Ahmadi. Among the calls he made in Kuwait was the one at the Public Security Headquarters, where, in the absence of Shayd Abdulla al-Mybarak, Shaykh Abdulla al-Ahmed received the American Consul and the British Political Agent. From left to right in the picture above are Shaykh Abdulla al-Ahmed, Rear Admiral Paul L. Dudley, William D. Brewer, and Gawain Bell, H.B.M.'s Political Agent.

2. ARUBA—The tallest Christmas tree in the Caribbean area, placed on top of the Catalytic Cracking Unit of the Lago refinery and outlined in colored lights, symbolizes the Christmas season to the 55,000 inhabitants of Aruba. Last year the initial light-up was made to synchronize with President Eisenhower's lighting of the national Community Christmas tree at the White House. The illumination of the Cat-Cracker tree was the signal for lighting imported Christmas trees and festive outdoor lighting displays at the homes of Aruba's 2,000 American residents.

Photo Courtesy Lago Oil and Transport Co., Ltd.

3. VIENNA—A library on atomic science was presented by the U. S. to the Austrian Institute of Radium Research. The library comprises technological reports, a number of publications of the American Atomic Energy Commission, and a card index on all released documents of the Atomic Energy Commission. The photo



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shows the Honorable Llewellyn E. Thompson (right) and Austrian Foreign Minister Leopold Figl during the presentation ceremony.

USIS Staff Photo, Vienna

4. MANILA—American Consul General, Heyward G. Hill, was guest speaker at the Philippine SPCA celebration of World Animal Day. In awarding first prize to Conrado Ilecto, Jr., owner of "Patsy", Mr. Hill congratulated Patsy as well as the owner.

Manila Bulletin Photo

5. CHIENGMAI—Congressman Bow of the 16th Congressional District, Ohio, the first Congressman to visit Chiengmai, is shown being introduced to Vice-Consul Roy P. Littke by Consul Karl Sommerlatte. Congressman Bow stopped in Chiengmai on October 28 on his trip which took him through Europe and Asia.

6. COPENHAGEN—The Honorable Robert D. Coe, Ambassador to Denmark, cutting the cake (with sword) at the party given at the American Embassy in Copenhagen on Thursday, November 10, 1955, commemorating the 180th anniversary of the founding of the U. S. Marine Corps. On the left is Major George Lawrence, Assistant Naval Attaché at the Embassy.

Photo by Radioman 1st Class Lamon Glenn

7. MADRAS—India's roving Ambassador, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, together with Consul General and Mrs. Henry C. Ramsey and the Sheriff of Madras, Mr. D. C. Kothari (facing Mr. Menon). The photo was taken at a luncheon party in Madras.

Where She Danced

By JUDITH LAIKIN

In the compound of the barracks in which his family occupied one room, Emmanuel received the guests who had come to the naming ceremony of his fourth girl, tenth born, and eighth surviving child. Greeting one another solemnly, the men dropped to a comfortable squatting position and accepted bowls of curried mutton and stacks of wheat chapatis that were being handed around by the sons and nephews of their host. A single electric bulb hanging from a tree illuminated half the diners and obliterated the rest. Against an opposing wall the women sat, obscure in a muddle of saris and tumbling children. Among these, I could recognize Emmanuel's, for they all wore fragments of my clothing.

I scrutinized the crowd for Salome—in vain. I should have thought that, as Emmanuel's employer and sole sustainer of ten Christian souls, I would have had some consideration in this matter. But though I visited the household several times, my bearer's wife remained for me an unembodied biblical reference.

It was an early Indian dusk when we dined, eleven before the minister arrived; midnight when the hymn-singing began, and two in the morning before the infant had been named after the Hindu goddess of the dance. My legs were numbed from sitting tailor fashion, my senses deadened by the sustained assault of liturgical Hindi, spoken and sung. But as I staggered to my feet, Emmanuel forestalled me.

"Wait, Missahibji, is see Bengali dancer, is come all the way from *Cal*cutta. Is very good."

I was skeptical, because I was tired, and because Emmanuel had a roguish look to him. He was small and lean and used to be a boxer before he parted with his teeth over a pair of brass knuckles. He was still cocky.

Looking about, I saw that the minister had left, and most of the women and children. The remainder of the guests were squatting in a circle, hanging easily from their knee hinges. A young man with a clipped moustache began to finger the harmonium that had been used to accompany the service. But now, in place of the four-square little hymns, he was playing the artlessly tricky rhythms of Indian music, the falling down and casual rising of Indian scales. I sat down again.

The tabla player, as though ignoring his companion, commenced to beat his spatulate fingers on two resonant tubs which he clasped between his legs. A man began to hum and then to sing, weaving together the syncopated drums and the repetitive phrase of the harmonium. The rhythm, incomprehensible, was such as I had heard nights from across the garden, but always before at my approach it had died away. It is not easy to spy on folk art in India.

But now the Bengali was here! An excitement stirred. The people moved apart, clearing a space some ten feet by ten. I wondered how a man could dance in so small an area. A jingling of bells sounded inexplicably from Emmanuel's house, the sort of bells that are fastened to a horse's harness. The harmonium player ran his fingers up an erratic scale. Shhh. A bare foot slapped the ground. I wheeled around, and the Bengali stood in the doorway.

He was dressed as a woman. Her sari was orange, the color of happiness. Her face was powdered white, and sprinkled with glistening bits of silver dust. On her arms were bracelets, on her ankles leather straps sewn with dozens of little bells. Her face was haughty as a camel's.

She stamped once more. The twittering of the guests fell away. Once in command, she took her time, adjusting the folds of her sari as a queen might adjust the order across her breast. With one arm, strangely thin and muscular, she signalled the musicians.

A sinuous rhythm began on the tablas, the harmonium pattering aimlessly behind. The Bengali walked proudly into the cleared space and slowly began the dance. The extraordinary ugliness of the man cried out through the

glittering ornaments of the woman. A proud sneer filled the large painted lips.

I had seen popular dancing in India before, as it is done by the sluts who are all that remain of a splendid courtesan tradition. They are clumsy and indifferent; they tug at their underwear and clean their ears with their fingernails, and roll their vulgar mechanical eyes at the men who lounge about on the floor, trying to remember how it was when they were Moghuls. Watching the *nautch* girls shuffle about, I have despaired for the grace that comes naturally to all other Indians.

But this man danced. More graceful than any woman, more haughty than the highest-born princess, he swayed and writhed, stamping his feet, flirting the tail of his sari. He was not effeminate, he was female. He was not arty, he was artful. And somehow, despite his appalling vulgarity, he was not vulgar.

Apparently the slow dance ended. As in all Indian performances, the artists seemed to have failed to agree when to stop, one finishing and then the other, and then the Bengali walked toward the musicians, telling them what to play next. He beat out the rhythm with one bare foot, the bells jingling with precision. The musicians increased their tempo under this goading. And in a moment she was whirling around and around the circle, her sari flying out in the self-made wind, her eyes wide in terror as she fled an imagined pursuer. Suddenly one of the ankle straps gave way, and the bells went flying into the lap of an onlooker. The dancer gave no sign. Stamping, dancing, she whirled in place while a man tied the bells back on with a piece of string. The rhythm was uninterrupted, the Bengali's face never changed, the dance continued as though the bracelet had been meant to fly off.

The dance over, the Bengali stalked back into the house. Some discussion brought him out again. He had drawn the sari between his legs and hooked it at the waist to make a dhoti of it, that bulky loincloth made known to us by Gandhi. Unexpectedly, to a hesitant rhythm, the Bengali was making his way through jungle. The mime of the dancer evoked heat and tangled brush, thorns, and immediate danger. A tiger was spied, a spear flung, a fight fought to the death, the beast's neck broken. The hunter bathed in a clear-running river, flinging himself into its cooling waters; and triumphantly dragged the carcass home.

Howls of delight demanded another performance. The Bengali was reluctant, as though distasteful of further contact with us. He leaned against the wall and lit a cigarette, holding it upright between the third and fourth fingers in order to drag the smoke through his fist more deeply into his lungs. The harmonium player swished his fingers down the keys; the tabla player hammered the pegs that held the skin of his drums taut, dropping the pitch two steps. Casually, the Bengali walked into the center of the square. A handkerchief hung by a corner from between his clenched teeth.

When the music began, it was the snake-charmer's rhythm, and the Bengali, pulling the handkerchief taut, was suddenly perceived to be playing a pipe. His entire body played, rising and falling with the scales soothingly, enticingly. His eyes focussed on a patch of bare earth in front of him. Someone tossed his turban there. A young man took out his own handkerchief, knotted it so that one point stood up, and sat it inside the turban. The cobra was in his basket.

The coaxing cadences of the music were changing, tightening up, putting more pressure on the senses of the reptile. It rose inquiringly from its basket, and the Bengali rose with it, his eyes never leaving the menacingly spread hood. Slowly the charmer sank to his knees, and the cobra withdrew almost from sight beneath the rim of the basket, only to rise again as the charmer rose. The music was coming faster and the snake was visibly agitated.

At the height of the cobra's fascination, the charmer took the pipe from his mouth, and slowly extended one hand. He passed it over the handkerchief, which withstood the loathsome approach of a human being. The charmer breathed deeply, resumed his playing. Again he passed his hand over the hypnotized snake, and again the reptile remained transfixed by remembered rhythms. On the third pass, the spell broke. So swiftly my eye could not see it, the cobra had bitten the charmer. The pipe was flung away, the hand thrust upward to heaven in a gesture of terror and betrayal. A wild dance of fury, a writhing. The charmer lay dead.

But then the melody the charmer had been wont to play crept back slowly, slowly, of itself. The Bengali stirred. He placed one, then both feet, firmly beneath him, and rose. Dazedly he footed the old rhythm. Faster, faster, till he whirled with joy to live again. With a tremendous jingling of bells, he leaped over the heads of the onlookers and disappeared.

There was sweat on my forehead. Across the circle, the young man unknotted the cobra and returned it to his pocket. The other rewound the turban on his head.

It was full morning when I came away. In the next yard, a woman was building a fire and mixing the day's chapatis. Children were running and crying in the streets, and on Panchkuin Road the night-time train of bullock carts had yielded to the day's stream of bicycles.

Emmanuel asked if I would drop the Bengali off. I was surprised. Surely he had left—he was nowhere in sight. But when I assented, a man detached himself from a nearby group. He was sallow, and pockmarked, and hangdog. His teeth were rotted, his eyes lacklustre. He walked with one shoulder slightly forward of the other. It was the Bengali.

We got into my car. I asked him his name and where he worked.

"I have no job, Missahib," he said in a small voice as one suffering from hunger or shame. "I am very good cook, Missahib. Do you know anyone needs a cook, I cook for him. I read, write little English, unders'and."

I had an ache in my gut somewhere. "Cook!" I said, "why don't you dance?" He looked at me, flattered but unbelieving. "Dance? Missahib, this first time dance in four, five month. Nobody ask now. Is no good time for dance now, Missahib. But I very good cook." He looked at me hopefully.

I stared back at him. The haughty curve of his lip had never existed, his head had never sat on his neck like a camel's. Face powder would be an obscenity here. He had never been a queen.

He had no bundle with him. I suppose he borrowed the sari from Salome.

EDITORIALS

FOREIGN POLICY IN AN ELECTION YEAR

A Presidential election year focuses attention upon politics and policies. Those who have any connection with government at the national level have a particular concern about these subjects.

Even complex topics may be clarified to some extent by dictionary definitions. For example:

> Policies are settled courses of action adopted by a government to achieve agreed objectives.
>
> Politics is the theory and practice of managing affairs of public policy and of politieal parties.

Certain conclusions seem to be obvious in the light of these definitions. Policy is a major concern of politics. The two are inseparable. Policies cannot be sharply divided into watertight categories of domestic policy and foreign policy. They are *national* policies. Their purpose is to achieve *national* objectives. Some policies deal primarily with domestic affairs. Others are directed principally toward our relations with foreign peoples and governments. In practically all cases, however, the effects of action are felt in both areas. What we do at home is certain to influence our relations with other countries. The manner in which we conduct our relations with those outside our frontiers will affect our domestic situation. This is true of any nation that plays a significant role in world affairs.

Major parties in a democracy usually agree on national objectives; they may also be in substantial accord about policy. If, in addition, there is agreement on how the policy should be carried out, then a country enjoys national unity. Sharp differences about substance create a national issue that will be an important factor in an election year. Frequently, differences between the major parties arise more from points of emphasis than from substance. Such differences also become political issues, the exacerbation of which may not infrequently complicate the task of those entrusted with the task of formulating and carrying out what are generally referred to as foreign policies.

A certain degree of disagreement is a healthy thing in any democracy. Policies should be examined critically by the electorate whose interests they serve. They should accommodatc minority interests to the extent compatible with the welfare of the nation. But it should be borne in mind that such critical examination and such accommodation takes place under the watchful eyes of the world, as well as the domestic electorate. In such circumstances, much misunderstanding and damage can result if differences of emphasis, method or timing appear to call into question basic objectives or time-proven policies. This is particularly true in periods of national danger when friends and foes may draw quite unwarranted inferences from party differences which appear quite natural at home.

To the non-partisan career public servant whose life is devoted to thc conduct of foreign affairs, these domestic differences may sometimes appear irksome and complicating. He naturally hopes they will be minimized, if not eliminated. But he recognizes that to a degree they are an inevitable and inherent features of the system by which a democracy governs itself. As such, and to the extent their debate is necessary, they contribute to national strength and unity. To the extent their debate is not neccssary, that same strength and unity is underlined. In either event, the dedicated Government representative abroad will strive to help those who watch so closely from abroad to obtain a proper perspective.

