The AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE VOL. 25, NO. 6 JOURNAL JUNE 1948

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JUNE, 1948

Cover Picture:

Map of Trieste—Circa 1740. Courtesy of the Library of Congress. According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Trieste "was declared a free imperial port in 1719, and was therefore released from the obstruction to trade contained in the hampering legislation of the period. It was deprived of this privilege in 1891, when only the harbor was declared to be outside the customs limit."

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APPOINTMENT OF NEW OFFICERS OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Secretary Marshall, at the ceremony which was held in the State Department auditorium on May 15, 1948, on the occasion of the presentation of commissions to the following new members of the Foreign Service, said:

"I state now for myself, from my own experience, that I have developed a feeling of great confidence in the Foreign Service—a very great confidence in the character of the personnel. I think you will add to that confidence. Good luck to you."

ALLEN, Francis O., FSO-4.

AXELROD, Philip, FSO-6.

BARTCH, Carl E., FSSO

BELEHRAD, Joseph Wesley., FSSO.

BRADEN, Robert G., FSO-6.

CHADBOURN, Philip H., Jr., FSO-6.

CHRISTIANO, Joseph F., FSSO.

CONEY, Neill M., FSO-4.

CORCORAN, Thomas J., FSO-6.

CRAIG, William D., FSO-6.

DALE, Philip M., Jr., FSO-6.

DEVINE, Frank J., FSO-6.

DWYER, Paul S., FSSO.

FISCHER, Helene E., FSSO.

FISHER, Wayne Weirick, FSO-6.

GRANT, Francis Clark, Jr., FSO-6.

GOLDSMITH, Howard C., FSO-6.

HANSON, Charles Marshall., FSO-6. HANSON, Charles Marshall, FSO-6. HEFFERN, Elleard B., FSO-5. HENDERSON, John W., FSO-4. HESKIN, Oscar E., FSO-3. HIGDON, Charles Evans, FSO-5. JESTER, Dorothy M., FSO-6. JORGENSEN, Chris W., FSRO.

KEPLER, Alexander Rockwell., FSO-6.
KILCOIN, William L., FSO-3.
LANE, Samuel Owens, FSO-5.
LANKENAU, Richard F., FSO-5.
LEDDY, Raymond G., FSO-4.
LOORAM, Matthew J., Jr., FSO-6.
MASSTRONE, Frank E., FSO-6.
MASON, Webber J., FSSO.
McAULIFFE, Eugene V., FSO-6.
O'DONNELL, Charles P., FSO-3.
OLSON, Clinton L., FSO-5.
PAINE, Charles E., FSO-6.
PPITLLIPS, Robert M., FSO-6.
POTTER, Howard W., FSO-6.
SMITH, Harry Leroy, FSO-3.
SUMM, Godfrey, FSO-6.
SMITH, Harry Leroy, FSO-3.
SUMM, Godfrey, FSO-6.
WALSH, John Patrick, FSO-6.
WALSH, John Patrick, FSO-6.
WALSTROM, Milton Carl, FSO-6.
WILLIAMS, John W. C., FSO-6.
WOOD, Chalmers B., FSO-6.
WRIGHT, Thomas A., FSO-3.

FOREIGN SERVICE CHANGES April 1948

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Alfano, Gloria	Department	Milan	FSS
Alfsen, Fritz	Damascus	Paris	FSO
Altaffer, Leland	Lourenco Marques	Lisbon	FSS
Amory, John J.	Melbourne	Rangoon	Asst. Supr. Const.
Anderson, Hilda	Nanking	Peiping	FSS
Armenta, J. Anthony	Nassau	Lima	FSS
Arnold, Henry	Department	Helsinki	2nd Secretary
Avent, Margaret	Tehran	Kabul	FSS
Ballinger, Gail	Department	Stuttgart	FSS
Ballinger, Joseph	Nanking	Department	FSS
Barkdull, Margery	Department	Madrid	FSS
Barnes, Curtis	Caracas	Department	FSS
Barreras, Gilbert	Department	Jerusalem	Attache
Barrett, Kenan	Department	Jerusalem	FSS
Roginis, Robert	Bogota	Panama	FSS
Bowers, Francis J.	Department	London	FSS
Bowling, John	Lagos	Department	FSO
Bowman, Earl E.	Godthaab	Toronto	Vice Consul
Bradsher, Marion	Department	Manila	FSS
Brown, Geraldine	Department	Brussels	FSS
Brown, Margaret	Santiago	Caracas	FSS
Busch, Homer	Port-au-Prince	Mexico	Disb. officer
Butrick, Richard	Department	Reykjavik	Ambassador
Byrd, Richard	Strasbourg	Ottawa	1st SecConsul
Bywater, John	Department	Florence	Vice Consul
Calcote, Robert	Lima	Tunis	Disb. officer
Capaccio, Alice A.	Department	Asuncion	FSS
Casey, Marie	Calcutta	London	FSS
Catlin, Don	Cairo	Dhahran	FSS
Christiano, Joseph F.	Department	Rotterdam	Vice Consul
Christiansen, Hulda	Department	Guayaquil	FSS
Ciccarelli, Dorothy	Department	Colon	FSS
Clark, Ruth	London	Guatemala	FSS
Cochran, William	Berlin	Rudapest	Counselor
Collins, Ralph	Berlin	Department	FSO
Collins, Ralph Colvin, Helen	Department	Amsterdam	FSS
Cottell, Phllip	Lourenco Marques	Nassau	Vice Consul
Court, David	Shanghai	Parls	FSS
Cowles, Carroll	Rrisbane	Kobe	Vice Consul
Crane, Margaret	Department	La Paz	FSS
Crotinger, Howard	Department	Brenien	FSS
Cupp, Daniel D.	Helsinki	Bahia	FSS
Dachs, Marie	Bremen	Sao Paulo	FSS
Davenport, Philip	Habana	Department	FSO
Daymont, Henry	Cairo	Paris	FSS
De Rieux, Margaret	Department	Bern	FSS
Derry, Mary-Anne	Department	Brussels	FSS
Detels, Martin	Rangoon	Salisbury	Vice Consul
Dick, Harrison	Algiers	Brussels	Vice Consul
Dominek, Ann	Berlin	Budapest	FSS
Drevfus, Louis	Stockholm	Department	FSO
Douglas, William	Lisbon	Manila	Vice Consul
Dowland, Robert	Casablanca	Brisbane	Vice Consul
Du Bois, Arden	Porto Alegre	Guadalajara	Vice Consul
Du Bose, Edwin	Ciudad Trujillo	Bogota	FSS
Ludenhoeffer, Marion	Lisbon	Rangoon	FSS
Dwyer, Paul	Department	Izmir	Vice Consul
Dwyer, William	Shanghai	Helsinki	Asst. Attache
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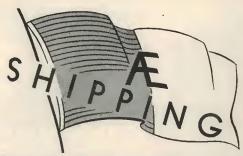
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Farence, Viola
Feigal, Jack
Feld, Nicholas
Fischer, Helene
Foley, Edward
Folsom, Robert
Franklin, Mary J.
Fretty, Joseph
Galambos, T. Andrew
Gamnon, David
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Marshall, James
Martin, Edwin
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Metcalf, Lee
Meyer, Janet
Miller, Mary
Miner, Philip
Moore, Ruth Maye-Eliz, Moore, Ruth
Moffett, Grace
Mueller, Charles
Murray, Isabelle
Newton, Francis
Nicholl, Helen
Nichols, Donald Nichols, Donald Norcross, Loreeta Norton, Lawrence Norton, Overton Norton, Overton
Nunez, Angela
Opp, Blanche
Patch, Isaac
Paterson, Robert W.
Pearson, Paul
Penhollow, Grenfall
Pentecost, Augusta
Peyton Retty Pentecost, Augus Peyton, Betty Pffug, George Phillips, George Picard, Hugo Polutnik, Ernest Pomroy, Ann Popenoe, Nancy Porter, Clair Powell, John M. Proehl, Laura Przywitowski, Ig Prochl, Laura Przywitowski, Joseph Puffer, Frank S. Ramsay, Robert Randolph, Archibald Rauschert, Maryette Regas, Lula Reschke, Virginia Richards, J. Bartlett Rick, Gertrude Rivera, Regulo Rivera, Regulo Ross, Joyce Rowland, Jean

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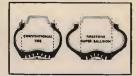
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VOL. 25, NO. 6

WASHINGTON, D. C.

JUNE 1948

Trieste

By Howard McGaw Smyth,
Mediterranean Section, Historical Division, Department of the Army

The recent announcement of the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France proposing that the Free Territory of Trieste be returned to Italian sovereignty has turned the spotlight of American public interest again to the chief port of the Adriatic. In Italy, however. Trieste has never ceased, since the end of active hostilities, from being a problem of the first order. It is possibly the greatest source of anxiety in foreign affairs for those leaders who have taken on themselves the onerous task of rebuilding Italian national life after the Fascist debauch and who are determined that the newly established constitutional system shall have a fair chance to survive.

There are two fundamental facts about Trieste: first, its population is overwhelmingly Italian; second, it is the chief port of the Adriatic with a hinterland embracing a large part of the Danuhe basin. Austria, a portion of Czechoslovakia, parts of Hungary and of Yugoslavia, and a section of northern Italy have in Trieste their natural entrepôt for overseas products and the most convenient port for the export of their goods. Trieste occupies for the Danubian area a position very much like that of Rotterdam and Antwerp for

western Germany, Luxemhurg, Switzerland, and parts of northern France.

Like most of the cities of central Europe, the large population of Trieste is of relatively recent growth. Construction of the railways in the mid-nineteenth century when the whole of the Danubian area was united under the Hapsburg Empire brought about a great development of the port and of the population of the city. The ancient city of Tergesta was Roman; the medieval town was much like other

Italian communes when the revival of Mediterranean commerce was chiefly an Italian accomplishment. The modern metropolis is likewise predominently Italian in population. Under the Hapsburgs firms from Prague, Vienna, and Budapest established branches in the city which took on a kind of cosmopolitan tincture like that of many great ports, but the urban and commercial traditions of the Italians made their growth the greatest in the expansion of the population. At the same time that the development of industry and of the railways transformed Trieste into a great modern city, the Italian speaking peoples were re-awakening to a sense of their nationality. Under the leadership of Piedmont, the Italians forged a national state out of the collection of petty principalities established by the Congress of Vienna. The Italian nation is as sharply differentiated from its neighbors as is any people in Europe and few nationalities have as clearly marked natural boundaries. It was inevitable that the new Italian state created by Cavour should wish to embrace the contiguous territory inhabited by Italian-speaking populations. The followers of Cavour aimed to make the

political frontiers coincide with the line of nationality. The Hapsburg Monarchy was the great barrier in the way of forming a complete national state. When the second war against Austria was undertaken by Italy in 1866, this time in alliance with Prussia, the Italians hoped to gain not only the province of Venetia which was explicitly promised, but also to gain the Trentino and the region of Trieste. Bismarck, however, refused to consider these objectives and the Italian Government reluctantly



American reconnaissance cars of the 88th Infantry Division in front of the Military Police Headquarters at Trieste prior to being called out to assist in breaking up unauthorized demonstrations which sprang up when thousands of persons were idled by a general strike.

was obliged to see the Trentino and Trieste remain under Austrian sovereignty.

In the period between 1871 and 1914, the age of the armed peace among the great powers of Europe, the existence of these compact groups of Italians, just beyond the political frontiers, constituted an enduring obstacle to a genuine reconciliation between Italy and the Hapsburg Monarchy. The consciousness of being Italians grew more intense among the *Triestini*. They looked toward Italy as the source of their language, customs, and culture. In Italy the popular demand for redemption of Trieste from alien rule rendered the official policy of membership in the Triple Alliance precarious.