ASSIGNMENT AMERICA

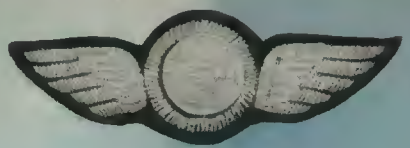
The Foreign Service Officers who have heen visiting leading colleges and universities in this country in the interests of the Service have been engaged in an important mission. This mission is basically none other than the presentation of the story of the Service — its traditions, its history, its purpose and its rewarding activity — to several thousand young men and women in some 200 American institutions of higher learning in 42 states. Inevitably and quite fortunately, the audiences, sometimes at large assemblies, sometimes in classrooms, and often in smaller informal gatherings in a dormitory lounge or around a lunchcon table in a union building, have included faculty members, especially those in such pertinent fields as history, political science, economics, languages.

The Foreign Service has cause to be both proud and appreciative of the reception accorded its representatives in the course of their respective trips. On all sides, from both students and faculty, has come a warm welcome, a keen interest, and a friendly and thoughtful response to what the Officer has had to say about the work of the Service as he personally participated in it, and its opportunities for young people who might choose for their career the service of the United States on the diplomatic front.

It was, in fact, this emphasis on service, based on the proud tradition of the performance of our Foreign Service from the days when Benjamin Franklin first went to London to represent the American colonies, that made the strongest appeal to the audiences of prospective FSO's. Coupled with this was the interested response to comments on the human side of the diplomat's job — not just the quick social laugh in response to a colorful tale of high adventure in an exotic spot, but the deeper receptivity for the stress on the importance of the people-to-people relationships to be sustained at all levels and at all times, including the seizing of the unexpected opportunity, the unforeseen situation, to broaden the area of international understanding.

While it is of course to be hoped (and results indicate a substantial fulfillment of this hope) that the college visits by FSO's will bring generous response to the Department's efforts to attract candidates for Class 6 appointments, an intangible and perhaps even more valuable result of the visits may well be an enlarged comprehension and appreciation throughout the country of the work and purpose of America's Foreign Service. If such be the case, these missions will have brought a rich reward.

GREAT BRITAIN
British Overseas Airways Corp.



MEXICO
Guest Aerovias Mexico

ISRAEL
El Al Israel Airlines

FRANCE
Air France

PAKISTAN
Pakistan International Airlines

HOLLAND
Royal Dutch Airlines

COLOMBIA
Avianca

SWITZERLAND
Swissair

UNITED STATES
United Air Lines

CANADA
Canadian Pacific Air Lines

VENEZUELA
Lineo Aeropostal Venezolano

BELGIUM
Sabena

GREAT BRITAIN
British European Airways

INDIA
Air-India

INDONESIA
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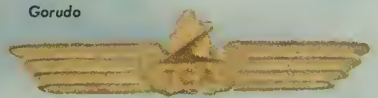


CANADA
Trans Canada Air Lines

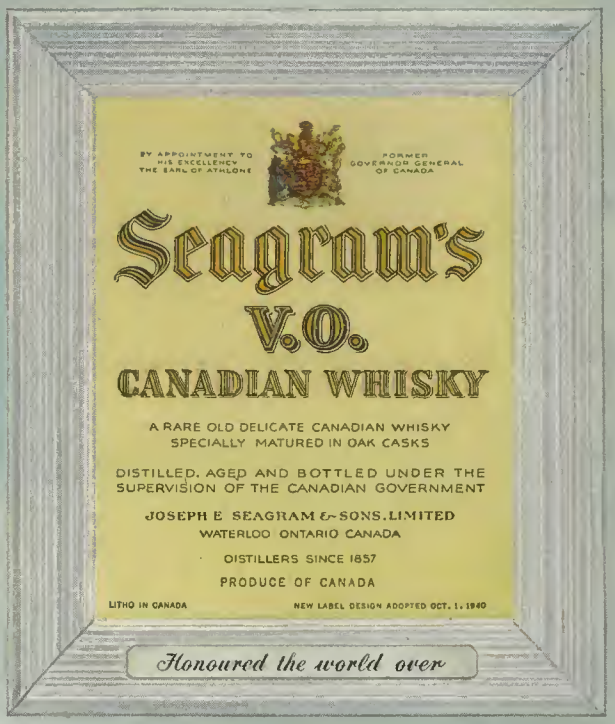
JAPAN *Japan Air Lines*

IRELAND
Aer Lingus

CUBA
Cubana

S. RHODESIA
Central African Airways Corp.

Throughout the world
more people buy Seagram's V.O.
than any other brand of whisky
exported from any country.



The care and feeding of VIP's

By S. I. NADLER

In 1661, Koxinga (whose real name was Cheng Cheng-kung) came to Taiwan and wrested control of the island from the Dutch, building it into a military base from which he hoped to drive the Manchus out of China and restore the Ming Dynasty. There is a connection between Koxinga and current problems on the handling of VIPs, which has nothing to do with the Manchus or the Ming Dynasty and which will become apparent in due course.

A VIP is, of course, a Very Important Person. A major activity of every American mission abroad, the way things have developed (thanks to people like the Wright Brothers), is the import, export, care, and feeding of VIPs. The consul who referred to the "vipcissitudes of Foreign Service life" was not really guilty of a slip of the tongue. And since one who is given responsibility for visiting VIPs is necessarily a "vipper", the ambassador who was heard muttering about a "generation of vippers" was not mispronouncing the title of a famous Wylie opus (and, may, indeed, have been revealing the title of a new one).

Scientists have conquered all sorts of formerly fatal and otherwise dread diseases. When it comes, however, to the common cold, which is annoying, time-consuming, expensive, and generally of no use, they throw their hands up, helpless. Foreign Service Officers have headed off revolutions, negotiated critically important treaties, and scored dramatic diplomatic triumphs. When it comes, however, to the visiting VIP. . . .

The average American official abroad, as a matter of not generally known fact, is not anti-VIP, *per se*. He rather emjoys having most of them. What he does not enjoy is the VIP-visit which occurs (and there are, oh, so many) on the weekend. What bothers the American official abroad is not so much that he has to give up his weekend (although this too can become rather annoying after five consecutive weekends). What bothers him is that the Foreign Minister is usually playing golf, the Defense Minister is at his country home, the shops are closed and most of the other people and places in which the VIP is invariably interested are generally not available. It also means that every device short of a posse must be utilized to round up VILPs (Very Important Local Persons) to attend the party in honor of the visiting VIP. (This refers to the reception, cocktail party, or official dinner given in honor of the visiting VIP—the same function of which he has said he wants no part, but the non-giving of which he will never forgive.)

The first significant advance in connection with this common problem has now been made. It operates on the theory that good VIPsmanship should be rewarded. It is an original approach in that it is positive, as opposed to the bald approach based on criticisms of VIPs who visit during the weekend.

Research in Taipei has led to the procedure by which those VIPs who do not arrive at or depart from Taipei during a

(*Continued on page* 45)

Adm. Burke received the citation as Member No. 1 of the Sung Shan Chapter of Airport Squatters' Society and medal representing Koxinga Award for Distinguished Travelers. Counselor of Embassy William P. Cochran (left) makes the presentation.

THE LOST ART OF DIPLOMACY

By Sir David Kelly

Editor's Note: Reprinted from Sir David's book, The Hungry Sheep, published by Hollis and Carter Ltd., London.

The lamentable slowness of the Western peoples and governments in realising the true nature of the Soviet threat, and in laying the foundations of the Atlantic Union, is not dissimilar to the slowness of the same people in realising the nature of the Nazi menace between 1932 and 1939—if indeed, judging by the practical test of rearmament, they ever realised it at all until the war was on them. Any enquiry into the deeper causes of this slowness and delay raises the question of the impact of democratic control over foreign policy. By democratic control I mean the persistent active influence of mass opinion, as opposed to occasional fits of excitement over special issues. This active influence is a novelty in modern Europe; we must go back for an analogy to the ancient Greek city states, and even there the analogy is only partial, for the citizens of those states were for the most part leisurely slave-owners, who were able to spend much of their time in endless political discussions.

Until the 20th century, this influence of mass opinion was only occasional. When exerted, whether in the Greek city states or in modern Europe, it was normally in favor of war-like action. A few examples out of many spring to mind at once: the wave of hysteria over Jenkin's ear; the French Revolution launching a twenty year cycle of wars for freedom; the great outcry against the Prince Consort, who, rumour alleged, was incarcerated in the Tower of London because he was known to oppose the Crimean War; the war stampede of the French in 1870, graphically described by the British Ambassador in Paris in his despatches, when Bismarck doctored the Ems telegram with just that intention. However, throughout the 19th century, while the great urban masses were growing, their interest in foreign affairs was spasmodic. Canning and Palmerston both welcomed "public opinion" in this sphere but they were thinking in terms of the educated middle class who studied their *Times* with solemn assiduity. Foreign policy was ultimately controlled by the educated middle classes, was greatly influenced by what Professor Mowat has called the "Monarchs' International," and was carried out by the Ministries for Foreign Affairs and the old Diplomatic Corps: its guiding principle was the doctrine of the balance of power, sometimes called the European system or the concert of Europe.

The strain of the 1914-18 War, and ignorance of the events which had led up to it, were responsible for an extraordinary forgetfulness of an outstanding fact: from the Congress of Vienna in 1815 until the outbreak of war in 1914, Europe as a whole had known a century of peace, which—apart from the remote Russo-Turkish and Crimean wars—had been broken only by the relatively small campaigns for the unification of Italy, and the brief localized Austro-Prussian and Franco-German wars of 1866 and 1870. These campaigns, although already fought with modern national armies, cost so relatively little in men, money, or civilian property that the damage was repaired within a few years, not only in the victor state but in the defeated one; and John Stuart Mill could plausibly argue that a war only effected in a year what would anyhow be replaced in a normal decade of industry and rebuilding. The daily life of the Western peoples was practically unaffected by *any* of these wars.

A Century of Peace

The reality of this century of peace, and the unprecedented progress and prosperity which accompanied it, were obscured, in the period starting with 1918, by the wide currency of an elementary confusion between foreign policy and diplomatic negotiation; by an ill-informed attribution of the 1914 War to the diplomatic body; by the wishful thinking engendered by the League of Nations (without the co-operation of the United States); and by the misleading slogan of "collective security," which had no meaning after the natural failure to give it teeth in the Geneva Protocol in 1924, but which served to discredit the old and tested principle of the balance of power. This principle, in the mind of 19th century statesmen of all views from Castlereagh and Metternich to Gladstone, simply meant the protection of the independence of small countries, and was the only practical alternative to imperialism. In so far as any individuals can be held responsible for the 1914 War, the chief blame must attach to the General Staffs, particularly the Austro-Hungarian Chief of Staff, Field-Marshal Con-

rad, who seems from 1906 onwards to have deliberately worked for a preventive war against Serbia and ultimately Russia. Bismarck, who said that he had found General Staffs very useful when he wanted to overcome his sovereign's reluctance to make war, but a nuisance when he did not want war, was himself overridden at times by the German General Staff—for example when they insisted on keeping Metz after the Franco-German War. The British people, without knowing it, were really fast-bound by General Staff and Admiralty undertakings to their French opposite numbers, which they had been building up since 1905, first without their Government's authority and then with their general authorisation but with no knowledge of the details.

Confusion of Thought

The popular delusion that the old diplomacy had been a cause of the Great War arose from a confusion of thought expressed in President Wilson's famous formula, "Open covenants, openly arrived at." This contained two propositions. The first was the legitimate though debatable one that treaties should be published as soon as concluded. It is debatable because if, for example, Bismarck had explained his far-reaching policies to his neighbours and had published all his engagements, he would probably not have created the German Empire; and the same applies to Richelieu or Cavour. I think myself, on balance, that it would have been better for humanity if all three had failed, and that the requirement under Article 18 of the old League Covenant that all treaties must be registered with the League Secretariat was about the only good result of the Versailles Conference. The secrecy of the old treaties and engagements was, however, the responsibility entirely of the politicians, and in no way that of the diplomatists.

The second proposition, that covenants should be "openly arrived at," was a strange decision on the part of the representative of a nation of businessmen, for what businessman would conduct all his operations in the full glare of publicity? Open diplomacy is a contradiction in terms; if it is open it is not diplomacy. The primary business of diplomacy is to achieve results by moderation, tact, and compromise when possible. The ambassador can and should influence the course of events by his reports to his Government and by his personal relations with the people with whom he is negotiating, but the broad lines of foreign policy should be settled by the governments. When the actual negotiation is carried out under a running fire of press comment and parliamentary discussion, every compromise is likely to involve loss of face by one party or the other, people strike attitudes from which they feel unable to depart, and this is an aspect which becomes far more important when the negotiation is carried on by a conference among politicans. In the 19th century, the diplomatists, backed by Foreign Ministers who both had leisure to think and were in the habit of frequently meeting each other, not in spectacular conferences, but during holiday visits to spas and watering places, played a major part in the conservation of the great peace of that era.