When the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand precipitated the diplomatic crisis of July, 1914, the strong current of Italian sympathy for Serbia, "the Piedmont of the Balkans," was an important factor in the decision of the Italian Government to proclaim its neutrality. That Government during the next few months followed an ambiguous course. It negotiated with the Central Powers for compensation as the price of its continued neutrality. It later negotiated with the powers of the Triple Entente for compensation as the price of its intervention. In each case, however, the Italian Government claimed Trieste. The aim of completing national unification hy a third war against Austria gave to Italy's rôle in the first World War a popular and national stamp which was wholly lacking in World War II.

Defeat of the Central Powers in 1918 enabled Italy to complete her national unification—to claim Italia irredenta as her own. With the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire there disappeared not only the traditional enemy of Italian unity, there vanished also the historic oppressor of the South Slavs. It appeared that in accordance with the prophecy of Mazzini a new era of freedom for the nations of Europe would be ushered in. Unfortunately for the relationship of Italians and South Slavs the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs took a very narrow and exclusively nationalistic view of Italian interests. Sidney Sonnino had negotiated the secret Treaty of London (April, 1915) which brought Italy's intervention in the war on the side of the Entente Powers. He was hypnotized by the problem of security and obtained the promise of the British, French, and Russian Governments, not only for the Brenner frontier in the north, but of the whole of the Istrian peninsula in the east-the region which later was named Venezia Giulia. In addition he obtained the promise of the cession to Italy of the northern part of the Dalmatian peninsula, despite its overwhelmingly Slavic population. Three different Prime Ministers guided the Italian Government during World War I, Salandra, Boselli, and Orlando, but Sonnino served as Foreign Minister for them all. He kept Italian war aims focused on fulfilment of the Treaty of London. He refused to see the enormous gains to Italy's position in Europe which would arise from the dissolution of the Hapsburg Empire. He declined to give any encouragement to the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities and to the attempts to settle Italo-Yugoslav problems prior to the end of hostilitics. He gave no heed to Carlo Sforza who urged that Italy's best interests would be served by reconciliation with the South Slavs, and by post-war cooperation of Italy with Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia to prevent any possibility of return of the Hapsburgs. Sonnino's rigid insistence on fulfilment of the Treaty of London, his claims to the whole of Istria and Fiume, embroiled him not only with the Yugoslavs hut with the French and British as well, and above all with the American President, Woodrow Wilson.

President Wilson considered the crucial sources of conflict in Europe as the areas where populations were held under alien rule. He believed that a redrawing of state

boundaries in closer approximation to the lines of nationality would go far to removing a cause of international conflict. President Wilson's thought was closely parallel to the doctrine of the Russian revolutionary leaders who denounced the secret treaties of the Tsarist Government and called for a people's peace on the basis of self-determination of nations. In point nine of the Fourteen Points President Wilson declared: "A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality." This program for Italy was something quite different from Sonnino's claim for fulfilment of the London Treaty. Wilson of course recognized the justice of Italy's claim to Trieste. It was never questioned by him or by his advisers. But President Wilson did not believe it fair, or just, or wise for Italy to claim Fiume and the eastern part of the Istrian peninsula. On the basis of careful rescarch by his experts he proposed a frontier between Italy and the new state of the South Slavs which roughly bisected the Istrian peninsula. He took his stand on this proposal, the "Wilson Line," and refused to listen to Italian claims to territory which was predominantly or wholly South Slav in its population.

It was this insistence of President Wilson on the application of the national principle between Italy and the South Slavs, and his determination that the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes have fair treatment that produced the one dramatic break at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. Prime Minister Orlando and Foreign Minister Sonnino left Paris in high dudgeon at Wilson's stand, and charged him with considering the claims of former enemies (Croats and Slovenes) on a par with those of Italy. Great Britain and France were signatories of the London Treaty. Their representatives professed friendship for the South Slavs but they left the onus of defending South Slav aspirations to President Wilson. No settlement of the Italo-Yugoslav frontier was achieved at Paris, and Wilson reaped the hatred of Italian nationalists for his

It was only after sentiment in the United States turned against Wilson, and after repudiation of his policies and leadership seemed assured in the approaching election of 1920 that the Yugoslavs were left to negotiate a settlement directly with Italy, the Treaty of Rapallo. The annexation by Italy of the whole of the Istrian peninsula was a mistake. It was a violation of the national principle—the principle by virtue of which the leaders of the Risorgimento claimed for the Italian people the right to their own national government. A tolerant policy might have dulled the sharp edge of alien rule in the South Slav areas of Venezia Giulia in the post-war era. The Fascist régime, however, followed a policy of forcible denationalization toward all of its newly acquired minorities.

In 1945 the problem of the Italo-Yugoslav frontier emerged again as one of the crucial problems of peace. It was essentially the same drama but with a curious reversal of rôles. The Yugoslavs now demanded the whole of Venezia Giulia despite the fact that there was a compact area in the western part with several hundred thousand Italian inhabitants. At Paris in 1919 the Italians charged that the Slovenes and Croats had supported the Austrian Monarchy until the final phase of the war. In 1945 the Yugoslavs insisted that Italy's co-belligerency represented only a last minute conversion and that the contribution of Italian partisans to the war against the Nazis did not merit serious consideration.

The problem of achieving a fair and just frontier was greatly complicated by the mixed military occupations in the Istrian peninsula in 1945. The Italian Government had in 1943 formally surrendered to General Eisenhower, Allied Commander-in-Chief, acting in the interest of the United Nations. The instruments of surrender provided for

Civilians of Trieste welcoming American troops. The picture was taken near Castle San Giusto.

U. S. Army Signal Corps photos

Italian and Yugoslavian women and children parade through the streets here protesting against strikes and demanding bread and work. Signs in both languages read "Bread and Work" and "Enough of Strikes."

the occupation of all Italian territory by the Allied Anglo-American forces. The German armies denied the occupation of northern Italy to the Allied Armies in Italy until the final campaign of April, 1945. Marshal Tito's forces rushed into the port area of Trieste when German resistance collapsed and speedily eliminated the Trieste Committee of National Liberation. The Italian population was already cowed when New Zealand troops entered Trieste on May 2nd. The Yugoslav occupation was not marked by any scruples in regard to the obligations of an occupying power as established by international law. Its purpose was the immediate eradication of all evidence of Italian sentiment. Under the pretense of punishing Fascists, the Yugoslavs arrested, conscripted, or deported the potential leaders of the Italian cause. After considerable difficulty, an agreement was concluded on June 9th between General Morgan, Chief of Staff to Field Marshal Alexander, and General Jovanovic. Chief of Staff to Marshal Tito. It established the "Morgan Line" as the boundary. The port of Pola and a zone including Trieste and Gorizia with a line of communications for the maintenance of the army of occupation in Austria was recognized as the area of Allied Military Government.

The question of Trieste and the Italo-Yugoslav frontier had, of course, been carefully studied in the Department of State by experts in different divisions and it had been thoroughly discussed in interdivisional committees. The facts were clear. The eastern part of Venezia Giulia was overwhelmingly Slavic in population and the national claim of Yugoslavia to this area was recognized. But the cities and towns of the western coast were Italian. The preponderance of the Italian element in Trieste was beyond question. Hence the proposal was formulated that the new frontier of Italy and Yugoslavia should be essentially like the line which President Wilson on the advice of his experts had proposed 26 years earlier. Because Trieste served as the port of an extensive and complex hinterland embracing parts of several different countries, the suggested frontier line was accompanied by the proposal of a free port at Trieste with guaranties to be incorporated in the treaty of equality of treatment of the commerce of all nations served by the port. The Yugoslav claim to the whole area up to the Isonzo River was considered invalid because it involved the inclusion of several hundred thousand Italians in Yugoslavia.

After the initial exchange of views at the London Conference of Foreign Ministers in September, 1945, a commission with representatives of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France and the United States was sent to Venezia Giulia to study the area and "to prepare a report and recommendations on fixing the boundary between Italy and Yugoslavia, which boundary will in the main be the ethnic line, leaving a minimum of population under alien rule." It proved impossible to get agreement on one line. The British, French, and Americans proposed lines which varied for the southern part of the Istrian peninsula. All of them, however, recognized that by nationality Trieste and Gorizia belonged to Italy. The line proposed by the Soviet Union was no different from the extreme claims of Yugoslav imperialists. To the Americans it appeared that the Yugoslav claim to Trieste had as



much, but no more validity than a German claim to Antwerp. The term "ethnic" proved to be a stumbling block. The Americans, British and French were primarily interested in discovering the customary language, the cultural affiliation and national sympathy of the populations which they visited. The Soviet representatives interpreted ethnic to refer to ancestry and to descent, introducing a note of racial redemption curiously reminiscent of the mystical doctrines of blood as expounded in the Third Reich.

It was only with great reluctance that Secretary of State Byrnes agreed to the compromise solution of the Free Territory of Trieste whose integrity and independence was to be assured by the Security Council of the United Nations Organization. He believed that this compromise might afford a basis on which a reconciliation of Italians and Yugoslavs could develop. So far it has proved impossible to find a governor and the permanent statute of the Free Territory has not been fully applied. The Italian populations of Pola and other cities ceded to Yugoslavia by the terms of the Treaty have migrated wholesale to Italy for fear of Yugoslav persecution. The Yugoslav forces participating in the occupation of the Free Territory have

(Continued on page 48)

The United Nations Maritime Conference

By JOHN M. CATES, JR., Division of International Organization Affairs

The United Nations Maritime Conference, which met in Geneva from February 19 to March 6, 1948, at the invitation of the United Nations Economic and Social Council. was successful in concluding a convention for a world shipping organization to be known as the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization. In the international alphabetical tradition, it will be known as IMCO. The Conference is of particular interest since it succeeded in a field which had long defied all attempts at international organization. This success in actually concluding an agreement is all the more noteworthy in view of the fact that the representatives of the 32 governments which participated all arrived with preconceived notions as to the type of organization they wanted. none of which were exactly in line with the organization upon which the Conference finally agreed. Their final agreement reached through understanding and compromise after frank and full debate of all of the basic issues, furnishes a promising sign in a world scene in which open covenants openly arrived at appear all too infrequent. Representatives of the following States participated in the Conference: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Finland, France, Greece, India, Ireland, Italy, Lebanon, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States of America. Four States were represented by observers: Cuba. Ecuador, Iran, Union of South Africa.

The importance placed upon this Conference by the United States was evidenced by the designation of Assistant Secretary Norton to head the delegation of eight, assisted by Mr. Huntington Morse, Special Assistant to the Maritime Commission as Vice Chairman; Dr. Serg Kouschnareff of the Department of Commerce; Captain R. T. Merrill of the Coast Guard; Mr. Roy Campbell of the Ship Builders Council of America; Mr. Thomas Monroe of the National Federation of American Shipping; and, from the State Department, Mr. John Mann of the Shipping Division, Mr. John M. Cates, Jr., Division of International Organization Affairs, and Mr. Ellis Allison of the Division of International Conferences. The United States Delegation was under instructions to support the establishment of an intergovernmental maritime organization along the lines of a draft convention adopted approximately a year before at a conference of an interim international shipping organization, known as the United Maritime Consultative Council. This draft had met with the approval of the State Department and other departments interested in the establishment of an international maritime organization as well as that of industry. As stated by Mr. Norton at the opening session of the Conference the position of the United States was that it favored the creation of an intergovernmental maritime organization in order that there might be a shipping organization to participate on an equal basis with aviation, telecommunication, and meteorological organizations in the coordination of such matters as safety of life at sea; to supply continuity of effort necessary for effective intergovernmental cooperation in shipping in place of the present practice of sporadic diplomatic conferences; to establish the principle that certain shipping problems should, as a general rule, be handled through normal commercial processes without unnecessary governmental interference; to facilitate the handling of shipping problems by governmental and industry personnel experienced in shipping matters; to contribute to world peace by the establishment of a forum where differences of opinion on shipping

questions could be discussed and resolved by persons familiar with the problems.