While diplomacy of some sort has existed from early times, and there have been permanent Ambassadors and Ministers since the break-up of the European family of nations four centuries ago, the diplomatic body as a professional career service, with its own code of rules and conventions, was really a creation of the early 19th century. These men, as a class, spoke the same language (literally, in the shape of French); they shared a common code of behaviour, a common training; and because they got to know each other well, both at their posts and when they met again in other appointments, they developed a kind of common opinion about Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Ambassadors who were tricky and unreliable. This common opinion, like the unwritten law of the fo'c'sle at sea, acted as a salutary check. Above all, their whole technique and professional pride lay in getting negotiations to run smoothly and politely; they usually developed a rather objective, sceptical outlook, and their professional tendency and their temperament made them, therefore, as a class, advocates of peaceful solutions. If you spend a lifetime in discussing with people of other countries, you acquire the habit of seeing two sides which exist in so many questions, and this tends to create a sense of balance and measure in forming judgments, and above all an ingrained suspicion of all one-sided points of view. This, and the supreme need for patience, was what Talleyrand had in mind in his famous advice, "Above all, not too much zeal."

So, on the whole, the diplomatists acted quietly behind the scenes as a brake on the feverish nationalism released by the French Revolution, and on all the unreasoned fanaticism, self-righteousness, and popular hysteria which it engendered, and which Hitler and the Nazis so fatally exploited. Without going so far as Count D'Ormesson in speaking of them as the most civilised portion of mankind, one can fairly say that the diplomatists represented in a real sense the old cultural unity of Europe. Every profession has its "occupational maladies," and in the case of the old diplomatic body there was a tendency among the less efficient members to undue solemnity and the use of conventional clichés, as in the case of the diplomatic hack in Marcel Proust (*"C'est bien dans la manière du Ballplatz avec son éternel double-jeu!"*)—but these were harmless mannerisms such as exist in all professional bodies, and more than offset by the relative absence of hyprocrisy, intellectual dishonesty, or ruthless personal ambition.

The value of this professional *esprit de corps* stands out now in the contrast between the shrunken body of representatives of the free countries and the large separate bloc which represents the Soviet Empire and its satellites. Once, in Ankara, when we invited our Soviet colleagues to a reception for Turkish and diplomatic friends, two of them sought out a member of my staff whose family had belonged to the English colony in Tsarist Russia and who had lived there as a child, and asked her, "What is the national celebration for which this party is being given?" They were amazed to hear that it was just a friendly, social gathering. At official parties the two diplomatic blocs tended to keep apart and limit their intercourse with their colleagues from the other camp to a formal exchange of "Bonjours." Unfortunately, this is not a passing accident nor due to any personal incompatibilities; it is the result of a system which regards mankind as irreconcilably divided into two hostile camps, and which makes the representatives of the Soviet camp terrified of being suspected by their chiefs of being

(Continued on page 40)

Francis C. deWolf, Review Editor

THE BOOKSHELF

NEW AND INTERESTING

By FRANCIS COLT DE WOLF

1. **Thurber's Dogs** by James Thurber, published by Simon and Schuster $3.95

Do you like Thurber? Do you like dogs? If you do, this is your meat!

2. **Utopia 1976** by Morris L. Ernst, published by Rinehart $3.50

An optimistic guess of what the world will be like 20 years hence by the well-known New York lawyer.

3. **The American Treasury—1455-1955,** Edited by Clifton Fadiman, published by Harper $7.50

A big—hut not too big—anthology of Americana: 500 years of American voices.

The Political Economy of American Foreign Policy: Its Concepts, Strategy, and Limits, Report of a Study Group* sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the National Planning Association. *New York, Henry Holt & Co., 414, xi pp., 1955. $6.00.*

Reviewed by WILLIS C. ARMSTRONG

A distinguished group diagnoses the economic problems of the free world and prescribes policies for the United States to follow in solving them. The diagnosis is lucid, penetrating, and valuable. The phenomena described are familiar, hut the articulate analysis has too often been lacking. The authors proceed with little regard for shibboleths and slogans; there emerges with inescapable logic the point that the political success and security of the free world hinge on economic action, and hence on American policy. The profound differences between the self-regulating laissez-faire economy of the Nineteenth Century and today's "nationalized" welfare society are presented in a somewhat oversimplified fashion. The authors conclude from this comparison that liberal economic internationalism is outmoded and inadequate as a basis for policy.

The prescription is less unified and more uneven than the diagnosis. It includes proposals identifiable with certain members of the group, such as regional economic groupings for development, tariff preferences and payments unions; also suggested are unilateral tariff reductions, "soft" loans, offshore procurement, and interminable stockpiling. These are presented as economic actions to be taken for moral and political purposes, as the logical extension of present policy trends, and as the precursors of economic integration and the inevitable supranational economic authority. The argument is eloquent, urgent in tone, and appears to afford glimpses of destiny. We are told we must oppose imperialism but favor the Atlantic Community and closer ties with the under-developed countries; in order to keep our liberties and economic system, we must greatly expand the role of government; we must help our friends, but use our full economic bargaining power to make them do what we know is good for them. The subtleties used to reconcile these potential contradictions will make hard reading for many, especially foreigners.

The authors would like a neat world, progressing rapidly toward good economic order, as a result of an explicit and exact American policy, consciously adopted. History and the nature of the democratic process receive scant acknowledgment, as might be expected in a program of action. Nevertheless, this is an excellent book, serious, provocative, and worth the time of all concerned with the subject. They will find errors (such as the remarks that the United Kingdom dumped its strategic stocks of lead and zinc, and that the United States applies a higher tariff to all non-GATT countries), and they will frequently disagree with the authors. They should, however, be moved to look humbly for better answers to the insistent questions.

*Members: William Y. Elliott (Chairman), Frank Altschul, Richard M. Bissell, Jr., Courtney C. Brown, H. Van B. Cleveland, Theodore Geiger, Harry D. Gideonse, Edward S. Mason, Don K. Price.

Forbidden Lands, by Gordon Cooper. *Philosophical Library, Inc., New York. 1955. 164 pages. $4.75.*

Reviewed by ARTHUR L. LEBEL.

This book is not just the general run-of-the-mill type "travelogue." It contains extremely interesting accounts of explorations into areas of the world (still surprisingly numerous) where penetration by civilized humans, particularly white men, is truly dangerous. These accounts contain realistic descriptions of life, civilization, social organization and natural phenomena in places seldom heard of, such as the "Edge of the World" (Northern Burma), the "Isle of Headhunters" (Formosa), the "Great Sand Sea" (along the Nile), the South American "Lost World," etc. Some of the material is based upon the author's own investigations and some on recorded experiences of scientific expeditions, explorers or plain adventurers.

Nearly every sort of description can be found, from endless desolate flat lands to teaming jungles sprayed by 4,000 foot waterfalls, from the friendly and peaceful tribes to fierce headhunters and cannibals. If you like this sort of reading, Cooper's book will afford you genuine enjoyment.

International Regulation of Economic and Social Questions, by Philip C. Jessup, Adolf Lande, Oliver J. Lissitzyn, and

International Organization, by Joseph P. Chamberlain. *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, vi 173 pages. $1.75*

Reviewed by STANLEY D. METZGER

This book consists of a reprint of an essay first published in 1942 by the late Prof. Joseph P. Chamberlain of Columbia, and a study by three of his former students covering events which have occurred since that time.

Together—and it was a happy thought to reprint the earlier essay for this purpose—these essays trace the development during the past century and a half of international

cooperation in the regulation of those economic and social questions which cut across national boundaries. They set forth succinctly the salient facts concerning international agreements and accommodations in the postal, telecommunications, fisheries, international rivers, railways, shipping, aviation, and trade-in-goods fields in which nations have engaged during that time, including the varying structures of the arrangements, voting methods, ways of settling disputes under them, processes of amendment, and enforcement.

Without any special pleading, the authors demonstrate that international "legislation"—the influencing of national behavior for the purposes of many nations—grows out of the intensely practical needs of nations to create workable solutions to problems which have existed in international rivers, aviation, fisheries, etc., in the same manner as domestic legislation is a response to domestic needs. The tragic loss of life resulting from the sinking of the *Titanic* led to the Convention on Safety of Life at Sea just as mine accidents led to mine safety legislation. Similarly, international agreements and arrangements in these fields vary widely in their techniques, depending upon the nature of the activity involved, the degree of unanimity among the nations affected as to the remedy to be adopted to meet the problem facing them, the seriousness of present difficulties, and the like. That such "legislation" reflects the views of stronger nations to a greater extent than those of less powerful or less interested nations again is no surprise to one familiar with domestic legislative processes.

There are differences, of course, as the authors point out, which flow from certain facts of international life: in wide fields of activity nations are subject to no will but their own; international law traditionally has regulated the conduct of nations, not that of individuals. Increasingly, however, as the essays make clear, there is a realization of other stubborn facts: radio stations on opposite sides of a border blaring forth on the same frequency mean that no one hears anything.

This analysis of past international practices will be of assistance to all who may engage in future efforts to meet international economic and social problems.

Toward Our Common American Destiny, by John M. Cabot. *Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Medford, Massachusetts. 1955. 214 pages. $3.50.*
Reviewed by PHILIP RAINE

This volume contains a collection of the speeches and interviews given by Ambassador Cabot during the year that he was Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. Speeches do not always make good reading for long after the event, but those given by Ambassador Cabot could stand the test of time. The reason is a simple one: these speeches are a reflection of the man and his convictions. Even a quick perusal of the volume will convince the reader that he has a great deal to say even beyond economic and political relations. The reader will find valuable observations on sociological development in the area and get some idea of the enormous growth and change that is taking place in Latin America.

Former Under Secretary of State, General Walter Bedell Smith, in a succinct introduction, brings into focus the importance of inter-American relations in the broader scope of our foreign relations, and the part played by Ambassador Cabot in the formulation of our policies in Latin America during the first year of the Eisenhower Administration.

AMONG OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Sir David Kelly, G.C.M.C., author of "The Lost Art of Diplomacy," which appeared in his book, *The Hungry Sheep,* and also as an article in *Encounter,* served as H.B.M.'s Ambassador to Argentina, Turkey, and the U.S.S.R. The last assignment, held in 1949-51, culminated a career which began in 1919, when he entered the diplomatic service. Educated at St. Paul's School and Magdalen College, Oxford, Sir David has only recently been made Chairman of the British Council.

Edmund Murphy, author of "Extra-Curricular Diplomacy," has been interested in bi-national centers since he entered the Office of Coordinator for Inter-American Affairs in 1942. In 1948 he was made head of the cultural centers section, Division of Libraries and Institutes. Following a tour of duty in Mexico City, he returned to the Department of State and is now an officer in USIA.

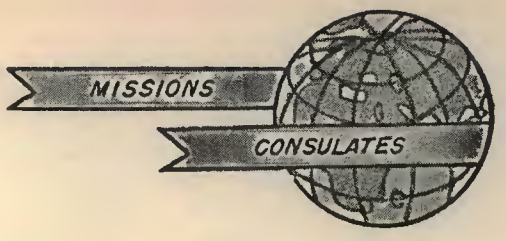
Margaret Morgan, author of "Language Study in Japan," is the wife of George A. Morgan, head of the political section at Tokyo. Before her marriage, Mrs. Morgan was Chief of the Division of Public Liaison in the Department of State. A graduate of the University of Arizona, she was associate with the Twentieth Century Fund for several years before entering the Department in 1945.

Judith Laikin, now in the Embassy at London, was a publications procurement officer in South Asia at the time she saw the Bengali dancer described in "Where She Danced." A career officer, Miss Laikin earned a Master's degree from Columbia University before entering the Department of State as a clerk-typist in 1951.

S. I. Nadler, will be remembered by JOURNAL readers for his contributions on "Foreign Serviceship" and "An Appreciation of the Late George X. Bobble." Now public affairs officer at Taipei, he entered the Department in 1947 and has since served at Tientsin, the Department, and Singapore. Mr. Nadler holds a Master's degree from Columbia and was a radio script writer and teacher before entering the Army in 1941.

Carl Charlick is a steady contributor to the JOURNAL whose most recent article was "Diplomatic Caretaker" published in Octoher, 1955. An Austrian by birth, he has lived in the United States since 1920, and served three years with the U.S. Army. Later he was with the Foreign Service of the United States in the Allied Administration of Germany. He is now studying in Washington and engaged in free-lance research work and writing.

NEWS FROM THE FIELD



ALGIERS

It takes a lot of travel to keep current with a Consular District the size of the United States east of the Mississippi. Consequently, the CONSUL GENERAL and MRS. LEWIS CLARK have recently visited, during the course of a tour, the "Pearl of the Desert," in Salah, and the Saharan town of Tamanrasset. This latter is the area where the Muslim women literally as well as figuratively wear the trousers and the men go veiled. The veils are blue, they are not color fast and during a rainstorm they can create a disconcerting spectacle when a man's face becomes blue around the edges.

Mr. and Mrs. Clark took off at 5:30 a.m. to make the flight to Tamanrasset. They went in the company of the French Naval commander in Algeria, Admiral Philippe Auboyneau and his wife, Counsellor of the Government General and Mme. André Favereau, Minister Christian Auboyneau and Dr. and Mrs. Cabot Briggs of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University.

Tamanrasset is a center of the Tauregs, a branch of the Berber people. The Tauregs are nomads, have preserved their ancient alphabet which has no written vowels, and they write uninhibitedly in any direction — left to right, right to left, up to down and vice versa. They are aristocrats who hire non-Tauregs to do their manual labor. Custom here rules that descent and inheritance are through the female line.

At Tamanrasset, Mr. and Mrs. Clark were entertained by the local administrator, Chef de l'Annexe Capt. Bret, a dedicated officer of the Saharan Forces who has spent five years in the area, speaks colloquial Arabic with the nomads, and says he hopes to stay there indefinitely.

CONSUL and MRS. MERRITT N. COOTES have done their share of travelling for familiarization purposes. Their first trip was to Orleansville which was almost demolished by an earthquake a year ago. American contributions for relief and repairs of the city came quickly after the disaster, and Mr. and Mrs. Cootes report that the authorities are making progress in rebuilding the town. The Cootes' trip took them on from Orleansville to Oran and a return to Algiers via an inland route. They were entertained at every major town on their itinerary by hospitable local officials, among them the Sous-Prefet of Mascara, Roland Dissler, who so enjoyed his recent visit to the United States under the Exchange program that he has published at his own expense a highly complimentary pamphlet about the voyage.

More recently, Mr. and Mrs. Cootes have visited the vineyard and wheat area south of Algiers, and the desert oasis, Bou Sa 'ade, in the company of the PUBLIC AFFAIRS OFFICER and MRS. DONALD DAVIES.

The continuing press of administrative duties has prevented CONSUL PITTMAN SPRINGS from making any excursions recently other than the daily trek to and from the charming suburban villa where he and Mrs. Springs frequently entertain.

VICE CONSUL and MRS. WENDELL WOODBURY have made a trip to the east. As economic officer, Mr. Woodbury visited the farming and industrial sites in the Constantine area and cork forests along the coast.

VICE CONSUL GEORGE KENNEY and his wife, BETTY, recently transferred from Trieste, are still in the planning stage as far as travels are concerned, but all tours these days are dependent on security in outlying districts.

Donald M. Davies

REYKJAVIK

Question arose in this morning's staff meeting as to who would contribute something every now and again to the JOURNAL. "You know, give an idea of the inimitable atmosphere of Reykjavik—pictures and all that." Everyone of a sudden began to shift about and fumble with cigarettes and matches (smokers and non-smokers alike), eyes firmly in the position experience has proven best in such crises—down as far as they can safely go and yet not give the offensive impression of sleep. Unfortunately, at the moment, my own eyes, comfortably glazed, were fixed on a bit of sleet slowly drifting down the window pane. AMBASSADOR MUCCIO mistook this unguarded position as indicating acceptance of the job and before I could muster the words of diplomacy that can rescue us on such occasions, I was elected.

A reaction soon set in, however. The group appeared to become aware of doubts that the most responsible spokesman had won—perhaps I had not struggled enough. It soon constituted itself a Committee of the Whole to censor and supervise, and see to it that the Reykjavik correspondence was kept clean. No sex crimes, they said; no Legation murders past or prospective; no accounts of the good fellowship of the Commissary meetings. These would be too horrible and would discourage new recruits. "This must not happen!" Just good, straight-forward stuff: the volcanic hot water central heating, the quaint costumes ("What quaint costumes?" I said, "They dress like Americans,"—but there was no stopping them), the Viking tongue, the only one in Europe unchanged since the days of Charlemagne.

With these puritannical house rules, there is little alternative to telling of GREG NOWAKOSKI's ptarmigan shoot, a completely harmless pastime from every point of view including that of the ptarmigan. These gentle birds fly so low and slow one may have fair success running them down and kicking them to death. Some have done well with tennis rackets. G. N. scorns such shenanigans. A .22 for him and no foolishness about shooting a ptarmigan when he's down. This a mistake. First day, one ptiny ptarmigan. Next day, shotgun. Arms tired. No more ptarmigan. Thank goodness for the Commissary. (BILL SIMENSON also along, but he got lots of ptarmigan so not in spirit of this letter that his feats will remain otherwise unchronicled.)

Or the salmon. Best salmon fishing in Europe. Iceland a salmon fisherman's paradise. From June to September

an Icelander feels himself no man unless he kills the big ones. Scorns trout as being beneath his dignity—too easy. VLAD TOUMANOFF determined to share in the butchery. Three days in glacial water to his armpits. No butchery. Salmon visibly sneering from a few yards away. Tried trout. Trout too busy to bother. Going to try cod next. Average Icelandic fisherman catches 7000 pounds a year. Vlad thinks he should catch a few.

Ambassador had better luck with salmon. Caught several (or is it killed?). Mrs. M. landed an 11 lb. "steelhead," also three salmon. Weaker sex.

Or sheep herding. Picture NAOMI HUBER up to her saddle bags (should I say her horse's saddle bags?) in Icelandic swamp, glasses gone and composure rapidly following, other riders long since disappeared over the mountain with 30,000 sheep. Night falling. Beginning to rain. Population density thereabouts .001/M². Insertion in necrology section of JOURNAL roughed out in mind. In nick of time—out of mists—an Icelander, like Gary Cooper. Home to Mama and all-night dancing around the sheepfold. More later.

W. E. Knight

SAO PAULO

Autumn has been very cool in São Paulo this year but the weather has not interfered with the energetic social season that started immediately after Easter, April 10. Much of it had to do with *despedidas* for those leaving and welcomes for the new arrivals.

The JOHN CAMPBELLS who came to São Paulo from Port-au-Prince and the GEORGE PHILLIPS who came from Hamburg, departed from São Paulo on home leave May 16. The Phillips then go on to Ciudad Juárez but the Campbells have not yet been assigned. Their replacements already are in São Paulo; FRANCIS J. MCARDLE having come from Rio de Janeiro to be Public Affairs Officer and HOWARD L. WALKER, JR.. from Paris to be Visa Officer. CHARLOTTE HARRIS, who was transferred to Amman, is now in California on home leave preparatory to going to her new post.

Mrs. Ortiz, who was absent sick in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, returned by plane, feeling much better, and in time to be in São Paulo when her husband, NESTER C., took his oath of office as FSO-3.

CAREER MINISTER RICHARD D. BUTRICK was assigned as Consul General to replace CLARENCE C. BROOKS, retired, and arrived during the early part of August. In the meantime PAUL L. GUEST was the Principal Officer.

MR. WINFIELD C. KING, Agricultural Officer, his wife and their two children arrived at São Paulo the latter part of May. He had been with FOA in Karachi where he knew an old Paulista, CHARLES K. LUDEWIG. GLEN A. RUGGLES, the previous Agricultural Officer, had been transferred to Singapore.

During a surprise ceremony the first part of May, Principal Officer Guest, on behalf of the Department, presented a 10 years' service pin to MRS. ZENA LOWSBY. She came to the Consulate General in March, 1945, and has served in the Consular Section since that time.

GENE WYMAN has finally gotten new drapes for her apartment and ALICE SCOTT has completed furnishing her new place. Everyone seems settled so its about time for someone to be transferred.

David L. Gilsinn

MUNICH

Munich is a happy town, and this capital of Bavaria is entering the gayest of its festive celebrations. January 7 starts the 1956 Fasching season—a pre-Lent carnival which, like New Orleans' Mardi Gras, reaches its climax the week before Ash Wednesday. During the latter weeks of Fasching, several large charity balls are given in Munich's downtown hotels. Everyone dresses in costume, and the ball is graced by the presence of the Fasching prince and princess and their court, and a bazaar and dance entertainment are usually provided. One such costume ball is sponsored by the Munich-American Women's Club, many of whose members are drawn from the wives of Consulate and U. S. Information Service staffs. But whether they attend a Fasching ball or not, all Muncheners are participating in the holiday spirit which has pervaded the city, and they will sweep along with them many Americans who have come to enjoy and appreciate Fasching during their Munich assignment.

The coming of German sovereignty has brought several immediate changes here. In the residential suburbs, almost all of the requisitioned houses have been returned to their former owners. As a result, there has been a great deal of repairing and redecorating going forward. On our block, all but one of the houses is being or has been painted this fall. The return of the Germans' homes has caused a change in the lives of the Consulate personnel. Already a few families have been moved into one of the four housing units built by the Bonn government for our use, and that of other foreign government officials stationed in Munich. By the beginning of 1956, most Consulate personnel will probably be living in the new developments. The well-nigh impossible task of assigning living quarters has been delegated to a committee headed by our new administrative officer, PHILIP D. SUMNER. The Sumners arrived in Munich last September from Washington.

The fall has brought a large group of new members to the Consulate staff. They include the WESLEY JORGENSENS from Trinidad, LOIS UNGER from Copenhagen, and G. WILLIAM HENEBRY newly appointed—all of whom are working in the Refugee Relief Program. Also now in the visa section are CHARLOTTE LANDRUM whose last post was Tokyo, and HERBERT OKUN, newly appointed.

G. Michael Bache

SAPPORO

A recent Munsingwear advertisement "What does a chargé wear under his pin-stripes?", sets the key-note for the Sapporo season. The spare-time reading of members of the Consulate has been devoted lately to the "long-handle" sections of mail order catalogs. Summer is over and the temperatures are sliding daily.

CONSUL DAN MELOY, a veteran of one Hokkaido winter, favors two-ply, knee-length woolies. Of the new arrivals, CONSULAR ASSISTANT EVELYN HENDERSON is still searching for strapless models, and VICE CONSUL KENT LANCASTER, whose blood was thinned by a recent tour in Baghdad, wants models with attached mitts and bootees.

PAO JOHN CONGLETON and family, who arrived in March and found one side of their house completely hidden by snow-drifts are at present busily contracting for the services of a tunnel expert to facilitate John's travel back and forth to the Cultural Center.

Evelyn Henderson

THE LOST ART *(from page 35)*

contaminated. It has led to negotiation being regarded as a kind of warfare, a matter of scoring points against the adversary. If Clausewitz thought that war was policy carried on by other means, so do the totalitarians regard peaceful negotiations as warfare carried on by other means—in fact "cold war." This is the exact reverse of the old diplomatic tradition, which assumed that negotiation must be a process of give and take, and that the only lasting agreements could be those which were genuinely accepted by both parties and left behind the minimum of resentment. The personal knowledge of foreigners and their reactions was of special advantage to the government of an insular country like Great Britain. Count Mensdorf, the Austrian Ambassador who stayed so long and was so popular in London before 1914, said that British politicians almost without exception had no clear idea about foreign conditions, and that they were "more ignorant, inexact, and amateurish than we believed." Clemenceau told King Edward VII at Marienbad, "Some of your public men are appallingly ignorant." Sir Harold Nicolson has summarised the characteristics of British politicians so far as regards foreign affairs, as ignorance of foreign psychology (rather than of foreign conditions), unbounded optimism, dislike of facing unpleasant possibilities in advance, and a thirst for comforting agreements.

Publicity Makes Conclusions Difficult

Publicity not only makes concession on either side more difficult, but it may also easily excite public opinion by the ventilation of grievances and claims. The then head of the Swedish Foreign Office told me many years ago that the separation of Norway and Sweden might very easily have ended in war if at the time there had been a League of Nations with all the attendant publicity and recrimination before an international forum, and I venture to record as illustrations in this connection two small personal experiences which happen to remain in my mind. When I was in Buenos Aires in the middle of the last war, and the conservative Argentine Government was being incessantly attacked by the Opposition for their neutrality, I had to present for the record one of our periodical protests about Argentine encroachments in the Falkland Islands area. The Minister for Foreign Affairs could have obtained considerable credit and spiked the guns of his adversaries by making an incident out of it. Instead, I was able to obtain agreement that it was in the best interests of both parties that he should accept the protest as an academic one necessary to maintain our dossier in the event of an arbitration of the questions at issue. Some years later, when I was in Moscow, an English officer crash-landed in the Soviet Eastern Zone of Germany and attempts on the part of the military authorities in Berlin to secure his release had failed. I was able to convince the Soviet Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs that His Majesty's Government really was precluded by tradition and principle from exchanging a Russian "defector" for the officer concerned, and, as the matter had not yet got into the press, the Soviet Government decided to return the officer. These are merely examples which could of course be paralleled in the experience of most diplomatists.

The crusade against "secret" diplomacy fell on particularly fertile soil in Britain as it fitted in with two national traditions: mistrust of foreigners and mistrust of professionals. British diplomatists in those days usually spent their whole careers abroad, and they were regarded as professionals who played a tortuous game beyond the comprehension of the plain man. When Torcy established in France in 1712 his short-lived Academie Politique for the training of diplomatists, Addison had immense fun with it in the *Spectator*, giving the qualifications of the various professors of the "opening and shutting of letters, political grimaces, indirect answers, cyphers, casuistry, and etiquette." In the United States, this inherited mistrust was exacerbated by a complex about Machiavellian British diplomacy, and contempt for their own professional service, expressed by one Congressman who, when the State Department appropriation was under discussion, referred to them as those "white-spat boys with the English accent."

It is to the credit of the English Governments throughout the 19th century, dominated as they were by a coalition of the great landowners, the great industrialists, and the middle classes, that they left so much responsibility to the British diplomatic body, recruited though it was mostly from the landed gentry. In stating the historical fact that a similar social background and personal means did create an international body of independent, balanced, and moderate men of the world with a common convention of international good manners and a common desire to reduce friction, I do not suggest that an efficient diplomatic body can only exist if it is recruited from a leisured class. The essential qualities of common sense, good manners, understanding of foreign mentalities, and precise expression can be ensured by a rigorous selection and training with these qualifications in view. The difficulty will lie in securing and retaining the personnel endowed with these qualifications if the Heads of Missions are treated by democratic governments as glorified postmen, their responsibility in the delicate art of negotiation confined to routine matters, with all important relations directly handled by politicians at public conferences under batteries of television cameras.