The concept of an organization to deal with international shipping matters was the result of a merger of three separate interests: first, the interest in having an international maritime safety organization to administer the provisions of the Safety of Life at Sea Convention of 1929; second, the interest in establishing an organization capable of representing the world's shipping interests and of treating on an equal level with the international telecommunications, meteorological and aviation organizations and related Commissions of the United Nations; (This concept was affected to some degree by the experience of the United States as a participant in the war-time Combined Shipping Adjustment Board which was followed in turn by the United Maritime Authority, the United Maritime Consultative Council and the Provisional Maritime Consultative Council); third, the interest in having an organization of shipping men to deal with shipping problems rather than leaving such problems to the International Trade Organization, whose Charter would permit it to deal with restrictive shipping practices if no appropriate international organization existed in the shipping field.

The Conference thus assembled, regardless of the factors which motivated the various delegates, had before it three main problems: (1) Should a separate maritime organization he established or should these problems be left to the United Nations: (2) If a maritime organization were set up, would its purposes be solely technical or broad enough to comprehend both technical and economic problems? (3) How would the composition of the Council of the organization be determined?

On the first point, over the objections of Australia and New Zealand that a Commission of the United Nations could more appropriately handle these problems, the Conference determined that a separate organization was needed. A determining factor in this decision was the statement by Sir Ramaswami Mudalier of India, who had been the first Chairman of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, that the United Nations was not so constituted as to be able to handle the type of problem expected to arise in the shipping organization.

On the second point, although the Scandinavian countries were strongly of the opinion that the Organization should be limited to technical safety and ship-operating matters, the Conference after thorough consideration of the implications of broadened purposes voted overwhelmingly in favor of extending the scope of the Organization to permit it to deal with unfair restrictive practices of governments and private shipping companies. Because of this decision of the Conference, the Scandinavian nations were required by their instructions to abstain from a final vote on the Convention although the delegates, as individuals, gave assurances that they would urge their governments to ratify the Convention.

The purposes of the Organization as finally adopted were briefly: (a) To provide machinery for cooperation among governments in the field of governmental regulation and practices relating to technical and safety matters; (b) to encourage the removal of discriminatory action and unnecessary restrictions by governments affecting international shipping; (c) to provide for consideration of matters concerning unfair restrictive practices by private shipping concerns; (d) to provide for consideration of any shipping matters referred to the Organization by the United Nations; (e) to provide for exchange of shipping information among member governments.

With the general outline of the Organization thus laid down, the Conference turned to the third problem, the determination of membership on the Council. Because of the discretion granted to the Council, its power with relation to Assembly decisions, referred to by objecting delegates as the "veto power" and its power to determine its own membership in the first two categories described herein, great inter-

est was taken in the composition of the Council.

After lengthy debate, including full consideration of the importance to be given geographic distribution and political importance, the Conference, on the basis of an Argentinian proposal, agreed upon the following qualifications for membership on the 16 nation Council: Six nations with the largest interest in providing international shipping; six with the largest interest in international sea-borne trade; two nations elected by the Assembly from among nations having substantial interest in providing international shipping services and two from nations having a substantial interest in international sea-borne trade. The first 12 nations in each case are to be determined by the Council itself on the basis of international trade figures, thus assuring that the nations with the greatest interest in trade, chosen on an objective basis, should, in effect, have the preponderant voice in the control of the organization. The composition agreed upon had also the virtue of providing a balance on the Council between the ship-providing nations and the ship-using nations.

On the basis of this formula and using international trade and tonnage figures for 1938 and 1946, the Conference agreed upon the following 12 States for the first two categories of membership on the Council: Nations with the largest interest in international shipping-Greece, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom and United States; and nations with the largest interest in seaborne trade-Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, France and India. The remaining four members will be elected by the first Assembly. The group of 12 States in the first two categories are also to serve as a Preparatory Committee of the Organ-

In connection with the selection of these 12 states, the Conference gave sympathetic consideration to the arguments of the Chinese Delegate that the 1938 and 1946 international trade figures worked an injustice to China, which, during both of those years was at war with Japan. However, the Conference decided that when and if the position of China, either as a shipping or as a trading nation, changed sufficiently to justify its inclusion in group (a) or (b) of the Council, on a statistical basis, its interests would be recognized. Furthermore, with four elective seats open on the Council, China had an opportunity of being elected to one of these seats when the first Assembly of the Organization

A report on the Conference would not be complete without mention of the part played by the Brazilian Delegate in obtaining support for the decision on the Council. Just before the final vote was taken, he pointed out that although Brazil, in spite of its importance, was not included within the first 12 Council members, he would vote for the proposal as a workable compromise to permit agreement and in the hope that Brazil's important role in world trade would be recognized by its election to one of the four remaining seats at the time of the organization's first Assembly. Brazil's cooperative gesture was instrumental in securing agreement on the vital question of the Council.

After the vote on the Council, the Panamanian Delegate, because of the failure of the Conference to include Panama either on the main Working Party of the Conference or on the Council, withdrew formally from the Conference after submitting a letter of protest to the President of the Conference that the rights of Panama as a leading maritime nation had been disregarded. Panama's argument was based on its claim to sixth place in world tonnage. On the other hand, since a great proportion of tonnage registered under the Panamanian flag is foreign owned, a question exists as to how this interest should be recognized.

During discussions of the purposes of the Organization, when the question of shipping economics was uppermost in all minds, a thorough airing was given to the matter of subsidies and, as a corollary, to the right of a nation to grant assistance to its merchant marine during the years of its initial development. The United States, under the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, has a vital concern in shipping subsidies and in seeing to it that government aid, intended to develop its own merchant marine rather than restrict the activities of another nation's, should not be outlawed by the Convention. After thorough discussion of the advisability of writing into the Convention an expression of the right of a nation to develop its own merchant marine or to carry a certain proportion of its cargo, the dilemma was solved by the adoption of language which excepted from the prohibition against discriminatory action and unnecessary restrictions by governments, any "assistance and encouragement given by a government for the development of its national shipping and for purposes of security" provided such assistance is not based on measures designed to restrict the freedom of shipping of other countries.

On the technical side of the new organization, provision was made for a Maritime Safety Committee which should have the functions, among others, of administering the regulations expected to be adopted by the Safety of Life at Sea Conference scheduled to meet in London almost immediately following the Maritime Conference. The establishment of this Committee acomplished the purposes of those who had been interested in having an international safety organization to administer the Safety of Life at Sea Convention and any regulations promulgated under it. To assure coordination between the results of the Maritime and the Safety conferences, two resolutions were adopted by the Maritime Conference specifically referring to the relationship between the Maritime Conference and the forthcoming Safety of Life at Sea Conference, and pointing out to the Safety Conference the contemplated responsibilities of the IMCO Maritime Safe-

ty Committee.

The new shipping organization will come into existence when 21 states, of which seven each have a total tonnage of not less than one million gross tons, shall have accepted the Convention. Meanwhile a Preparatory Committee will act in the interim to prepare the way for the First Assembly of the Organization. By decision taken at the organizational meeting of the Preparatory Committee immediately following the Conference, Canada will hold the chairmanship; the first meeting will be held at Lake Success in October 1948; and all secretariat functions will be performed by the Transport and Communications Division of the United Nations.

The final Convention was adopted by 21 votes in favor as against one vote opposed, with seven abstentions and three absences. The sole negative vote was cast by China. The abstentions were Denmark, Egypt, Lebanon, Norway, New Zealand, Pakistan and Sweden. The reservation of the Scandinavians was based on the fact that the organization was more than a technical one. The negative vote and the remainder of the abstentions were based on the decisions reached with respect to the composition of the Council.

The United Nations Maritime Conference brought together, for the first time in an international meeting, the representatives of well-established shipping nations with those of nations which had heretofore been regarded as nonmaritime. The statements of the representatives of the nations which have up to now been regarded as non-shipping

(Continued on page 50)

Hawaii's Fight For Statehood

By Joseph R. Farrington
Delegate to Congress from Hawaii

One of the longest legislative struggles in the nation's history reached a climax this year when the Hawaii statehood bill reached the Senate committee on Interior and Insular Affairs for consideration.

Overwhelmingly passed by the House in June of 1947, the bill reached the committee following a personal investigation by Senator Guy Cordon of Oregon, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Territories. Senator Cordon reported that the Territory was ready and able to be a state and recommended immediate favorable action by the Senate.

For 48 years Hawaii has been fighting for statehood—a status which was almost handed to her at one time in her

history.

Nearly a century ago, when Hawaii was a constitutional monarchy, the islands almost became the thirty-third state of the American Union.

This was during the era of imperialism and several powers coveted the Hawaiian Islands. The Hawaiian Kingdom feared that it was not strong enough to stand alone so decided to become a state of the United States.

In 1854, the representatives of King Kamehameha III and President Franklin Pierce began negotiating a treaty whereby Hawaii would be admitted as a state of the Union.

Article Two of this proposed treaty stated: "The Hawaiian Islands shall be incorporated in the American Union as a state, enjoying the same degree of sovereignty as other states, and be admitted as such as soon as it can be done in consistency with the principles and requirements of the Federal Constitution, to all the rights, privileges and immunities of a State as aforesaid, on a perfect equality with other States of the Union."

But while the negotiations were in progress King Kamehameha III died suddenly and his successor was not so friendly toward the United States. Besides, the U. S. government then was preoccupied at home over the growing breach between the North and South over the slavery ques-

tion.

As a result, the negotiations were dropped and during the next 40 years no serious effort was made by the United States to annex Hawaii. History does show, however, that President Lincoln in a message to Congress described Hawaii as "an object of profound interest for the United States." Presidents Andrew Johnson, Ulysses S. Grant and Chester A. Arthur also made statements favoring the annexation of Hawaii.

In 1893 the Hawaiian Monarchy was overthrown and an independent Republic was set up, under the direction of an American committee. A constitution, patterned after the United States, was adopted. Sanford B. Dole, an American, became the first president of the Republic.

The leaders of the new Hawaiian government applied to the United States for annexation of the islands. They envisioned becoming the forty-fourth state of the Union, automatically becoming a state as Texas did after she broke away from Mexico.

It was not until 1897, however, that the U. S. Congress voted annexation of Hawaii. The treaty whereby the islands joined the United States reads in part as follows:

"The Republic of Hawaii and the United States of America, in view of the natural dependence of the Hawaiian islands upon the United States and their geographical proximity thereto, to the preponderant share acquired by the United States and its citizens in the industries and trade of said islands, and of the expressed desire of the government of the Republic of Hawaii that these islands should be incorporated in the United States as an integral part thereof, and under its sovereignty, have determined to accomplish by treaty an object so important to their mutual and permanent welfare."

During the Senate dehate it was inferred that Hawaii eventually would become a state because all proposed amendments to the contrary were voted down. Senator George F. Hoar of Massachusetts in supporting the annexation resolution held the United States should acquire no territory "except where we can reasonably expect that the people we acquire will, in due time and on suitable conditions, be annexed to the United States as an equal part of a self-government Republic . . ."

President William McKinley named, soon after Hawaii's annexation, a five member commission to recommend to Congress' legislation to provide for a government for the new American territory.

When the commission held its first meeting, the chairman

asked one of the members, Judge Walter F. Frear of Hawaii, "What type of government are we going to prepare for these people?" Mr. Frear's answer was, "Astate government of course." The chairman agreed to this suggestion and by December of 1898 the commission's report was completed and submitted to Congress.

Congress in April of 1900 enacted an Organic Act for Hawaii, establishing a territorial form of government but patterned after state constitutions and providing that the U. S. Constitution and laws have the same application and effect in Hawaii as elsewhere in the Union.