The tendency to side-track the career diplomatist was accelerated by the creation of a great number of new Embassies. Until well into my own time, the Ambassadors (corresponding to the new First Grade) became on appointment automatically Privy Counsellors; on the initiative of Sir Warren Fisher, this rule (which had already been departed from when the first Ambassador to Moscow was appointed) was abolished. It is doubtful whether, in the future, any Ambassador will feel free to take such a responsibility as, for example, did Sir Horace Rumbold when, as High Commissioner at Constantinople in September 1922, he refused to deliver an ultimatum to Ataturk, thereby averting a war without allies and enabling the Convention of Mudania to be made a fortnight later; just as Prince Schwarzenberg in November 1850 disregarded his instructions from Vienna in order to avert an Austro-Prussian war,

Negotiations Should Be Secret

The general conclusion would seem to be that the general objectives of foreign policy should be open but that the diplomatic negotiation by which it is carried out must remain secret.

I do not recollect having seen attention drawn to the fact that during the 1914-1918 War the numerous abortive peace initiatives were almost always of completely "undemocratic" origin, and, even in the case of President Wilson, purely

(Continued on page 42)

personal. Pope Benedict XV on August 1st, 1917, asked: "Is Europe so glorious and flourishing, to rush as though carried by universal folly to the abyss and work its own suicide?" And he proposed permanent arbitration and the reduction of armaments, the independence of Belgium, the reciprocal renunication of war costs, and the settlement of territorial claims in consideration of the immense advantage of lasting peace with disarmament. During the same year Prince Sixte of Bourbon Parma, on behalf of the new Emperor Charles of Austria, offered to support the restitution to France of Alsace Lorraine, the restoration of Belgium, Serbian independence, and even of the Trentino to Italy. In November of that year Lord Lansdowne, an ex-Viceroy of India and an ex-Secretary of State, who had made the Anglo-Japanese alliance and the Entente Conventions, puhlished in the *Daily Telegraph* his letter which *The Times*, then in the power of Lord Northcliffe, had refused to publish. In it he said: "We are not going to lose this war, but its prolongation will spell ruin for the civilised world and an infinite addition to the load of human suffering." In May 1918, Lansdowne was preparing a new letter at the same time as the Germans were endeavouring to start peace talks going at the Hague under cover of discussions of prisoners-of-war matters; both these facts became known to Lord Northcliffe who forestalled Lansdowne's new initiative by a sensational leader in the *Daily Mail* of June 18th, 1918, and the letter was never published.

I was on leave from France in England about that time and can well remember the universal consternation caused by Lansdowne's first letter. Looking back from our experience of the Second World War, itself a consequence of the prolongation of the First with its destruction of the German monarchy and middle classes, it seems the most elementary common sense. Most people would now agree that the actual earlier proposals of Pope Benedict XV were in themselves justified by events. The main point is that, with the exception of unreasoning sentimentalists who discredited their peace propaganda by their advocacy of "conscientious objection" to fighting, there was practically no popular support for the initiatives of these distinguished personages.

War Difficult to Stop

In two other ways democracy and nationalism were responsible for the prolongation of both wars. As Cambon pointed out, in proportion as democracy makes war more totalitarian, it makes it more difficult to stop. When wars were fought primarily for dynastic or commercial reasons with small professional armies, they could still be fought in accordance with the rules of the game, with a survival of the chivalrous spirit, and without working up a panic of hatred in the civilian populations; neither was it necessary for the whole population to be drawn into war industries in one way or another. One obvious consequence, therefore, of democratic or total war is that both sides draw the logical conclusion that the civilian population has no claim to immunity. This lesson, already acted on in the German submarine campaign during the First World War, was finally sanctioned when it was decided in London during the Second War to instruct the Bomber Command to focus operations on "the morale of the enemy civilian population, in particular of the industrial workers," in other words to use the RAF for the deliberate destruction of whole residential districts.* The results in one city will stick in the memory of anyone who has read the late Lali Horstmann's *Nothing for Tears*. This decision by the most humane of governments may well rank among the decisive moments of history.

A less obvious consequence is that when a whole nation is at war, the war machine cannot be halted and switched on again easily. When in 1914 the German Government asked the Russian Government to stop the partial mobilization they had begun, it was practically impossible to set the machine in reverse, and throughout the First World War Sir Henry Wilson and the General Staff were always haunted by the fear that the inception of any kind of negotiations would make it impossible to get the war going again. The mass hatred and prejudices raised by the First World War survived it and made it impossible to effect a permanent peace, while in the years immediately following the end of the Second they made it impossible to achieve any peace treaty at all!

All these considerations were totally disregarded by public opinion at the end of the 1914 War, and the old diplomacy, which had contributed so much to the hundred years' peace, and which had given fair warning to the respective Governments of the dangers ahead, was made the scapegoat. "The war to end war" had not even achieved a real peace treaty, but had inaugurated instead the epoch in which we are still living, the epoch on the one hand of an interminable series of theatrical spectacular "conferences," and on the other of attempts to maintain peace through the medium of world assemblies. This the writers of the 1930's called the "Wilsonian Epoch," and it is strange that even so experienced and balanced a judge as Monsieur Jusserand could write sincerely in 1934: "that humanity is progressing cannot be doubted" — and he said this in direct reference to the 1914 German Imperial gospel of force, inequality among nations, and the formula that necessity knows no law. He wrote those words at the very moment when Germany was already dominated by Hitler, that hysterical demoniac psychopath who incarnated the ruthless lust for power and destruction released in Germany from the depths of the collective unconscious by the First World War, by its disastrous end, and by the decade of chaos which followed Versailles.

The leaders of public opinion who inaugurated the Wilsonian epoch had been forced to notice the fatal results which had followed from the unlimited nationalism of the 19th century, but they increased the evil at Versailles by hastening the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which had held together many "races" as a prosperous and civilized group of semi-autonomous cultures. It is often alleged that the break-up of Austria-Hungary was inevitable. This assumption ignores the fact that the Magyars had once been themselves "oppressed" by Austria as they in turn oppressed the Slavs, and that the murdered Archduke Francis Ferdinand's programme for associating the Slavs — con-

*Of course the decision was influenced by the fact that during 1942 and 1943 we had no other spectacular means of intervention to encourage the Russians and our own civilian population. I am not arguing for or against the decision in the circumstances, but it is important to note that it was a reversal of our announced policy of 1939 and that it set the seal of our approval on the logical conclusion of totalitarian war. This conclusion had not been previously accepted even by the Germans, who professed, e.g. in the bombing of Rotterdam and London in 1940, to be using air bombardment only as a military weapon, in preparation for an imminent invasion.

verting the Dual Empire into a Triple Empire — was not essentially more unworkable than tri-lingual Switzerland or indeed the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy. The hatred felt for him by the Slav Nationalists was itself a proof that they feared the success of his project; and the assumption that it could not have succeeded is based, not on the circumstances, but only on the fallacy that whatever has actually happened could not have taken any other course.

While thus greatly aggravating the evil of nationalism, the statesmen sought a remedy in the creation of a world assembly, and for the next twenty years international relations had to be made to fit nominally into what was called "the framework of the League of Nations." The League of Nations was built on sand, the shifting sand of unreality. It was unreal to suppose that over fifty nations, scattered all over the world, could have any common interests so concrete and positive as to induce them all to make real common sacrifices for the interests of any one of them. It was unreal to give equal voting rights to the smallest republic in Central America and to the United States and Great Britain. It was inevitable that such a loose collection of states should sort itself out in regional pressure-groups, Latin-American or Arab or those following French policy in Europe, and that these pressure groups should tend to follow the power which could be most useful to themselves.

Of course the league could do some effective work in non-controversial fields such as health or labor, but in the great issues of the period it acted as a will-o'-the-wisp, leading the peoples of the victorious alliance to substitute the essentially unreal formula of "collective security" for their own military security and the old—and for so long successful—principle of the balance of power. There is always a day of reckoning for those who put their trust in wishful thinking and comforting formulas, and in the case of the League the day of reckoning opened when its members voted for half-hearted sanctions against Italy in the hope of stopping the Italian occupation of Abyssinia. The United States was outside the League, and the leading powers in it had no intention of fighting, nor had they the means to do so. France, torn by domestic factions, bled by the loss of millions of young men whom the fallen birthrate had not replaced, pinned her faith on the Maginot Line, and had allowed her Air Force to become hopelessly obsolescent. The British Air Force, so formidable a few years later, still was largely in the blueprint stage; the British Fleet had ammunition for twenty minutes' fighting; the British Expeditionary Force was, relative to its opponent, inferior in equipment and fire-power to what it had been in 1914. Above all, the country had been subjected for a number of years to a wave of unreasoning woolly pacifism, and by one of those inconsistencies so frequent in popular thinking, the decision itself to embark on sanctions had been largely the result of the Fulham by-election which had been won by the Opposition with a majority of 18,000 on the sole issue of "warmongering." No one, therefore, was prepared to give the sanctions teeth by applying them to the supply of oil; Mussolini called the bluff; and the net result was that, while the conquest of Abyssinia was not impeded, the fascist régime in Italy was solidified and linked with Hitler.

At the first opportunity after the Second World War, the League conception was revived with a notable change. It

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THE LOST ART *(from page 43)*

was agreed that the principle of giving equal voting rights to all states had been a failure, and the Security Council was created with the right of veto. The United Nations Charter adopted at San Francisco on June 26th, 1945, was a better document than the original Charter of the League, and in the more civilized world of the 19th century it might well have succeeded in its object. The fatal flaw was the admission to the Security Council, with the right of veto, of a great power which had objectives completely in contrast to those of the other members.

Objectives of the U.N.

The objectives of the United Nations as laid down in the Charter were in sum to maintain international peace and security, and by collective measures to remove threats to peace; to develop friendly international relations based on the principle of equal rights; to achieve international cooperation in solving problems of an economic or social character; and to promote respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms. The objectives laid down by Soviet doctrine were very different. It is the declared intent of the Soviet régime to foster by every means the internal contradictions among the non-Soviet powers with the object of hastening their disintegration and destruction. As regards promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, the entire Soviet edifice is built precisely upon the negation of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The late Mr. Vyshinsky stated on September 18th, 1947 that the policy of the Soviet Union in regard to the United Nations "is a policy of strengthening the organization, broadening and strengthening international cooperation, of steady consistent observance of the Charter and of fulfilment of its principles." The factual commentary on this statement has been made in connection with the challenge that produced NATO but must be again amplified. Not merely were 55 resolutions of the Security Council turned down by the Soviet veto, but 11 special bodies created by UNO were boycotted from the start and 34 others occasionally. Not only have special UNO bodies been boycotted, but apparently competitive organizations have been set up, notably the famous Soviet-controlled "World Peace Council." The above quotation from Mr. Vyshinsky is a further reminder of how necessary it is to consider all statements addressed by Soviet officials to foreign audiences in relation to the terms of the basic doctrine. Mr. Atlee explained to the House of Commons in 1946 that it had been understood that the veto would be used "only in the last resort, in extreme cases when the great powers themselves might be involved in conflict. It was never conceived as a device to be used constantly whenever a particular power was not in full agreement with the others." When, however, the 55 vetoes during a certain period by the Soviet Government are analyzed, it is found that the veto has been used always to prevent the discussion of problems in which the Soviet Union or any of her satellite countries are involved, and to prevent the admission of a dozen states as members, including Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Austria, Finland, and Ceylon.

The other new factor which the Wilsonian epoch introduced in substitution for the old diplomatic system was the vogue for frequent theatrical international conferences. These have become so much a part of our way of life in the last 34 years that even when a "high level" conference has been admittedly a failure, it is often described as having fulfilled a useful purpose by clearing the air, clarifying the respective points of view, or merely as having been necessary in order to satisfy public opinion that "every avenue had been explored and no stone left unturned." The latter point is unfortunately true; but this fact, while justifying the governments, is discreditable to the public opinion which insists on the conferences. For a conference which cannot achieve any solid results is apt to raise exaggerated hopes, and to have some results prejudicial to whichever parties concerned are the most vulnerable to public opinion and therefore the most influenced by the desire for results of some kind. It also involves a grievous waste of time and energy by Ministers and their officials. In the days when Queen Victoria read all the more important dispatches (written out by hand in the different posts of the world), the serious international problems were few and well known, only a few governments really mattered, or were even interested, in questions of high policy, and the main lines of foreign policy were apt to remain fairly constant over long periods of years and to be changed only after mature consideration. Today, serious and complicated issues arise almost daily in every part of the world; and in addition to this, the volume of normal business of all kinds has increased by thousands per cent, partly because of increased state interference everywhere. The frenzied tempo of work in the important Foreign Offices has therefore created a serious problem, in that the permanent officials, and Ministers with their Parliamentary and other activities as well, have literally no time for quiet reflection. The loss of time and energy involved in an unsuccessful conference is therefore a serious matter.

The conclusion would seem to be that public opinion, instead of incessantly demanding new conferences, should insist that conferences should only be undertaken — as they generally were in the 19th century, and as in the case of the London Conference in October 1954 — when there is some real prospect of success. The first condition for a successful conference is surely that all the parties should desire a real and permanent settlement, and that they should mean by this a settlement which would be definite, honest, and workable. In practice the satisfaction of these objectives really involves, first, a broad preliminary basic agreement; secondly, a genuine desire on both sides for such an agreement; thirdly, in order that no sense of injustice should remain, the weaker side must be given a fair hearing; fourthly, that the negotiations should be carried on in confidence, free from publicity and the attacks of pressure groups; fifthly, patience; and sixthly, that the terms of agreement when reached should be set down in a precise and unambiguous form. The traditional view was that until these conditions were fairly sure, it was best to leave negotiations to be carried on through diplomatic channels; conferences therefore were relatively few and far between, and a classic illustration is the Congress of Berlin of 1878, which only began after the British and Russian Governments had agreed on their minimum compromise terms. During the period of almost non-stop conferences inaugurated in 1919, the London Conference of 1925 accepted the Dawes Reparation Plan because Ramsay MacDonald and Herriot had agreed beforehand, and the Locarno Pact of 1925 followed on long secret negotiations between Stresemann and Briand and Lord D'Abernon. The London meeting in October 1954 referred to earlier was a success because the Soviet Union was not a party to it and there was a general desire to meet the French objections to the defunct

EDC. The Berlin Conference earlier in the year was bound to fail because the fundamental aims of the Western Powers and the Soviet Union in regard to Germany were completely opposed.

During the period between the wars these temporary conference successes stood out in melancholy contrast to the interminable naval disarmament conferences at Geneva or the abortive world economic conference of 1933, staged in the quite unreal hope of inducing the United States Government to wash out the British debt, but which failed spectacularly at the very outset to secure its nominal object of securing the reduction of the United States tariff. Its only result was to cause a marked deterioration in Anglo-American relations. Taken as a whole, the conferences between the two wars did nothing to stop the coming of the Second World War, and achieved no temporary results which could not have been equally effected through ordinary diplomatic channels. But they did from time to time seriously prejudice international relations, both Anglo-American and still more Anglo-French relations. If the British and French Governments were divided and morally paralyzed at the crucial moment when Hitler, still unready and bluffing, marched into the Rhineland, one of the reasons was certainly not that there had been too few high-level conferences.

Yalta and Potsdam

At Yalta and Potsdam in 1945, there was no fundamental agreement about anything, and in addition the parties concerned used words without attaching the same meaning to them. The Palais Rose conference of 1951 has become a proverbial joke; a conference of ministers' deputies actually sat for several months without even producing an agenda.

The situation has become much worse since 1945 in respect to one of the other conditions, namely, negotiation free from publicity and pressure. Although the conferences between the two wars were usually conducted in the glare of journalistic publicity, it was still admitted as regards day-to-day progress and results, if any, that the actual discussions were better kept as confidential as possible. With the prominent role assigned to the United States by history since the Second World War, the tremendous power of the American press has come into play and even the discussions are no longer inviolable. Not only is compromise without loss of face made almost impossible by this publicity; Ministers are under a constant temptation to strike attitudes and gain applause; and instead of discussing with each other, to address set speeches at the invisible millions.

If a real agreement is reached it is essential that it should be set down in exact and unambiguous terms; an ambiguous, loosely-worded treaty can cause far more harm than no treaty at all. I have agreed that the old Diplomacy may have tended to excessive formalism; but one of the characteristics of a well-trained diplomatist is certainly the habit of expressing what he wishes to say in clear and unambiguous language. While this habit of precise language is a necessary result of a good diplomatic training, it is by no means necessary to success in party politics, which are ruled by a completely different convention. No one expects a government to stick literally or even in substance to its previous declarations when in opposition, and consistency even over a short term is regarded as the weakness of static minds. Even sixty years ago, when Parliament was a real governing body and a serious debating society, Lord Salisbury preferred foreign affairs because they were "sincere," whereas, as Lady Gwendolyn Cecil says in her biography, "in home politics phrases ruled." Therefore, when the spectacular publicity-ridden type of conference becomes the vehicle for the settlement of all important international issues, the inevitable tendency is to try to achieve quick results by finding soothing formulas which leave the future to look after itself. Another danger of this type of conference is that its success or failure may easily become entangled with the political status and future of the individual Ministers taking part. The disarmament conference of 1932, for example, was hampered by the fall of Laval on a franchise reform bill, by a German presidential election and a Prussian general election, by a general election in France and a presidential election in the United States.

The essence of the foregoing may be stated briefly as follows. Throughout most of the long peace following the Vienna Conference, only the middle classes, in Europe as in England, were normally interested in foreign affairs. The Governments which represented them were chiefly interested in maintaining peace and the balance of power, and were much influenced and checked by the freemasonry of the Monarchs International and the old diplomatic corps. International conferences were only held at intervals to formulate decisions already basically agreed upon; they were conducted in confidence and were relatively little influenced by popular pressure. Since the 1914 War, the principle of the balance of power and of states with common interests working together was replaced by the idea of a World Assembly and the unreal formula of collective security; and the old methods of diplomacy were replaced in the most important matters by an endless series of spectacular conferences, for the most part inadequately prepared and since the Second World War practically conducted in public. In foreign affairs democratic opinion is necessarily apt to be uninformed, and is easier to mobilize either in the sense of xenophobia (" 'Ere's a foreigner. Let's 'eave 'alf a brick at 'im!") or of reckless and unreasoning pacifism. Frequently the two contradictory attitudes are mixed up, as when the Labour Party not long ago "voted in one week in favour of the rearmament of Germany and the disarmament of England." A successful conference is one which results in a definite, clear, and workable agreement which the parties are certain that later governments will have the will and the power to enforce and which (if there is a losing side) the losers accept as natural and tolerable.

THE CARE AND FEEDING OF VIP'S ***(from page 32)***

weekend are presented with a citation and a medal. The first award went to Admiral Burke, who passed through Taipei *during the week* en route to Washington to assume his duties as Chief of Naval Operations. A reproduction of the medal appears on page 32. It is known as the Koxinga Award for Distinguished Travelers, in honor of Koxinga as the first VIP in recorded history to visit Taiwan NOT on a weekend.

If it should be discovered later that Koxinga arrived in Taiwan on a weekend, it would not invalidate the foregoing. When Koxinga came to Taiwan, nobody had to meet, greet, feed, accommodate, have a party in honor of, shop with, change money for, brief, de-brief, confirm onward passage for, wrap and send purchases on behalf of, or otherwise take care of him.

son might have won first place, but in each of three of the states he carried—including his native Virginia—one elector with an independent turn of mind voted for his chief opponent. In those days presidential electors were men of flesh and blood who campaigned actively for this honor and cast their votes for whom they saw fit. No strong party bonds as yet existed to hold their votes in line with the majority verdict in their states. And so, two bitter and closely-matched rivals came into office together, bringing with them their habit of political feuding (although in private life they were good friends).

The next four years were the worst imaginable time for family squabbles in the bosom of the administration. The United States, still toddling on its infant legs, was hoping to remain neutral between the two superpowers of the day, Great Britain and France, who were locked in a titanic struggle in Europe, in their colonies and on the high seas. Prompted by Alexander Hamilton, President Adams inclined toward the British cause, while the Vice President, seconded by his intimates of the "Virginia Dynasty," preferred the French. Each man seemed partial to the country in which he had served as American envoy ten years earlier. The President's adherents pushed through the Alien and Sedition Acts which opened a man-hunt for gallophile "subversives," and they enjoyed a political windfall from the disclosure of the notorious XYZ documents. On his part, Jefferson, between vice-presidential duties, launched the virulent Kentucky Resolution, calling for virtual nullification of the acts of the national government. That Adams managed to steer clear of outright war will be to his everlasting credit on the books of history, but to do so he had to "fire" his entire cabinet. He could not, however, dismiss his constitutionally elected Vice President.

VI.

If cracks had showed in the procedure for electing a president in 1796, by the time of the fourth election four years later they gaped wide open. President Adams, because of his courageous peace policy, had sacrificed much of his following. A plurality of electors turned to Jefferson and Burr, giving each contender an equal 73 votes, evenly divided. The resulting tie had to be resolved by the House of Representatives where, after protracted maneuvering, Jefferson was chosen. Burr outwardly acquiesced in the Vice Presidency; before long he was to embark on adventures which showed that he felt under little obligation to the United States or its institutions of which he was a part. The fallacy of electing two political rivals into the same administration had by now served as an object lesson. The 12th Amendment went into effect in September, 1804, in time for the forthcoming presidential contest. Henceforth the electors were to vote once for a presidential candidate and then separately for a vice president. This is the system in effect to this day.

The reform quickly proved itself in the fifth presidential election, in 1804. Jefferson, running to succeed himself and with a new vice-presidential candidate at his side, won handily, 162 to 14, over the opposing ticket. He thus became the first president to be elected by a clearcut majority.

From this time on, however, the vice-presidential candidacy begins to suffer a decline. No longer was the Vice President the second-best man in the Republic, a runner-up for top honors. He was now the pre-designated choice for second place. The vice presidency soon ceased to be the nursery of presidents, as it had started out to be (more frequently the political succession fell to the Secretaryship of State). In the ensuing 150 years, only one vice president has become President solely by *electoral* process—Martin Van Buren in 1836. Only one other ex-vice president has ever won the presidential nomination, but went down to defeat in the ensuing general election. Four of the seven vice presidents who stepped into the place of a deceased President never even achieved renomination. At times it seems as if very subtle distinctions qualify a candidate for the one or the other office. One unsuccessful candidate for the Presidency was attended by better electoral fortune after he had trimmed his sights to run for second place. More striking is the case of the badly-defeated vice-presidential candidate who, after an interval of a few years, was swept into the Presidency for the longest tenure in our history.

VII.

Speaking of vice presidents, how many have we elected? The answer is 36—seven more than the number of presidents we have chosen. There would have been even more, if there had been some provision for filling vice-presidential vacancies. To date the vice-presidential office has lain vacant during portions of 14 terms, an aggregate of nearly 38 years! Besides the seven vice presidents who moved into the White House on the death of the President, seven other vice presidents have died in office. At the risk of creating the impression that the Vice Presidency carries the greatest burden, the fact remains that all seven vice presidents died of natural causes, where the same fate overtook only four of the White House incumbents.

Politics, too, has swelled the ranks of vice presidents. The office being treated as something of a consolation prize, vice presidents have at times been changed to satisfy political expediency, even when the President had a clear mandate to continue in office. New vice-presidential faces appeared on the tickets which Madison, Jackson, Lincoln, Grant, Cleveland, Harrison and McKinley led into the field for second terms. Yet, in two early instances in our history, a vice president was "held over" from one administration to the succeeding one. George Clinton served as Vice President under both Jefferson and Madison—a harmonious arrangement among political allies, to be sure. On the other hand, intrepid John C. Calhoun understudied both John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson, two of the bitterest political foes in the annals of the Presidency.

VIII.

In the heat of our quadriennial upsurge of politics, we give little thought to the formal meaning of the word *president.* Habituated by 166 years of practice, the American voter understands the content of the word, and makes his choice accordingly. The President is the focus of our political interest. His election dominates the political scene. But does the word truly accord with the office it is meant to describe? The term is familiar enough, almost to the point of being commonplace. All around us are presidents—of banks, corporations, universities, boards, synods, commissions. They function as chairmen of these bodies, over-seeing the conduct of the business.

Our founding fathers, if they were to step out of their frames of a hundred and fifty and more years ago, would be amazed at the content of the office of President of the

United States. What they would behold would exceed the fondest hopes of the most ardent centralists among them, like Alexander Hamilton or George Reed; and it would realize the worst fears of such skeptics as George Mason or Luther Martin. At the time these men were tailoring our Constitution, the word *president* was still an untried quantity. There was little to go by in the political prose of the day. Cowell, a 17th-century lexicographer, states that in common law, a president was a king's lieutenant of a province or of a function. On the Continent of Europe, in Prussia and other German states, presidents were sometimes local agents of the Crown. In France, the provincial *parlements* had their presidents, who functioned as circuit judges. Universities and church bodies had their presidents—sometimes under the Latin form of "praeses," e.g. chairman—as did various special boards, colleges, crown councils, corporate and advisory bodies. England's Lord President of the Council reported to the King on the activities of the Privy Council. Some of the chartered companies which had planted colonies in America were headed by presidents. We may read that doughty Captain John Smith was sometimes styled "President of New England." Always the emphasis was on a specialized duty, sometimes honorary, often learned or professional in nature, with little more to it than the privilege to advise, to confirm and possibly to lodge a dissent.

What currency the word *president* had in our founding period was due largely to Benjamin Franklin who in 1754 had drawn up a constitutional scheme to embrace all the British colonies on the American continent. This was the Albany Congress plan which provided for an inter-colonial parliament and a single *president* as permanent official to administer the common business of British America. Yet this president was to serve under a royal Governor General who represented the overriding authority of the British crown. He was to be a professional administrator, rather than an official of policy rank.

The Albany Plan lapsed for want of support on either side of the ocean. We next find the term *president* in the constitutional language of 20 years later, after the outbreak of our Revolution. With the colonies in open rebellion, the royal governors took their departure. To fill this political void, new constitutions had to be drawn up. In three of the ex-colonies—New Hampshire, Pennsylvania and Delaware—a new chief executive of state was styled *president*. Unquestionably this change had its psychological points, but essentially it accorded with the prevailing 18th-century mood for a limited executive serving alongside a strong and dominant legislature. Such ideas were very much alive when the men of the Constitution sat down to their work at Philadelphia in 1787.

It is not mere chance of phraseology that the draft of a national constitution which Alexander Hamilton took with him to the Philadelphia Convention called for a chief executive entitled "Governor." It was Hamilton's way of saying "a strong executive." The men of the Convention, less sanguine in their political outlook, preferred "president." They put their trust in the circumscribed, more manageable form. To Thomas Jefferson, scanning the proceedings of the Convention from his post at Paris, the newly devised presidency appeared "like a bad edition of a Polish king." He drew his simile from the elective monarchy which had bred

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PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS *(from page 47)*

so much disastrous strife and dissension in that unhappy nation.