The Hawaiians, hav-



C. W. Lundsten

The Hon. Joseph R. Farrington (right), Delegate from Hawaii, pictured with Vice Consul and Mrs. Milton C. Walstrom of Honolulu. Mr. Walstrom is presently enrolled in the Foreign Service Institute's Arabie language school.

ing been given every indication that they would be a territory for only a brief period, soon started petitioning Congress for statehood. The first formal application was made by the Territorial Legislature in 1903. Since then virtually every session of the Hawaii Legislature has passed a joint resolution urging Congress to give the islands immediate

The first Hawaii statehood bill was introduced in Congress in 1920 by Hawaii's Delegate, Prince Jonah Kalanianaole. Since then 27 similar bills have been introduced. Before the present session of Congress are 12 statehood bills of which 11 were introduced in the House and one in the

The first Congressional investigation of Hawaii's application for statehood was conducted in the islands in 1935 by a subcommittee from the House of Representatives. During the past 13 years there have been five such investigations, with 66 members of the Senate and House, representing 35 states, going to the islands to investigate Hawaii's qualifications for statehood.

The 1935 Congressional Committee reported that Hawaii was a "modern unit of the American commonwealth, with a political, social and economic structure of the highest type." This committee, nevertheless, voted three to two against favorable action on statehood. The majority of the commission felt that further study was necessary.

Two years later, in 1937, a joint Congressional Committee visited Hawaii and held public hearings there for 17 days. The committee heard 67 witnesses and collected near-

ly 700 pages of testimony.

The joint committee reported to the 75th Congress that "Hawaii has fulfilled every requirement for statehood here-tofore exacted for territories." It recommended, however, that a statehood plebiscite be held to determine the wishes of the people and that a further study should be made in view of the disturbed condition of international affairs.

The plebiscite which Congress asked for was held in 1940. The outcome was that 67 percent of Hawaii's electorate voted

in favor of statehood.

During the war years Hawaii shelved its statehood aspirations and concentrated her efforts on defeating Japan. A few of Hawaii's many contributions to the war were:

1. Hawaii purchased more than \$200 million worth of government bonds. She over-subscribed all seven war loans. The first by 195 percent of her quota and the sixth by 205 percent of her quota.

2. Hawaii met her full draft quota. Furthermore, virtually every resident of the islands was directly or indirectly

connected with the war effort.

3. Notable among Hawaii's contributions to the armed forces was an infantry unit composed of young men of Japanese ancestry. It participated in some of the fiercest battles of the Italian campaign and received more decorations than any other similar unit in the American Army.

4. During the war Hawaii was headquarters for the Pacific fleet and the Pacific Ocean Theatre of the Army. Army and Navy personnel, running into hundreds of thousands. were based in Hawaii or staged there for island warfare

campaigns.

The lengthy Congressional investigation of Japan's sneak attack on Pearl Harbor did much to impress on the American people the loyalty of the Hawaiians. Testimony from several witnesses showed that the Japanese residents of Hawaii committed no acts of sabotage either during the attack or after, and that the people of Hawaii had made a remarkable contribution to the war effort.

But the first positive post-war step toward statehood for Hawaii came in December 1945 when the Territories Committee of the House of Representatives sent a subcommittee to the islands to hold statehood hearings. The committee, headed by Rep. Henry D. Larcade of Louisiana, held public hearings for 12 days. They visited industrial, social, educational and military establishments on the five major islands. Questioned were 107 witnesses of which 91 favored immediate statehood.

The subcommittee submitted a unanimous report which recommended that the full committee give immediate consideration to legislation which would admit Hawaii as the

About this time a Gallup Poll showed the people of the U. S. mainland were just about as eager to see Hawaii become a state as were the islanders. Following is the nationwide vote on the question "would you favor or oppose having Hawaii admitted as the forty-ninth state of the Union":

	Percent
Favor	60
Oppose	19
No opinion	21

Sixty-eight percent favored Hawaiian statehood in the Pacific Coast States. Weakest support was from the Southern States which were 55 percent in favor, 16 percent opposed and 29 percent with no opinion.

Despite this highly favorable report, Hawaii was unable to get a date set for formal hearings by the House Territories Committee on the statehood bill. The bottleneck was the

chairman of the committee who opposed the bill.

The opposition was removed, however, by the 1946 elections which gave the Republican party control of Congress. The new chairman of the Territories Committee was a statehood supporter and set hearings for March 7, 1947.

The House committee hearings lasted 13 days and 35 witnesses were heard, all of whom favored immediate state-

hood for the islands.

Meanwhile, President Truman came out for statehood for Hawaii. Several federal departments also supported the bill publicly, including the war and navy departments.

Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, testifying as a private citizen, stated, "From a military and naval standpoint, I can see no objection to these islands achieving statehood."

The committee, in reporting favorably on the statehood legislation, drew particular attention to the following facts and conclusions:

1. Hawaii has had a written constitution since 1940 which attests to the influence of American constitutional

concepts upon its development.

- 2. Hawaii has had an expressed desire to become a state of the Union since 1854 and has continuously improved itself socially, economically and politically to at-
- 3. Hawaii ceded its independence by annexation to the United States through voluntary action of the people of
- 4. Hawaii's organic act of 1900 provided "that the constitution shall have the same force and effect within the territory as elsewhere in the United States.

5. Hawaii's political, economic and social status com-

mend it as a modern American community.

6. Both army and navy intelligence authorities testified that not a single act of sabotage was committed by any resident of Hawaii before, during or after the attack on Pearl Harbor. These same authorities commended the important patriotic service rendered, under the most critical conditions, in military intelligence and war work by all citizens of Hawaii, regardless of racial origin.

7. The present population of 519,423 is larger than any other state upon admission to the Union, except Oklahoma. Almost 90 percent of the population are American citizens and the proportion of American-born citizens is continually expanding. (Continued on page 34)

Letters to the Editors

Bureaucratic Red Tape

April 15, 1948

To The Editors,

THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

We hear much about the need of economy and efficiency in Government. I have before me an egregious example of waste, inefficiency, and bureaucratic red tape, which, I think, needs some publicity. Perhaps an account of this matter in the JOURNAL might bestir someone in the Department to take remedial action.

This office has an old lady pensioner who receives from Government funds the sum of \$60.00 monthly for subsistence. To make this payment this office must prepare each month a set of papers totalling 24 sheets of paper and bearing 17 signatures by a consular officer, consisting of the following:
(1) Transmitting despatch

(2) Official draft

(3) Form 222, Account Current

(4) Form 332, Disbursing Funds—Cash Record and Schedules

(5) Form 92, Exchange Voucher

(6) Application for Financial Assistance (two pages of single-space typing)

(7) Receipt for funds

We estimate that it takes three hours of the time of a skilled clerk to prepare these forms and to make up the account. Including all items it probably costs the Government \$20 in overhead to make a single payment of \$60.

No doubt the petty bureaucrat will shrug his shoulders and point to some regulation to justify this rigmarole. But to any reasonable person this represents an inexcusable waste of time and effort. Surely there must be some way of shortening the essentially simple operation of paying periodically a small sum of money from Government funds.

Briefing of American Personnel

American Embassy, Stockholm, Sweden, April 7, 1948.

To the Editors,

THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

Ever since I entered the Foreign Service in 1942, I have increasingly felt the absence of something which I am now convinced should be one of the basic elements of both work and life abroad in the Service, namely, the systematic general briefing of American personnel. It is my opinion that political and economic policy briefing should be included to a reasonable extent. I don't suggest that confidential telegrams be routed all 'round the office, but I do recommend that the American personnel meet from time to time with one or more of the senior officers, something in the nature of press conferences.

The "accident" of my doing code work during the first two years I was in the Service permitted me to be generally well informed. Since that period, in assignments of much greater responsibility, I have largely had to draw my own conclusions regarding the policy which in some small way I have been helping administer. Non-officer personnel work is pretty much of a vacuum unless they are code clerks or secretaries to Chiefs or Deputy Chiefs of Mission.

This practice of staff briefing, which should naturally include "problems of our life abroad", would tend to give American personnel a feeling of directed purpose, and if carried out in a friendly and informal way, would serve to make all concerned feel themselves members of the U.S. official family abroad. The psychological importance of this matter appears to have been completely overlooked by the Department and the Foreign Service.

As regards the important security problem, it is my belief that "leaks" are almost 100% inadvertent and are due to knowing too little rather than knowing too much. Unless we are going to require our people abroad to live in a shell as the Russians do, it will be wisest to institute a sound "information" policy within the Service. A collectve sense of responsibility will result which will very materially improve the morale of the Foreign Service.

Eric G. Lindahl

Other Fields?

American Consulate, Tenerife, Canary Islands, January 13, 1948.

TO THE EDITORS,

THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

Your September and November editorials were naturally of deep interest to all members of the Foreign Service. Discussion on a matter so important to us all is unquestionably healthy. In offering you the observations of a dyed-in-thewool Consul, may I swell the volume of your correspond-

ence, which undoubtedly will be large?

It seems to me that the crux of the much quoted sentence from your September editorial is the phrase "to continue an active life in other fields" and that, in making your suggestion, you have not thoroughly considered certain implications of that phrase. Experience in the Foreign Service certainly gives a man a background which would be valuable in certain other restricted fields of endeavor, but in general I do not believe that "thirty years of distinguished service" adequately prepares a man to continue active life in other fields after reaching his middle fifties. Furthermore a vast majority of the officers who can look back on thirty years of service are at a disadvantage in discovering other fields for an active life from the fact that those thirty years have been spent largely outside of the United States and to a large extent out of touch with those other fields.

I feel that your editorials are logical in the light of recent legislation and would be reasonable and just in ten or fifteen years, but it is hard to look at them in that light now. A peculiar situation exists today which will not be so as the years go on, in that all the officers to whom your remarks apply have, up to a year or so ago, planned their lives with a feeling of security fostered by the Rogers Act-a reasonable assurance that they would continue on full active salary until their sixty-fifth birthdays. Some few lives perhaps did not need particular planning, but the Foreign Service is not a remunerative profession; it is hard to picture an officer with a family and without private means who did not need to plan, and plan carefully. I highly admire the older Foreign Service Officer of today and am convinced that he has a strong feeling of lovalty to the Service, but it is natural that he should be inspired by a still more intense lovalty to family. It is natural and to be expected that he should hesitate to step out gracefully when such action would unquestionably result in a serious cut in his income that might affect the comfort of his wife, might hamper the education of his children or adversely affect other dependents.

Given some assurance of the possibility of continuing active life in other fields, there might be a substantial number who would willingly step out, but in the absence of such assurance, I am afraid that the number may be small. Is it

(Continued on page 33)

Assigned To Harbin...

"Tarry at Jericho until your beards be grown"

By O. EDMUND CLUBB, Consul General, Peiping

In view of the closure on February 3, 1948 of the Consulate General at Changchun, it is perhaps of some interest to review that post's manner of coming into being.

It was shortly after V-J Day that the Department, having an eye for the actual and potential interest of that area, Manchuria, which has been called the "cockpit of Asia," ordered me to proceed from Vladivostok to Manchuria to effect the inspection of the consular offices at Harbin, Mukden and Dairen. I reacted promptly, for if Vladivostok held few charms during wartime it held even less when the honeymoon was in the wane. My reaction took the form of applying to the Soviet authorities for an exit visa, in the approved manner, to proceed to Manchuria either via Pogranichnaya on the east or Otpor on the west. I applied at Vladivostok. The Embassy applied at Moscow. Telegrams passed, and so did time, and my mission was eventually changed to an actual assignment to Harbin. More applications, notes, and proddings hrought forth no visa from the Soviet authorities; but of course they did not say that I might not proceed to my post at Harbin-they, just like Brer Rabbit, kept on saying nothing. Recognition of the significance of this "loud silence" was found in my action, taken early in January

Vladivostok en route to Shanghai by the first American merchant vessel to call there since 1941. I had received a visa to leave the Soviet Union by that route within about five days of application at Vladivostok; if I harbored any intention of sneaking up on Harbin from the Chinese rear—and I did—the Soviets seemed to mind not at all. Later developments may give a clue to their generous unconcern. There were delays in Shanghai, some for reason, some for rough August S.

1946 with the Department's approval, of departing from

none. The upshot of the matter was that Consul August S. Chase started off for Manchuria before me, with the Harbin assignment in his pocket, the while I fell behind him with an assignment to Mukden. But where the hospital had caught me in its toils in Shanghai, Sabe Chase was caught by pneumonia en route, and I passed him at Tientsin where he himself was laid up in turn. I reached Mukden in March, a week after the Soviet troops had left for the north, and re-opened the consular office there. A base of operations in Manchuria was established, and it looked as if someone might be enabled to make the jump to Harbin, where the Soviet Rus-

sians still had their troops.

In April, however, the Chinese Communists captured Changchun, a few short hours after the withdrawal of the Soviet armed forces. They also captured Major Robert B. Rigg, who had shared Emperor P'u Yi's suite (nothing of which to be envious) with me in the cold, gloomy, decaying Yamato Hotel ("Intourist" - until May First, which was marked by the Chinese Nationalists' taking over the hostelry, which promptly was metamorphosed into the "Mukden Railway Hotel" — but that rose never became any sweeter). Bob Rigg got his release, but when Sabe Chase arrived in Mukden in May he found the route to Harbin cut off. Changchun, which had been taken by the Communists with liberal disregard of the stop-fire agreement, was taken back by the Nationalists, in a tit-for-tat play, at the end of May. In early July, with conditions hardly improved by this exchange, Sabe Chase and his small staff (Vice Consul Allen C. Siebens and Clerk H. J. Ch'en) proceeded to Changchun "en route

During this period, the Advanced Branch of the Executive Headquarters was located at Changchun and various truce "field teams" were stationed at different points in Manchuria—including Harbin. American Executive Headquarters planes made regular trips back and forth between Changchun and Harbin, journalists of various nationalities and political sympathies travelled those planes, there was a lively interest in the cheese, vodka and kolinsky furs that were available in Harbin and could be brought out—but no American Foreign Service Officer was ever enabled to make the trip to Harbin. In due course Sabe Chase, now back in Mukden, was assigned to Shanghai. I was in turn again assigned to Harbin and, having turned the Mukden Consulate General over to Sabe to hold the fort during the interim period before the arrival of my successor, Consul General Angus 1. Ward, on October 4 left Mukden for Changchun in the company of my family, myself to take up the siege of Harbin once more.

The story was the same for me as for Sabe Chase: for some reason much too deep to fathom Chinese Communists seemed quite as obdurate to propositions for travel of American Foreign Service Officers to Harbin as had been the Soviet Russians—that is, 100%. Since I had been trained by experience to respect the inner signifiance of remarkable coincidences in the field of Communist politics, within a short time after my arrival at Changchun I philosophically set up the "temporary" office for our little staff in a residence I acquired, where before we had lived in the Changchun Yamato (then "Intourist," then "Changchun Railway Hotel"—another coincidence). When the Executive Headquarters flew its last plane into Harbin and back without us as passengers, I invited the attention of the Department to the gap that now separated us in truly unbridgeable form from our goal, and recommended the establishment at Changchun of a regular consular office. After all, if we were going to take root, the status quo might better be given a modicum of legal recognition. It seemed to make us something less than "diplomats in exile."

On May 5, 1947, with the Department's blessing given, there was opened at Changchun that town's first American Consulate General. We were not lonely at that time, for there were also stationed there an Assistant Military Attaché and the British Consul-peripatetic to Harbin. There had already in the course of the year been three Communist drives from the north which had lapped the outskirts of the town. In May came a truly heavy drive, and some of our dependents were sent out to places of greater safety. It passed us by, and surged south. Never did the Nationalists mount the oft-proclaimed "imminent drive to Harbin." In October, a year having been spent an hour's flight from my goal, I left to take up a new assignment to the south, in Peiping.

Vice Consul Siebens, now the veteran Manchurian Service man, remained behind. There was no longer a mission for the re-opening of the Harbin Consulate General. The project now was only to "hold the fort." He held it well, but the Communist campaign, which started in September in the southwestern part of Manchuria, kept going all winter despite the weighty (and hopeful) prognostication from the opposition press: "It's too cold for the Communists to fight." The prospect of reopening Harbin became so remote and the progress of the Communist advance was so rapid that Al Siebens was ordered to close the office and proceed to Mukden. On February 3, 1948, at the close of business, the enterprise was abandoned, at least for the time being. Presumably the Changchun office will be opened again some day. And, by the testimony before the Committee on Appropriations, it is still proposed 1949 Fiscal that there will be someone "assigned to Harbin . . ."

Press Comment

A FINE JOB OF ROUGHHOUSE "DIPLOMACY"

By ARTHUR KROCK

From The New York Times, April 23, 1948

A joke about the foreign service of the United States—like the slightest reference by comics to certain excellent American cities—can always be counted on for a laugh from a mass audience. This has become a national pastime despite numerous proofs that Americans can be, and frequently are, skilled diplomats in the classic sense and, as the recent activities of one ambassador have demonstrated, can practice diplomacy in the unusual form of open political campaigning.

This ambassador is our envoy to Rome, James Clement Dunn, whom Mrs. McCormick cited in this space for his successful aid in bringing about the defeat of the Communists in the Italian elections. His part in the peninsular roughhouse, undertaken as competently as the conventional diplomacy he has otherwise pursued, will probably not spoil the jests about our foreign service. But the State Department is proud of Mr. Dunn. To him its officials attribute perfect handling of the American interest.

Mr. Dunn's ceaseless activity since the threat of Communist domination of Italy became public and active has been to prove that the United States was not trying to get anything out of Italy; that, on the contrary, the United States wanted only to make clear the alternative hefore the Italian electors. This, he emphasized, was freedom to achieve true national independence and recovery, with the aid of this country, or acceptance of Communist governing forms at home, Soviet foreign policy abroad and the police state pattern. . . .

But this was only a part of Mr. Dunn's effective activity. He was consulted on, and initiated some of, the practical moves in policy by which the United States government put on the defensive the Italian Communists and their preceptors in Belgrade and Moscow. Illustrations of these moves are the supplemental interim aid voted by Congress, the release of \$1 billion in ERP funds before the full appropriation could be authorized and the three-power proposal that Trieste be returned to Italy.

The struggle for the Italian mind involved power politics, ward politics, diplomacy and other strong instruments of persuasion, and Mr. Dunn directed the local application of them all. He was tireless in combating the Communist propaganda that justifies any means, including total perversion of facts, to attain its ends. He met every ship from the United States that came with a relief cargo to dramatize the fact that Russia promised but America gave. He made innumerable speeches without blundering once. And a blunder might have canceled much of the good-will value of the vast sum consigned for Italian relief and recovery.

Yet while the ambassador was in the State Department he was a frequent target for those who almost invariably write or say that our foreign service is largely composed of elegant witlings, with whom striped pants, spats and graceful attendance at cocktail parties are major considerations. . . .

Some of these critics, observing at first hand his work in Italy, have made public amends to Mr. Dunn. But more than this and recognition of his achievement will be required before the American public rejects the legend that our career men are dubs in diplomacy and that Will Rogers uttered a cosmic truth when he said this nation "never lost a war or won a conference."

CHALLENGE AND THE RESPONSE

From an editorial in the San Francisco Chronicle, April 19, 1948

themselves as the jury before which each of these pleaders (branches of the Armed Services) comes to argue his special case. As with any jury, it is the profound obligation of Congress and the public to sift the demonstrable from the merely plausible, to collate and integrate the evidence thus distilled, and render a verdict which promises the hest system of national security. Obviously this requires prompt recognition of the fact that no such simple bill of goods as any one pleader sets forth is the whole answer.

An adequate military organization can only be arrived at by determining the scope of our commitments, current and future, and the composition of the external menace. This conclusion will obviously take due account of the expert testimony of heads of the armed forces. But it must also take due account of the testimony of the State Department's experts, who are currently serving as our first line of defense. They are the men serving out on the far-flung frontiers of our commitments, implementing the day-to-day course of our foreign policy, gauging the progress and estimating the temper, if not the power, of the opposition. These men have, just now, the ticklish assignment of carrying out a policy that has us living diplomatically well beyond our military means. From a comparison of their testimony, with the testimony of the men of the armed forces, the lawmakers-Congress-can determine the breadth of the gap between our strength and our commitments, and decide what is to be done. . . .

MARRIAGES

MATTISON-McCOWN. Miss Dorothy Beatrice McCown and FSO Gordon H. Mattison were married on April 14. 1948 in Berkeley, California. Mr. Mattison is Assistant Chief of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs.

MORRIS-DOWNES. Miss Margaret Ellen Downes and FSO Brewster H. Morris were married on April 26, 1948 in London. Mr. Morris is on the staff of the U. S. Political Adviser in Berlin.

OWSLEY-WHITAKER. Mrs. Elizabeth Jones Whitaker and FSO Charles Henry Owsley were married on May 14, 1948 in Bern where Mr. Owsley is Second Secretary.

HOARE-KEMP. Miss Janet Kemp and Mr. Joseph McCormick Hoare were married on May 25, 1948, in Washington, D. C. Mrs. Hoare is the daughter of retired FSO and Mrs. Edwin Carl Kemp.

LYON-WILSON. Miss Nancy Otis Wilson and FSO Scott Calvin Lyon were married on June 5 in Westbrook, Conn. Mr. Lyon is assigned as Second Secretary to Moscow.

The Journal's Guest Editor

Max Lerner of PM

One of the truest—and most challenging—things that has been said in our time about America was said by a young African, Mbonu Ojiki. "Every man," he writes, "has two countries—his own and America." This sentence shows how deeply the power and reach of American life have touched people on the outermost edges of western civilization, how deeply their emotions have become engaged, and how much would be lost if the greatness of America were lost.

The greatness of America does not rest on its power, but on the ways in which its power is used. It can be used arrogantly and narrowly, or it can be used generously and creatively.

There have been Great Powers before in the world's history which once occupied the position of leadership which is now America's. One thinks of Rome under the late republic, of the French in their heyday, of Britain hefore World War I: Americans can learn much by studying the story of rise and decline in the case of each of these great world powers. In each case there was an effort to build up imperial power as a substitute for world unity and world authority. Americans can also learn by studying-as the framers of our Constitution studied intensively-the experience of the Delian League and the Achaean Confederacy in Greck history. The lesson, as Hamilton and Madison well knew, is that power must he used for unity, and in timebefore the forces of chaos and disintegration set in. The greatness of America is not a greatness to be used against any people or hloc of peoples. It is a greatness to be used for the world as a whole, in the interest of world peace and of a world authority resting on the common base of all peoples.

The program embodied in the European Recovery Program marks a new phase in world diplomatic history. In its basic conception it is an act of generosity and an effort of constructiveness unexampled in world affairs. It rests on the sound premise that the essence of democracy is the capacity to make free political choices, and that hungry men cannot make free choices. It attacks the root causes of world chaos: poverty, low living-standards, technological breakdown due to the disruptions of war. America, as the richest and most

powerful economy in the world, has assumed the burdens of world leadership on the level of economic reconstruction.

This new direction of policy requires a new conception of the nature of American foreign services to keep pace with it. Those who serve American policy and greatness abroad cannot assume the role of modern Roman pro-consuls. The American Foreign Service officer at his best has to be at home in the realm of economics as well as of administration; he must know about ideas and their influence as well as about trade and diplomacy. Most of all, he must know what it is that moves men in their passions and actions, and what are the springs of human conduct.

The great temptation in this era will he the temptation to judge the world by American standards. We must guard against it. America has developed its own economic and political institutions, and they have served in turn to bring us to our present position. But it would be an act of moral imperialism to seek to impose these institutions upon others.