As it turned out, both sides guessed wrong in the matter of terminology. By the year 1880, all the States had reverted to the title of *governor* for their chief executives; and yet, these officials have ever functioned within a strictly limited frame of powers. The office of President of the United States, on the other hand, grew and flourished in an unforeseen manner, often as the result of the wisdom and judgment of its incumbents.

Not only that: from its diffident beginnings, the idea of an elected president has spread over a large portion of the political world. All the nations of Latin America and the many republics which have replaced the old monarchies of Europe and even Asia, have installed *presidents* at their helm, although with a varying investiture of powers.

A political office of *president* has even been occupied by a crowned head. During the four years from 1867 to 1871 which paved the way to the unification of modern Germany, the King of Prussia was officially the President of the North-German Confederation. When the few remaining South-German states came into this union, the first draft of an all-German constitution proclaimed the Prussian ruler President of the German Reich. At the last moment, in deference to dynastic tradition, this was changed to "German Emperor," and so continued down to 1918. Whether this was a change for the better is for history to judge; certainly the title of *president* contained all the prestige and stature which would have been necessary.

EXTRA CURRICULAR DIPLOMACY *(from page 24)*

Foreign Service Officers frequently conduct visitors from the United States on tours of the Centers, and the Centers feel that their work in organizing hospitality and appropriate ceremonies on these occasions is amply repaid. The many prominent Americans who have visited the Centers during recent years include Dr. Milton Eisenhower; Vice President Richard Nixon; Senators Bourke Hickenlooper, Patrick A. McCarran, and Theodore F. Green; Assistant Secretary of State Henry Holland; General Mark Clark; Louis Bromfield; Miss Helen Keller; Marian Anderson; and some of the U. S. Olympic teams, to mention only a few. The Centers consider these visits to he a sincere gesture of friendship, a compliment for their efforts on behalf of international amity and understanding, as well as a real boost for their local prestige.

Because of the cordial relationships which exist between American Foreign Service posts and the Binational Centers, it was not particularly surprising, when the Directors of the Mexican Center decided to launch a fund-raising campaign for the purchase of permanent headquarters, that George Messersmith, former U. S. Ambassador to Mexico, emerged as the chairman of the drive. Needless to say, the campaign was successful, and the Center now owns a handsome and valuable property on Hamburgo Street near the U. S. Embassy residence.

Former Ambassador Phelps Phelps frequently visited the Instituto Cultural Dominico Americano. In fact, when the Center moved to new premises in May of 1953, a reception was given in his honor and he was declared to be the first official visitor. He was one of the first contrihutors to the Center's local drive for funds and members, and he established a scholarship fund administered by the Center to help Dominicans to study English in the local classes. Ambassador William T. Pheiffer and Mrs. Pheiffer have carried on in the same tradition, and they are present at most of the Center's important functions in Ciudad Trujillo.

Ambassadors Give Support

Shortly after Ambassador James C. Dunn's arrival in Brazil, and while he was making an official visit to the state of Rio Grande do Sul, the Instituto Cultural Braileiro Norteamericano of Porto Alegre organized a reception in his honor. Many of the city's intellectual, educational and government leaders were present to meet the Ambassador and his retinue, which included Mr. Rohert Terrill, Counselor of Embassy, Mr. Charles Caron, Consul, and Mr. Edward Purcell, Public Affairs Officer. The U. S. officials were able on this occasion to meet the principal citizens of Porto Alegre under the most informal and friendly auspices. This exchange of courtesies was in keeping with a continuity of friendly relations with the Porto Alegre Center dating back to 1938, when the Center was founded. Ambassador Dunn has been punctilious about his visits to the Binational Centers in Brazil, and has already visited five of them.

When U. S. Ambassador to Asuncion, Arthur A. Ageton, spoke at the Centro Cultural Paraguayo Americano on his experiences in the South Pacific during World War II, *Patria*, a local newspaper, published a commentary in a six-column box across the hottom of page one. Favorable newspaper comment followed for a week afterwards. He made a considerable impression, too, when he presented a copy of his book, *The Jungle Sea*, to Dr. Nestor Campos Ros, President of the Center's Board of Directors. Mary Jo Ageton, daughter of the Ambassador, has taught English in the Center's classes, as has also Antonio Velasquez, young son of a former Paraguayan Ambassador to Washington.

In El Salvador, Ambassador Rohert C. Hill gave full support to and worked for many months encouraging the formation of the Centro Salvado Estados Unidos. When the Center was inaugurated in Februarv 15, 1955, Ambassador Hill was present to witness the realization of a favorite project. He had not anticipated that he would be fortunate enough to have present for this occasion Vice President Richard M. Nixon and Mrs. Nixon and Assistant Secretary of State Henry Holland and Mrs. Holland. It was with some pride that he presented the distinguished visitors, and he listened attentively as Mr. Nixon said, "I hope that our coming through the doors of this Center for the first time today is merely a prelude to thousands of people—people of El Salvador, of the United States and of other countries who are visiting this city—passing through these doors. Because hy coming here, by sharing the culture of our two countries. by meeting our friends from other countries, we will do our part in developing the climate which is essential for peace and friendship in this world in which we live. This work is extremely important in developing good friendly relations between partners in the American family. I think all of us here know that there are no ties which hring peoples and countries closer together than the ties of culture which are developed in a Center such as this."

The catalogue of American diplomats who have in one way or another been associated with the Binational Centers is much too long to detail here, and it would be foolhardy to think it could be done without grave omissions. At the same time, it would be remiss not to recognize the special contribution made by well-known diplomats such as Am-

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NEWS TO THE FIELD (from page 19)

of Wisconsin's Summer School of Banking. Mr. Prochnow last fall visited a number of Far Eastern countries in the company of Undersecretary of State Herbert Hoover, Jr., and JOHN B. HOLLISTER.

DR. J. L. MORRILL, President of the University of Minnesota, was appointed to make a study of the relationship between the International Educational Exchange Program conducted by the Department and the exchange of persons aspects of the technical cooperation program conducted by the International Cooperation Administration. The study is being carried out at the request of several committees of Congress.

Personals

DEAN ACHESON, former Secretary of State, has written a book entitled *A Democrat Looks at His Party*. Published by Harper, the book discusses foreign affairs, attacks on non-conformity of thought, and the Democratic party. William S. White, who wrote the lead review on the book for the Sunday *New York Times Book Review* section of November 20, stated: "It is a fine, and even a memorable, work, far more than a perceptive analysis of a political party. Unobtrusively and perhaps unintentionally it is also the uncomplaining testament of a man who has borne in dignity and strength lashes of a kind that few have known in the history of the country."

LAWRENCE J. DAUMONT, who recently retired after 38½ years of government service—twenty-five with the Department—will become the editor of the *Lodi Advertiser* in Lodi, Ohio.

The Council of the Organization of American States will erect a bust in honor of the late CORDELL HULL in the garden of the Pan American Union.

HIRAM BINGHAM, JR., retired FSO, is residing in Salem, Connecticut.

MRS. DORA C. CRAWFORD is residing at 4054 W. Philadelphia, Detroit 4, Michigan.

Women in the News

Lesley Frost Ballantine, wife of retired FSO JOSEPH W. BALLANTINE, had the pleasure of entertaining her father, poet Robert Frost, when he visited Washington recently for a reading of his poems at the Library of Congress. The Ballantines, who until recently lived in upper Montgomery County, have moved into Washington, where they reside at 1623 Linnea Place, N.W.

Virginia Henry, wife of retired FSO HORTON HENRY, has turned her life-long hobby of music into a professional avocation, with the recording of her song "Three Little Stars" by Nelson Riddle's orchestra and choral group. The record will be released by Capitol Records. The Henrys—Mr. Henry is now director of public relations for an aircraft manufacturer—live in Westwood, California.

The HONORABLE FRANCES E. WILLIS, Ambassador to Switzerland, was honored at a reception given by the American Newspaper Women's Club on November 4. In town only for the day, she is currently a member of the U. S. Delegation to the 10th Assembly of the United Nations.

"The Last Word," a column of reporter inquiry in the *Evening Star*, found that Foreign Service wives varied widely in what they considered to be the most beautiful city they had ever visited. Their opinions, briefly summarized, were:

MRS. GEORGE ALLEN—New Delhi—"the entire city was a lovely yellow-pink glow from the limestone used in all the buildings."

MRS. CECIL LYON—Rio de Janiero—"We . . . were immediately struck by its dramatic, incredible setting."

MRS. RAYMOND HARE—Washington—"I know of no city in the world with a park like Rock Creek Park. I get a thrill every time I walk through it."

MRS. RANDOLPH KIDDER—Hong Kong—". . . so fantastic with its sharp mountains rising out of the sea, the small islands around it forming a necklace of white sand. . . ."

MRS. ELBERT MATHEWS—Istanbul—". . . the combination of the exotic old Turkey with the fast-growing modern country, coupled with the natural setting of the city which spans both sides of the Bosphorus. . . ."

bassador Willard Beaulac, who is familiar with a number of the Latin American Centers, and who currently participates in the work of the Instituto Chileno-Norteamericano de Cultura in Santiago, Chile; Ambassador Roy Tasco Davis, who for years was the prime mover in getting U. S. assistance for American-sponsored schools abroad, and who is now an active supporter of the Institut Haitiano-Americain in Port-au-Prince; Ambassador Thomas E. Whelan, Nicaragua; and the Honorable Walter Thurston, former career Foreign Service Officer, who was ambassador to more than one Latin American country, and who unstintingly lent his prestige to Binational Centers, notably those in Asuncion and Mexico City. Some additional details regarding Foreign Service officer participation in the program were presented in an article by Miss Dorothy Greene under the title "The Informal Diplomats." (See FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL October, 1946)

Local Citizens Responsible

When the cooperative nature of the Binational Center is understood, it is evident that much of the responsibility for the success of the Centers' operations rests with the local citizens who serve on the Boards of Directors, and who work as local teachers, librarians, and stenographers. Recognition is merited, too, by the 77 American citizens who serve on contract as administrators, directors of courses and teachers of English. While numerically these Americans represent only a small percentage of the total personnel complements of the Centers, they frequently provide the inspiration, the professional know-how, and the organizing ability which help to put the Centers' program across. Altogether approximately 300 Americans have served in the Centers under the auspices of the United States Government in the last fourteen years. Of this group, the majority returned to their chosen profession in schools and colleges of the United States. However, about twenty-seven of them entered the Foreign Service, to assist the United States information and cultural programs as Foreign Service Reserve or Foreign Service Staff officers. At the present time, eighteen are occupying positions as Cultural Attachés, Information Officers, Public Affairs Officers, and English-teaching officers in Embassies in all parts of the world. One FSO who began his career as a Director of one of the Latin American Centers in the very early days of the program is now an American consul in a European city. History has lost track of some of the American women who went abroad as Binational Center teachers and who married into the Foreign Service. It is assumed they continue to strengthen the distaff side of career diplomacy.

Illustrative of the dynamic character of the Binational Center technique and the importance attached to it by the United States Information Agency is the recent statement by Mr. Theodore C. Streibert, Director of the Information Agency. In pointing out accomplishments during 1955, he stated that: "fourteen Binational centers are planned or newly established in Latin America and the Near and Far East. In Europe cooperation with Binational organizations was increased during the year. New organizations, such as the Spanish-American Friendship Club in Santander, Spain, came into being, and the transfer of some of the Amerika Hauser to binational status in Germany was begun." Mr. Streibert's enthusiasm for the work being carried on by the Binational Centers is reflected in the support and encouragement provided to the Centers by that arm of the Foreign Service represented by the USIS staffs overseas, who, in the line of duty, help to provide program ideas and resources which help Centers to do their job better.

Celebrating Fifteenth Anniversaries

Some of the Centers are now celebrating their fifteenth anniversaries; some have had a much longer existence. Many of them have, therefore, acquired a sense of permanency and a stability which gives them rank as important Centers of cultural exchange. Their concrete approach to the betterment of human relations is well described in some recent remarks of Ambassador Arthur Ageton. In April, 1955, at a ground breaking ceremony for a new normal school in Paraguay, he declared; "In the capital of this country an important work of cultural interchange is being done through the Paraguayan-American Cultural Center. There, as many of us know, there are classes in English and Spanish, a good library which contains books and periodicals in English and Spanish, and various cultural activities such as painting, sculpturing, and music. They also give lectures on art and other matters of interest to both cultures. As I have said, it does not appear to me possible to feel sympathy for another person unless you understand that person. And it is not possible to achieve understanding unless one understands the language. It is in this way that the Cultural Center provides the means of accomplishing great progress toward mutual understanding. With this in mind, I ask for your aid in supporting the Center which has for many years contributed to better relations between our two countries."

The Instituto Cubano-Norteamericano was founded in Havana in 1942 and began operations in 1943. Like other major Binational Centers in Montevideo and Buenos Aires, this one has received a good deal of encouragement, but only moderate financial support, from the United States Government. This is largely because the Center in Havana has been so well supported by both Cubans and resident Americans that outside support was unnecessary. At the same time, the Center has been ably directed by a prominent Cuban intellectual whose devotion and continuity of service have been a great boon to the development of the Center. One of the American founders and Board members was the late William P. Field, an American businessman who played a major role in securing contributions to purchase buildings for the Center. As a result of his work, the Cuban Center is one of only five Centers which own or have early prospects of owning their buildings, and a $30,000 annex in Havana, containing seven classrooms and a children's library bears the name "William P. Field" in his honor.