Let me put it this way: There is more than one brand of freedom possible in the tradition of the western world. The European peoples who form the component parts of the European Recovery Plan have been through a history different from ours, and have a different economic and political psychology. In Britain, in France and Italy, in the Benelux countries, in the Scandinavian countries, there are forms of government regulation and control that are different from ours. But the crucial fact about these peoples is their effort to carry on their experiments within the framework of democracy and freedom. The semi-socialized democracy of Britain, for example, is no less a democracy because of the fact of socialization. The stress on cooperative action in the Scandinavian countries is part of their "middle way' that has made them social pioneers. The crucial thing that the history of Europe is proving is that collective action need not be totalitarian. If the basic tradition of a people is democratic, and if the will to maintain democracy is there, then democracy for that people can be saved and continued under new economic forms.

The glory and greatness of America in the past has been that the American mind has never been closed. We have a chance to continue that glory and greatness.



Max Lerner

MAX LERNER: author, editor, journalist, was educated in literature and law at Yale, and economics and politics at the Robert Brookings Graduate School of Economics and Government, in Washington, D. C.

At 45, he already has behind him 21 years during which he has alternated between teaching and journalism. He has taught at Sarah Lawrence College, Harvard, and most recently at Williams College. He has been editor of *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, and is now Editorial Director of the Newspaper PM, where his articles have broken new ground in editorial writing.

His book, It Is Later Than You Think, (1938, with a revised edition in 1943) gave currency to that often-repeated phrase, and created the term "democratic collectivism." The title of his second book, Ideas Are Weapons, has also become a battle-cry among American writers. This was followed by Ideas for the Ice Age in 1941, and The Mind and Faith of Justic Holmes, 1943. His latest book is Public Journal, released in 1945 by Viking Press.



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THOMAS CAMPBELL WASSON

The Memorial plaque at the entrance of Old State perpetuates the names of those members of the Foreign Service who while on active duty lost their lives under tragic or heroic circumstances." No more tragic or heroic circumstances could be devised than those under which Tom Wasson met his death while serving as Consul General at Jerusalem.

The dangers in the Palestine assignment were only too apparent when Tom was offered the post. With full realization of the hazards involved, he promptly accepted the challenge as loyally as any soldier answering the call to battle. That he should be struck down by a sniper's bullet within a few weeks after his arrival made the tragedy all the more poignant and the heroic qualities of his character all the more evident.

It was not the first time that Tom Wasson had been under fire. Shortly after assuming charge of the Consulate at Dakar during the War, he went through the siege of that city by British and Free French forces. At great personal



risk he rode through the streets on his bicycle to keep the Department fully informed by telegram of the bombardment. The courage, coolness, and ability he displayed on that occasion contributed largely to the Department's decision to send him to Jerusalem. There was no question in anyone's mind that he could be depended upon in times of greatest stress and danger.

Tom not only fulfilled the confidence placed in him by his own Government but at his death was serving equally the high objectives of the United Nations. As U. S. representative on the three-man Truce Commission of the Security Council, he received his fatal wound while returning from one of the meetings of that body seeking to arrange a cessation of hostilities. His sacrifice was above that of countryit was a contribution to the world as well.

To those who knew him, Tom will remain the embodiment of quiet modesty, of loyalty, of unfailing good humor and evenness of temper. He never flinched from a task, no matter how long or arduous or what physical discomfort might have been involved. Sincere in his friendships, conscientious in his work, unassailable in his integrity, he was held in affectionate esteem by all those with whom he came in contact, foreigner or fellow-citizen alike.

As a Foreign Service Officer, Tom Wasson made a record of which every American can be proud. Underneath his unassuming manner lay those sterling traits of character which bespeak the best traditions of public service. In fitting recognition of the services he performed at the strategic outpost of Dakar he was awarded the Medal of Freedom. But for his role in the tragic developments in Palestine, the JOURNAL believes he deserves the highest tribute this Government can bestow-at least the equivalent of a Congressional medal of honor.

Although he would have been the last to suggest it, one may also hope that the example of his career may not be lost upon those whose habit it is to ridicule everything connected with the American Foreign Service. Such critics must find it hard to reconcile with their favorite portrait of a dilettante the selfless patriotism of a diplomat who in line of duty goes to his post knowing full well that it may mean his doom.

For generations to come, the Service will find inspiration in the manner in which Tom Wasson met his end.

In Memoriam—Thomas C. Wasson

Consul General Thomas C. Wasson was seriously wounded by a sniper's bullet on May 21st while returning to the Consulate General at Jerusalem whose protection he had left in order to carry out duties as truce commissioner. He died the following day. Chief Machinist Mate Herbert M. Walker in the Naval Communications Unit of the Consulate General was also seriously wounded and died on May 23. Funeral services were held jointly for Mr. Wasson and Mr. Walker on May 24. Thomas Gannon, guard at the Consulate General, was also wounded but is reported to be recovering.

Secretary Marshall, upon learning that Mr. Wasson had been wounded sent the following telegram on May 22 to the Consulate General at Jerusalem:

"Please convey following message to Consul General Wasson: 'I am deeply grieved to learn that you have been wounded in carrying out the duties which this Government and the Security Council of UN have imposed upon you and hope for your speedy recovery.

"The courageous and able manner in which you and members of your staff under great personal danger have been representing this Government and have been endeavoring to bring about a cessation of bloodshed in Palestine is a credit to the US and the Foreign Service of the US."

"Please also convey to Gannon and Walker my sincere wishes for their speedy and complete recovery, and my appreciation of the heroism of Frety in rescuing his wounded colleagues and of the courageous conduct of Barreras.

"I wish also to commend the entire staff of the Consulate General for the courage, restraint and devotion to duty which it is displaying in an extremely difficult and hazardous situation."

Editorial from the New York Herald Tribune, May 24, 1948.

The death in the line of duty of Thomas C. Wasson, American Consul General at Jerusalem and American member of the United Nations Truce Committee, is a bitter illustration of the fact that nothing in this world, not even peacemaking, is easy. It is said that Mr. Wasson was chosen for the post at Jerusalem because of his demonstrated comhination of physical courage with high ability as a Foreign Service officer; the risks which the Truce Committee members were running had already been noted, and the tragic outcome in Mr. Wasson's case may bring home to his countryinen some sense of the kind of nerve and strength which are demanded of those who serve our diplomatic interests today, even when those interests are directed only toward peace and reason.

Mr. Wasson was already known to the pub-

lic as the American Consul General at Dakar in the darkest days of the Nazi occupation of France. It was a post, as is Jerusalem today, of danger and uncertainty, and of immense diplomatic and strategic importance. . . .

That was essentially a war task; at Jerusalem his duty was essentially one of peace. But he was a civilian official in the first as he was in the second; and the second demanded no less of ability and bravery than did the first. His career was very far indeed from the old notions of diplomatic officers as mere clerks and "cookie-pushers"; and his death is a reminder of what is really asked now of our abler Foreign Service representatives. Perhaps it will also be a reminder of what is demanded of a nation which seeks to grapple, from even the highest motives, with the grim facts of contemporary international life. The great ideals of peace and reason are excellent equipment. But they are no substitute for the risk and labor without which the best ideals can never be realized in fact.

Editorial from the New York Times, May 24, 1948.

Shot by a sniper's bullet while in mission of peace, Thomas Wasson, our Consul General in Jerusalem, gave his life

as devotedly as any soldier on the battle line. No man can give more to his country and the world.

Mr. Wasson was returning from a meeting seeking to arrange a United Nations truce between Arab and Israeli fighters when he received his fatal wound. . . . He had been repeatedly obliged to pass through dangerous cross-fire which sent two of our consulate guards to the hospital and a Navy radioman to his death. But in such a situation he was fearless. Much of his diplomatic career had been spent in the world's trouble spots, including Dakar during the German occupation of France.

Our State Department emissaries accumulate none of the glory or glamour of military men. . . . These quiet heroes are entitled to more credit than they ever receive. It should not take death to inscribe their names on our national roll of honor.



PRESENTATION OF MEDAL OF FREEDOM TO THOMAS C. WASSON—ATHENS—October 1947

Staff of the American Embassy, Athens, taken upon the presentation of the Medal of Freedom to Mr. Wasson: L. to r., front row: James H. Keeley, Mr. Wasson, Ambassador MacVeagh, H. Lawrence Groves and Horace H. Smith. The citation accompanying the award read as follows: "To Thomas C. Wasson, for exceptionally meritorious services as American Consul at Dakar. Mr. Wasson was sent to Dakar on the last American vessel to reach that port following the fall of France, in order to establish a Consulate and to investigate and report upon suspected German submarine activity. By his unfailing tact, patience and perseverance, Mr. Wasson was able to carry out his mission successfully and at the same time to maintain relations with the French authorities which proved of great value following the North African landings. Mr. Wasson's services during the critical political situation at Dakar were of such a nature as to contribute substantially to the successful prosecution of the war."

News from the Department

By JANE WILSON

Personals

FSO ROBERT W. RINDEN, assigned to Nanking, recently lent the Harvard University Fogg Art Museum for exhibition purposes three hand scrolls—one of the Sung period (960-1280 A.D.), one of the late Ming or early Ching period (roughly 1600-1650 A.D.), and one of the late Ching period. The latter is a collection of 16 sketches of flowers made by the Empress Dowager, Tz'u Hsi. On all but two of these sketches are comments written by the Empress Dowager's teacher of painting. While these sketches are not artistically important—historically they are quite interesting.

Vice Consul Frank Cussans spent leave in the U. S. in April. While in this country he was a witness at the naturalization of the wife of George Howe of the Staff Corps

of the Embassy in Paris.

EDWARD W. BEATTIE, JR. has been appointed head of the news operations of the State Department's International Broadcasting Division. Mr. Beattie, a veteran of 15 years of service with the United Press, assumed his duties with headquarters in New York (124 West 57th Street). He will direct all news operations for the broadcasts of the Voice of America.

Consul STEPHEN C. Worster, formerly at Merida, and other posts in Mexico, registered in the Department on April 23 en route to his new post at Valencia.

April 23 en route to his new post at Valencia.

DR. CLAIR WILCOX resigned on April 30 as Director of

the Office of International Trade Policy.

MISS MILDRED DEIKE left the end of May for her post at

Toronto where she has been appointed Administrative Assistant. She has spent many years doing Foreign Service personnel work in the Department, having started in the Department in 1917 and in 1923 with the old Diplomatic Bureau in the days when Mr. Hugh Wilson was chief. This Bureau became the Division of Foreign Service Personnel under Mr. Homer M. BYINGTON, and Miss Deike since that time has been continuously the Chief's "right hand man." Members of the Service will miss Miss Deike on their visits to the Department and to FP but will wish her well on her tour of duty in the field for which her wide experience in the Department well fits

Backgrounds of Foreign Service Officers

A survey has recently been completed of the backgrounds of 2,638 officers in the Foreign Service, including Ambassadors, Ministers, Foreign Service officers, Foreign Service Staff officers, and Foreign Service Reserve officers.

Of those surveyed, 17 percent do not have college degrees. Seventy-one percent have had previous business experience. Three hundred six were teachers, 171 were clerical workers, and 159 were writers (journalists, advertising men, etc.). Eighty-four have law degrees and 81 were salesmen. There are 19 graduate engineers, 16 chemists, and 5 aviators. Two officers in the group were actors. There is one former undertaker, one policeman, one gas station operator, and one truck driver.