These are the facts which Ambassador Arthur Gardner had in mind when he spoke last year at the inauguration of Marti Hall, another new annex of the Cuban-American Cultural Institute. His remarks may appropriately be considered typical of the appreciation which many U. S. diplomats express for the work of the Binational Centers on behalf of the United States: "We are well conscious of the contributions of our two great Governments and those of the students and teachers of the Institute. We know that both of our countries have profited from these contributions. Countless scholarships have been obtained through the Institute for Cubans to study in the United States, and through these scholarships we have come to know each other better. The Institute has led the way for real cultural exchange. . . ."

or six classes had to meet in the room which also housed the school's clerical staff and telephones. Besides this, the classroom-office also served as the thorofare through which were reached the small conference rooms in which other classes were meeting. Eight or nine of the Institute's students met with tutors in cubby holes too small to hold a desk. Tape recorders were then available for use only in a small unventilated inside room.

Today the school is happily housed on the fourth floor of the Mantetsu building, the Embassy's main annex. Tape recorders are abundant and a desk and private study room is provided for each full-time language officer candidate. A small library of specialized materials on linguistics and the Japanese language plus an increased use of visual aids all contribute to the increased efficiency and effectiveness of the program.

In March 1955 the school was providing instruction to 99 students in Tokyo and 40 elsewhere in Japan. There were five full-time language officers enrolled. Two thousand one hundred and ninety-nine class hours of student instruction were provided, of which 1258 hours were in group classes. Not only Embassy personnel but employees of other federal agencies stationed in Tokyo were receiving instruction. These included representatives of the Treasury Department, the Civil Aeronautics Administration, U. S. Information Agency, Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Office of Alien Property, and the Emergency Procurement Service. But student enrollment and class hour figures tell only part of the story.

Twelve Japanese Tutors

To carry out this increased program Mrs. Jorden has been assisted by twelve Japanese men and women tutors, two of whom have taught in the school since 1950. Each has been thoroughly trained and tested in the school's methods, and each is tirelessly enthusiastic, patient, and interested in the program.

As the students progress, the requirements for permission to continue their studies become more stringent. A beginning student must pass with a grade of 80 or more a rather difficult oral examination in order to receive a basic course diploma. He is also required to pass regular weekly examinations, to submit homework assignments and to work with the tape recorders during out-of-class hours. He is permitted only three unexcused class absences. Classes meet at eight in the morning, or other scheduled times during the day, five days a week. Attendance is astonishingly constant. One present student travels a minimum of fifty minutes by bus, subway and street car to get to an 8 a.m. class. Another, an expectant mother, went straight from her 8 o'clock class to the hospital; there was a moment when it seemed the new baby's place of birth might be listed, "Beginner's class Number Two, Japanese Language School, American Embassy, Tokyo."

With many students carrying a constant and demanding social program as well as heavy office and home responsibilities, their persistence in study is a tribute to the effective teaching and inspiring leadership of Mrs. Jorden and her staff. Says Mrs. Jorden, "The development of the school has been made possible primarily through the interest and enthusiasm of the students, and also through the tireless efforts of our Japanese staff. No one could ask for a more appreciative student body."

A major emphasis in the school's program is "area study through language." All classes are conducted in Japanese from the very beginning and the only time English is heard is in the once-a-week lectures given by Mrs. Jorden. Not only does the student learn the structure of the language in these lectures. They also provide an understanding of the cultural history of Japan and the answer to a good many puzzles about Japanese life. A discussion of numbers, for example, may lead into an explanation of the real estate system in Japan, and into tips in finding one's way about in the city of unnamed streets—Tokyo. Or one may learn about superstitions and why the number 42 is considered as unlucky as the American number 13. Discussion of the words for reed matting used on floors, called *tatami*, and sleeping mattresses laid on *tatami*, called *huton*, evoke a fascinating discussion of Japanese home life and family customs.

Of course the full-time language officer student gets a much more intensified experience in area as well as language study than the average student. After the potential language officers have completed their basic elementary and intermediate course, they undertake a weekly program that becomes increasingly complex and difficult. Five hours a week the student spends reading the newspapers. For another five hours he practises the use of Japanese reference books and dictionaries, the use of a Japanese telephone directory, etc. In the meantime, he continually reviews the material he has previously studied.

Special Subjects Studied

The remainder of the week is devoted to the study of one special subject, such as Japanese education, politics, diplomacy, agriculture, and other similar problems. Each week the language officer student must learn the vocabulary of his special "field of the week." He must interpret subject matter, listen to a lecture recorded in Japanese on the subject, engage in conversation, write a composition in Japanese and, wherever appropriate, carry on a local field trip investigation on his problem. If, for example, the topic is some phase of Japanese education, the language student may go to a local Tokyo school, have interviews with the prin-

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cipal, teachers and students, and perhaps exchange questions with members of the student council. All of this is in Japanese, of course. The old system of using readers written specifically for foreigners has been abandoned and instead live Japanese material significant not only for its language but its content is being used.

During the summer each language officer candidate spends at least three months outside Tokyo living in close contact with the Japanese. The school rents a house within fifty miles or so of Tokyo, each year in a different village. Students live out of all contact with foreigners (married officers are not permitted to take their families with them) and without certain modern conveniences. Each student is assigned a specific topic to investigate during the summer. For instance, one officer is studying family organization by examining local village records. Another officer is studying a young men's cooperative association in a fishing village: what it does, how it operates, what influences it has.

Western Breakfast Exception

Students sleep Japanese style on a thin mattress on the floor and eat food locally procured. A major exception is a Western style breakfast; however, since this has become very popular among Japanese families in post-war years, it does not represent too much of a heresy. One officer said that, eager as he was to learn Japanese, he couldn't face the day on a cold boiled turnip, pickles and bean soup. Nineteen fifty-five's summer school had a house with no running water. Hard working students report they had to pull up 36 buckets of water from the well for their daily bath. Early in the season a friendly farmer neighbor lent the school the use of his tub but now the school proudly boasts its own wooden tub, as well as the charcoal needed to heat the water to proper Japanese temperature—only slightly less than boiling. Students had an opportunity to get really acquainted with village life, and came back to Tokyo reporting such contemporary vignettes of life as the following:

A seventy year old woman, born in the village, had been out in the hills gathering a special grass which she sold to Shinto shrines. In the evening she did not return and the villagers went out to look for her. After midnight she wandered wearily home, reporting that she had been led into strange paths by a fox, this explanation being accepted without question by the villagers. Our language students were more skeptical.

Since 1950 over seven hundred men and women have studied at the Japanese language school; of these only twelve were full-time language officers, the others being men and women employees of the Embassy and their dependents. Even despite a heavy personnel turnover, this is a fantastic number, and indicates the genuine interest of Americans in learning more of Japanese life and culture and making for more understanding of their own country along the way.

Ambassador John M. Allison, in a ceremony honoring Mrs. Jorden before her departure for the United States on August 30, 1955 paid tribute not only to Mrs. Jorden's distinguished service but also to Embassy personnel studying Japanese. He said, "We appreciate very much what you have done and while many people outside of the Embassy perhaps do not know what you have done, I am sure that the people who have gone through the language school will be a living monument to your work. We here in Tokyo as well as the Department of State appreciate greatly the importance of what you have done in building up a modern institute for Japanese Language study. For unless we build up a corps of people who can speak and understand Japanese, and through language study learn something about the customs and life and thought of our Japanese friends, we will not be able to do the job that the Embassy is supposed to do."

The JOURNAL wishes to apologize for misquoting, in the August issue, the citation for the Doctorate of Laws degree granted by Dartmouth College to the Honorable Ellis O. Briggs last summer. What President Dickey said was—". . . a period of harassment at home such as no other professional foreign service has ever borne. . . ."—not . . . "foreign service *officer* has ever borne. . . ."

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Foreign Service Scholarship Announcement

The American Foreign Service Association wishes to call attention to the various scholarships which are available at the present time for the year 1956-1957. The Association hopes to announce additional scholarships in the February issue of the *Journal*. All applications for these scholarships must be presented for consideration not later than May 1, 1956. The Committee on Education of the Foreign Service Association is responsible for the selection of the successful applicants for the scholarships listed below except for the Oliver Bishop Harriman Foreign Service scholarship which is judged by an advisory committee composed of two officers of the Manufacturers Trust Company in New York City and two high ranking Departmental officers.

Each of the scholarships available has certain conditions of eligibility and applicants should carefully note these features. Those scholarships which are under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Education for review will be judged with respect to each candidate, not only as regards scholarship but also on the basis of extracurricular activities, the character, aims, and purposes of the applicant, as well as his financial need.

The **Charles B. Hosmer** and the **American Foreign Service Association Scholarship** represents a sum approximating $1,000 which, at the discretion of the Committee on Education, may be divided between two or more applicants who are children of active and retired members or of deceased former active members of the American Foreign Service Association. These funds may be used only in meeting expenses in connection with regular undergraduate courses at a college or university within the United States.

The **William Benton Scholarship,** established through the generosity of former Assistant Secretary Benton, provides $1,000 and is available to children of any officer or American employee of the Foreign or field service of the Department of State abroad for use in meeting expenses of undergraduate or graduate studies at any college or university in the United States. At the discretion of the Committee on Education, the total amount of this scholarship fund may be divided between two or more deserving applicants.

A second scholarship was established last year through the generosity of former Assistant Secretary Benton in the amount of $500.00. This scholarship will from year to year bear the name of an outstanding Foreign Service Officer. It will be known as the **Robert D. Murphy Scholarship** for the academic year 1956-57 and will be awarded by the Association's Committee on Education under the same conditions as the William Benton Scholarship.

The **Robert Woods Bliss Scholarship,** in the amount of $1,000, will be available again, thanks to the continuing generosity of Ambassador Bliss. The conditions governing this scholarship are the same as those of the William Benton Scholarships.

The **Overseas Service Scholarship,** which is available through the generosity of an anonymous donor, provides the sum of $750 to be awarded to deserving children of Foreign Service Officers, Foreign Service Staff Officers, Foreign Service Reserve Officers or any other persons who may be part of the Foreign Service of the Department of State. This refers to children of persons who may be deceased, retired, active or formerly part of the Foreign Service of the Department of State.

The **Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship,** which has been made available through the generosity of Mr. Francis R. Stewart, a retired Foreign Service Officer, in memory of his wife, will provide approximately $1,200 for the coming scholastic year. Funds are to be disbursed at the discretion of the Committee on Education to assist in defraying expenses of children of Foreign Service Career Officers of the Department of State at a university, college, seminary, or conservatory, or at a professional scientific, preparatory, or other school in the continental United States.

The **Foreign Service Journal Scholarship** for 1956-57 provides the sum of $500 and is open to children of active or retired members of the Foreign Service who are either members of the Foreign Service Association or subscribers to the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL or to children of persons who at the time of their death came within these categories. This scholarship is primarily intended for children entering preparatory schools in the United States, preference being given those commencing the final year in such schools. If no suitable applicant of preparatory school age is found, this fund may then be awarded to a college or university student.

The conditions under which the **Oliver Bishop Harriman Foreign Service Scholarship** is handled are somewhat different than those outlined above. Applications should strictly conform to the requirements as outlined in the following paragraphs and should be addressed to the Chairman, Advisory Committee, Oliver Bishop Harriman Foreign Service Scholarship, care of the American Foreign Service Association, Department of State, Washington, D. C. Scholarship applications prepared for the Oliver Bishop Harriman fund which are unsuccessful in this competition will be considered by the Committee on Education for the other scholarships which are offered by the Foreign Service Association, if eligibility is established.

The Committee calls attention to the following conditions, which should be borne in mind by applicants for the Harriman Scholarship. The amount available for this purpose last year was approximately $700. At the discretion of the Advisory Committee, this scholarship may be divided among two or more recipients. Funds awarded under the scholarship may be used only in defraying expenses at an American university, college, seminary, conservatory, professional, scientific or other school. This school may be selected by the recipient. No payments may be made until recipient has been finally admitted to the particular educational institution selected.

It may be recalled that the deed of trust instituting the scholarship provides that in the selection of recipients the Advisory Committee shall be governed by the following rules and regulations:

"(a) The recipients shall be selected from among the children of persons who are then or shall theretofore have been Foreign Service Officers of the United States; and the moneys paid to a recipient from the income of the trust fund shall be used by the recipient in paying his or her expense at such American university, college, seminary, conservatory, professional, scientific or other school as may be selected by the recipient.

"(b) The scholarship may be awarded to a single recipient or may be divided among two or more recipients in such proportions as the Advisory Committee shall determine.

"(c) The candidates for the award of the scholarship shall apply therefor in writing to the Advisory Committee at such times and at such places as may be designated by it on or before May 1 in each year. Such applications shall be accompanied by letters from the parent or guardian of the candidate and by such other data or information as from time to time may be required by the Advisory Committee. Each application shall be made in duplicate.

"(d) Each candidate shall submit evidence that his or her school experience covers the work required for admission to the American educational institution selected by him or her.

"(e) No payments from the income of the trust fund shall be made to a recipient until the recipient shall have been finally admitted to the university or other institution which he or she may desire to enter and payments of such income to any recipient shall continue only so long as the Advisory Committee shall direct."

The application should be accompanied by a letter, likewise in duplicate, from the parent or guardian of the applicant.

Scholarship application blanks *may be obtained by writing the Association headquarters, 1908 G Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.*