A Vice Consul at Regina is a former city and rural mail carrier. A former Consul at San Salvador was once a park ranger. A Vice Consul at Milan, a Harvard graduate, was employed in the Canal Zone first as a chainman, then as truck driver and dispatcher. A Vice Consul at Brussels is a former service manager for R. H. Macy and Company, while a Commercial Attaché at Manila was chief supervisor of the Industrial Department of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

A total of 1,046 out of those surveyed are veterans, 748 of whom served in World War II, 295 in World War I, and three in the Spanish-American War. Twenty saw service in the last two wars and seventeen were in service in peacetime. In World War I, the ratio of enlisted men to officers was about even, but in World War II the enlisted men were out-

numbered better than two to one.

FSO Max W. Bishop was on April 23rd awarded the President's Certificate of Merit for distinguished services in connection with the occupation of Japan. Presentation was made by Major General Hobart R. Gay, Commanding Military District of Washington in his offices at the Pentagon. Mr. Bishop was cited for outstanding services from September 1945 to December 1946 as Counselor of the Mission of the Office of the Political Advisor to the Supreme Commander and Counselor to the United States Member of the Allied Council for Japan. Previous to his assignment in Japan, Mr. Bishop served as Political Advisor to the Deputy Supreme Allied Commander, Southeast Asia who also commanded the India-Burma Theater. For distinguished services in that assignment, he was decorated with the Medal for Freedom. The presentation ceremony was witnessed by former Ambassador Joseph F. McGurk, FSO George Scherer, and Mrs. Bishop. Left to right: Mr. Scherer, Mr. McGurk, Major General Gay, Mr. Bishop and Mrs. Bishop.

Veterans at Reykjavik

Charge d'Affaires WILLIAM C. TRIMBLE writes from Iceland:

"The Wireless Bulletin for April 14 carries an item to the effect that veterans held 44% of the Government jobs as of January 1, 1948. It may be of interest to you to know that of the fourteen American males now on duty at this Legation twelve, or 85.7%, are veterans of World War II. Moreover, the percentage would be raised to 93.7% by including the two representatives of the U. S. Army Claims Commission who are attached to the Mission, and by considering our radio operator, who was a civilian employee of the War Department in a combat zone, as an 'ex Gl'."

Civil Service Retirement System

The Programming and Administrative Branch of the Division of ForFSO Rodger P. Davies (extreme right) carries on a verbal and manual conversation with George Makdisi (third from left) a former resident of Halba, Akkar, Lebanon, in the Foreign Service Institute's Arabic language class in the Department. Others in the class are left to right: FSOs David Fritzlau, Dayton S. Mak, Milton C. Walstrom and David L. Gamon. The instrument on the table is a machine which records the students' Arabic conversations.



Photo by Duter

eign Service Personnel has furnished the JOURNAL with the following statement:

"Congress in February of this year passed a new Civil Service Retirement bill called the Langer-Chavez-Stevenson Act which affects all reserve, staff, and alien employees in the Foreign Service. The new Act, intended to liberalize the Federal retirement system, contains a number of important changes and new provisions.

"One of the most interesting features is the provision for survivor benefits. There are two types of survivor's annuities: one provides that married male employees may, at the time of retirement, elect to take a reduced annuity to provide for a survivor's annuity for his wife; the second permits an unmarried employee to take a reduced annuity to provide for a survivor's annuity for anyone having an insurable interest in the employee. The benefits under the Act also protect the widows and children of both annuitants and employees who die while in service.

"The new Act does not change the conditions in connection with age and optional retirement after certain periods of service, but now also provides an immediate annuity to employees who leave the Government involuntarily through no fault of their own after 25 years of service. If the employee is under 60, the annuity would be less than a full annuity in proportion to his age. The annuities of those already on the retirement rolls are increased by 25 percent, or \$300, whichever is less, or the retired person may instead of taking this increase, elect to provide a survivor's annuity for his wife

"Computation of annuity has been simplified so that any employee can easily determine his approximate annuity. For salaries up to \$5,000 this is done by taking 1 percent of the highest 5-year average salary and adding \$25, then multiplying by the number of years of service. When the average salary for the last five consecutive years of service is \$5,000 or more, $1\frac{1}{2}$ percent of that average is taken and multiplied by the total number years of service.

"Retirement deductions are increased to 6 percent effective on the beginning date of the first pay period after June 30, 1948. The 4 percent interest rate paid under the former law on the individual accounts of employees is reduced to 3 percent, but the \$1.00 a month tontine charge is retroactively repealed on separations occurring after April 1, 1948.

"It should be remembered that in regard to all annuities, balances, and benefits under both the old and the new laws, no payments are awarded automatically. Claims must be filed with the Civil Service Commission. More detailed explanation of the various changes is contained in a booklet issued by the Civil Service Commission, which has been sent in sufficient copies to all posts for distribution among all personnel concerned.

"The Civil Service Commission has already ruled, incidentally, that only the first wife of a Mohammedan will receive survivor benefits."

The President Suggests American Embassies Copy White House

The Washington Post recently carried a news item that President Truman has suggested that our embassies throughout the world ought to be built like the white House.

In this way, he explained, an American citizen visiting his embassy abroad "will see the home of the President in replica."

Mr. Truman threw out the idea at the White House as he received delegates to the third National Conference on Citizenship in Washington.

"Sometime I hope they may get that done," he added.

Course in Arabic

The Foreign Serivce Institute has launched a course in a real "toughie"—Arabic.

Five FSOs, selected from among those desiring to specialize in Near Eastern Affairs, are working eight hours a day with native speakers of Arabic, seeking to imitate and master the un-English sounds which some day they will use in communicating with the peoples of Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and other Arabic-speaking areas. In the course, which will last six months, the officers concentrate on the spoken language, with the objective of speaking Arabic as the Arab speaks it. By September it is expected that they will be well along in conversational Arabic and they should be able to carry on talks in the language, and make sense of what they hear in the streets of Damascus, Jidda, Baghdad or Cairo.

In this new course, the textbook is tossed out the window. Dr. Charles Ferguson, 26-year-old Philadelphian who super-

(Continued on page 37)

News From The Field

FIELD CORRESPONDENTS

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MEXICO, D.F.



Photo Courtesy Carl W. Strom

CONSULAR CONFERENCE, MEXICO CITY, APRIL 1948

Ist row: (L. to r.) Merwin L. Bohan, Counselor for Economic Affairs, Mexico City; M. L. Stafford, Con. Gen. (retiring), Mexico City; Charles M. Hulten, Deputy Asst. Secretary of State for Administration; Ambassador Thurston; Carl W. Strom, Con. Gen., Mexico City; P. J. Reveley, Acting Chief, Division of Mexican Affairs; Donald W. Smith, Deputy Director, Office of the Foreign Service. 2nd row: Henry T. Unverzagt, Con., Chihuahua; James E. Henderson, Con., Guadalajara; Lew B. Clark, Comm. Attaché, Mexico City; J. Albert Bush, Asst. Chief, FP. 3rd row: Horace H. Braun, Economic Analyst, Mexico City; Ben Zweig, Con., Nogales; Stephen E. Aguirre, Con., Ciudad Juarez; W. Clarke Vysc, Con., Agua Prieta; Harold B. Quarton, Con. Gen., Tampico; Charles F. Pick, Jr., Associate Chief, FA; Robert Jakes, Chief, Conrier Section, DC; Dorsey Fisher, First Secretary, Mevico City. 4th row: Abbey Schon, Sr. Economic Analyst, Mexico City; Edmund Becker, Dept. of Commerce; Waldo E. Bailey, Con., Tijuana; V. Harwood Blocker, Con., Nuevo Laredo; James P. Moffitt, Con. Gen., Monterrey; Peter Vischer, Special Asst. to the Director of the OFS; A. Cyril Crilley, Chief, FR; 5th row: Albert M. Doyle, Foreign Service Inspector; Philip Raine, Cultural Attaché, Mexico City; John A. Hopkins, Agr. Attaché, Mexico City; Warren C. Stewart, Con., Veracruz; Leslic Wheeler, Liaison Office (Agriculture), Dept. of State. 6th row: Stanley G. Slavens, Con., Torreon; Harold C. Wood, Con., Piedras Negras; Arthur V. Metcalfe, Vice Con., Mazatlán; George H. Zentz, Vice Con., Mexicali; F. R. Lineaweaver, Con., San Luis Potosi. 7th row: Gerald A. Mokma, Special Asst., CON; Dudley G. Singer, Attché, Mexico City; Alfred M. Barlow, Attaché, Mexico City; Herbert S. Weatherbee, FP; H. Claremont Moses, Con., Matamoros; Harry Tukel, First Secretary, Mexico City; Herbert S. Weatherbee, FP; H. Claremont Moses, Con., Matamoros; Harry Tukel, First Secretary, Mexico City; Herbert S. Weast, Vice Con., Mérida; William Cooke, Chief, Compliance Section, FR. 9th row: James Byi

BERN

A Benediction Ceremony attended by members of the Legation staff, of the Diplomatic Corps in Bern, and high-ranking Swiss Army officers was held recently at the American Military Cemetery at Munsingen, near Bern, Switzerland, prior to the disinterment of the bodies of 61 American flyers and the closing of the Cemetery by the American Graves Registration Command. Minister John Carter Vincent, at left on the podium, addressed the gathering.



BERN

May 10. 1948.

"Unattached" members of the Legation staff at Bern have recently been taking advantage of the opportunity provided by the newly organized Foreign Missions Club to meet with and come to know better their colleagues at the other Legations in the Swiss capital. The Foreign Missions Club grew from an original suggestion by members of the staff at the Canadian Legation, and, following several informal social evenings, the group organized formally and now boasts more than 150 active members, representing 25 different nationalities

The Club meets once mouthly and offers its advantages to all unmarried officers and staff members of every diplomatic mission in Bern. Past meetings have featured dancing, movies and songfests, supplemented by huffet snacks and liquid refreshment. Minister and Mrs. John Carter Vincent hosted the group at a recent session.

Future plans of the Club call for various excursions during the summer, including a weekend trip to Liechtenstein. Miss Bee von Allmen and Bill Abert represent the American members on the executive committee of the organization, while Second Secretary Charles H. Owsley is active in an advisory capacity.

RUTH MADSEN.

REYKJAVIK

May 6, 1948.

On Friday, April 23, Richard P. Butrick, newly accredited Minister to the Government of Iceland, arrived at Keflavik Airport where he was met by William C. Trimble, Charge d'Affaires ad interim, Mrs. Trimble, FSO Kenneth A. Byrns, Mrs. Byrns, and Mr. Agnar Kl. Jonsson, Secretary General of the Iceland Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

A cocktail and buffet party was given the same evening in honor of Minister Butrick's arrival by Mr. and Mrs. Trimble to which all the members of the Legation's Staff were invited. The occasion enabled Minister Butrick to make the acquaintance of all the members.

On April 26, in the Presidential Mansion (Bessastader) situated five miles from Rekyjavik, the capital, Minister Butrick presented his credentials to Mr. Sveinn Bjornsson, the President of Iceland. There followed an informal luncheon at which Mrs. Bjornsson, Foreign Minister Bjarni Benediktsson, Mr. Agnar Kl. Jonsson, and members of the American Legation were present.

The Staff extends a warm welcome to Minister Butrick for a pleasant sejour in Iceland.

WILLIAM S. KRASON.

(Continued on page 38)



BOGOTÁ

American Embassy Building, corner Carrera 9 and Calle 12, showing damage by fire to first floor stores during the recent revolution.

Photo by Vice Consul Jean Wilkowski

The Bookshelf

FRANCIS C. DE WOLF, Review Editor

Democracy and Progress. By David McCord Wright.

The Macmillan Company, New York, 1948. 220 pages.

\$3.50

It is becoming as common to find writers on social and political subjects cutting across accepted party lines as it was a decade ago to find them taking a "straight" doctrinaire position. Although Mr. Wright presents here an appeal for the capitalist system and for competitive democracy, he cannot fairly be classed as a purely neo-classic economist. He is, however, in the classical tradition and he embellishes the dogmas of yesterday, which have become tarnished in recent years, with a convincing lustre of original thinking.

Perhaps it is inaccurate to speak of originality in this field since the ideas of a generation seem to move more or less in concert, changing and deviating only when some crisis, such as war or depression, awakens the need for fresh criticism. "Democracy and progress," as has been implied, is primarily concerned with economic analysis but, in the earlier chapters at least, it moves into the sphere of general social philosophy and it is in these chapters that the most provocative thinking occurs.

There is a particular challenge for those who, through some semantic error, have been called "liberals" and those concepts, if applied logically, always appear to presuppose a static society. If there is one idea of which Mr. Wright is more convinced than any other it is that democracy means a continuous growth, ergo, change. "Creation of a living democracy must always be 'unfinished business'." The ideal of peace, in the sense of absence of conflict, is akin to stagnation and the attempt to stabilize a situation, no matter how altruistically it is phrased, is usually an attempt to protect some vested interest. The author has no defenses for such interests whether they belong to the capitalist or the labor union.

For several years there has been an insidious growth of sentiment for "security," and far too often the notion has taken hold of popular thought that the state can and should somehow "guarantee" protection from virtually every ill which has beset mankind. It is fascinating philosophy for the lethargic and for those with a low sense of public obligation, fascinating and therefore dangerous. This book will offer little comfort to such people. "Modern thinking," says Mr. Wright, "is perpetually confused by a tendency to consider democratic government as an automatic cure for our problems rather than an additional problem in itself." His thesis is that democratic society must afford relative security while retaining creativeness and freedom.

The style is lucid but otherwise undistinguished. It is best when the writer's gentle objectivity is forced aside by some strong conviction as in his disparagement of strict equality, the protective tariff and the modern obsession with "planning." However one may differ with him on individual matters, one must in honesty admit that Mr. Wright is groping conscientiously toward an intelligent conservatism which will be acceptable to contemporary minds.

H. GIFFORD IRION

The Problem of Germany. by Hoyt Price and Carl E. Schorske, with an introduction by Allen W. Dulles, published by the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc., New York City; 1947; 161 pages, \$2.00.

Stating firmly that the goal of rebuilding German democracy can be achieved only in an atmosphere of international compromise, the PROBLEM OF GERMANY by Hoyt Price and Carl E. Schorske outlines clearly and concisely the cold true facts of our current problem of reinstating Germany to her rightful place in the economy of Europe.

The central questions with which the book deals concern the necessary conditions for economic recovery and the prospects for building a peacefully inclined, democratic Germany. Part I, by Hoyt Pricc, an economist on the staff of Ambassador Robert Murphy deals with the economic aspects including problems of increasing food, raw materials, labor, industry, a means of currency reform, and the international control of the Ruhr. Part Two, by Carl Schorske, Assistant Professor of History at Wesleyan University, takes up the social and cultural aspects, such as the background leading up to the conflict of Nationalism and Democracy, the present state of social classes and political parties, religious and intellectual trends and the means for development of a democratic Germany.

According to Mr. Price, increasing the food supply is the most important immediate problem in Germany today and the only cure for increasing the productivity of the individual worker. A vicious circle keeps production at a low level with insufficient food leading to a low coal production which in turn is responsible for a low level activity in the basic industries. Without increased production in secondary industries there can be no increase in production of consumer goods for domestic use or export. The utilization of wasteland, forests and military land might increase agricultural production, an other possibility would he the substitution of mechanical for animal power, for by reducing the areas devoted to feed grains they could be converted to food grains. Germany, he pointed out, may be considered as a huge workshop largely dependent upon imports of raw materials which it processes and re-exports and its import needs are set by the rate at which the workshop operates. Since shortages of raw materials are a serious handicap to German recovery, they will have to be furnished from abroad against the promise of future repayment from the export of German manufacture. By this foreign trade expansion Germany would become increasingly dependent with respect to food and raw materials and hence increasingly vulnerable in case of war.

The low level of industrial production, he explained, is caused by inadequate supplies of food, coal and other raw materials rather than by lack of industrial capacity. Disarmament accomplished by de-industrialization is costly and will damage not only Germany but also European reconstruction and in the long run—the world's economy. Furthermore, economic disarmament cannot by itself provide security against a revival of German aggression but with additional effective controls de-industrialization will be unnecessary. An oversupply of currency is another major cause of German economic stagnation. With the present excess of money over goods reducing the incentive to work, the need for a stable currency is urgent. Mr. Price also

highly recommended international control of the Ruhr stating that the best safeguard against its concentrated industrial power would be the elimination of certain war industries in all Germany reinforced by continuous inspection by agents of Allied governments of the final uses of iron and steel products.

The present social and political side of Germany as covered by Mr. Schorske points out that although the behaviour of the two existing parties has contributed to the re-enforcement of traditional anti-democratic attitudes, they still remain the most important force through which to establish democracy. However, political parties alone cannot spread the democratic idea, it remains for the Churches, the Universities and the independent intelligentsia to contribute also. The alternative to international compromise, Mr. Schorske warned, is a further deterioration of inter-Allied relations in which two undemocratic Germanies will be the instruments of our mutual destruction.

CAROL PRAY RYAN.

Revolution Before Breakfast, Argentina 1941-1946, by Ruth and Leonard Greenup. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1947. XIII, 266 pages. \$4.00.

While one might infer from the title of this book that it dealt with revolutions so casually that they were taken in stride like a stroll in the morning air before breakfast, as a matter of fact after giving a few pages to the Argentine revolution of 1943, we hear no more about revolutions, either before or after breakfast. The purpose of the auauthors is to tell ahout life in Argentina, which they do in a pleasant, engaging manner.

The book divides easily into two subjects, first, what Argentina and Argentines are like and, second, a political history of Argentina since the 1943 revolution with special emphasis on the man who emerged from that revolution, Juan Domingo Perón.

As Americans working for a small English language newspaper in Buenos Aires, the authors had an excellent opportunity to see and to know Argentina during three years, 1942-45, when the country was in an interesting ferment of internal change amounting perhaps to a social revolution while at the same time it was a battleground for opposing ideas and emotions called forth by the world war going on outside its borders.

This is a readable book and the authors have a journalistic eye for interesting detail while they also have the journalistic tendency to over-emphasize and over-simplify. They give a good idea of Argentine points of view and customs but the picture is far from being an integrated one. They are not trying to be profound and are more interested in finding out where Argentines resemble or differ from Americans. This makes good reading and also makes some good points. The reader would not know Argentines merely from reading this book but in spite of the fact that the book overemphasizes some aspects of Argentine life and character, the reader will get a fairly good idea of what life in Argentina was like during the war.

The chapters dealing with contemporary history and the rise of Perón are written in a clear straightforward style hut not entirely from a detached viewpoint. Occasionally things are set down as facts which are more matters of opinion. If this is a weakness of journalistic style, it also allows the authors to make a readable and understandable picture without losing the interest of the reader.

In short, if one is looking for an interesting sketch of a people and a period, he will find it here but he will not find a complete or profound picture.

JOHN ORDWAY.

America's Destiny. By Herman Finer. New York, 1947, Macmillan Company, 401 pages. \$5.00.

Herman Finer, British scholar and lecturer presently at the University of Chicago, has written a book which is both an analysis of the present world political situation, a scolding addressed to Americans generally, and an exhortation to them to assume the responsibility of maintaining stability and order in the world. The United States, he holds, must take over from Britain its former position in world politics.

Finer holds that while the "liquidation of the British Empire" must eventually come, every British Cabinet will try to slow down the process for the simple reason that Britain's economic existence depends on her access to the rest of the world. Britain could accede to the process of liquidation only "if she were certain that the rest of the world was free and secure for the lawful going and coming of her ships and planes, that no place would eject her from trade, . . . and if the policy of the 'open door' to all raw materials and investment were uninterruptedly available."

Finer's attitude toward the Soviet Union is severely pessimistic. A socialist himself, he approves much of the Soviet program of domestic industrialization, but feels that in most other respects the ruling group at Moscow has hetrayed the cause of the Russian common man.

Finer analyses the origins of war and concludes that while the apparent causes of war are many and varied, ranging from economic chaos to mere desire for adventure on the part of a dictator, nevertheless the primary cause is nationalism. He stresses a distinction between nationalism and sovereignty; the former involves the existence of a community, loyalty to which is a deep-rooted instinct of its members; the latter is merely a result of nationalism, a political manifestation of the primacy of that loyalty which most men feel for their national community. Men look to their national culture for their social identity—"It is in their nation that men have sought salvation and immortality. Its standards are theirs; . . . its honors and disgraces inevitably . . . must be theirs to seek."

The maintenance of peace today depends on one or more of the following:

- 1. "Humanity"—the placing of universal brotherhood above national interest.
- 2. "Prudence"—a sober calculation of the risks and costs of war.
- 3. "Bribes of material advantage."
- 4. "Fear."

The author sadly dismisses humanity and prudence as deterrents to war at least in the near future. He believes that economic assistance (which he caustically describes as "brihes") in the form of gifts, loans, and tariff concessions from wealthy to poor nations "may help" maintain peace, but he shows no greater optimism. Fear, however,—and he refers to personal fear of injury or death—is a fairly strong deterrent to war; yet, particularly in the case of a non-democratic state, the fear among the masses would have to be widespread and strong before it would deter their rulers from launching a war. As will be seen from the foregoing, Finer's analyses are harsh, his conclusions far from optimistic.

This book is 'sharply critical of the United States, it apparently being Finer's impression that while we have the best of intentions, we have much to learn from others, particularly the British.

This is the type of book which combines genuine scholarship with a popular literary style, appealing both to the specialist in international relations and to the general reader.

Our Retired Officers

The Editors of the Journal believe that our readers are keenly interested in the whereabouts and activities of former members of the Service. Retired Foreign Service officers are being invited by letter (several each month) to send in for publication a brief description of their present dwelling place and occupation, with whatever details as to hobbies and future plans they may care to furnish. It is hoped in this way the widely separated members of the American Foreign Service Association may keep in touch with one another and preserve the common ties which unite them.

From Francis R. Stewart

14 Burbury Lane Great Neck, N. Y. April 28, 1948

I appreciate your letter of April 21, 1948, and wish my reply could be as interesting as those you have received and published hitherto. My story is not very exciting.

published hitherto. My story is not very exciting.

Prior to March 1, 1939, my favorite theme song was "Wherever I hang by hat is home sweet home to me." On the date mentioned I awoke to the fact that I had no place to hang my hat, no place to call my home.

After four months on the French Riviera, seeking a cure for the illness that caused my earlier retirement, my wife and I decided that after a visit to the United States we would return and establish our permanent home, and to this end we stored all our possessions in Genoa. The war came and a new location had to be selected.

Health and circumstances required an early decision so we took a two years' lease on a house in a new development in Manhasset, on Long Island's North Shore, as a temporary measure while we looked around. In January 1941 we motored to California thinking we might find the answer to our problem there but in the end decided it was too far away from everything. When our lease expired we started to have a look at Florida and points between and got as far as Coral Gables, which we found so attractive that we concluded it was not necessary to look farther; we could settle down. Unfortunately the hot summer months brought a recurrence of the illness that almost put me out in Vera Cruz and Santiago de Cuba, so we sold our place in December 1943 and renewed our search.

Spending the summers in the North and the winters in Florida, at last, in July 1945, we found our present home at 14 Burbury Lane, in Great Neck. I enclose a snap-shot to show you what it looks like. It took some dickering to acquire it because, as you probably have surmised, it was not constructed for use as a dwelling. We are the first occupants. Neither George Washington nor anyone else ever slept here. Originally a Community Club House, alterations have given us a home that has individuality without and comfort within. Because of my wife's heart condition and

high blood pressure we wanted a one-floor residence, not easy to find except in an apartment house. Here we have all the conveniences of a bungalow or Ranch House. Here we spend the months from April to December, when we return to Florida to escape the Winter's ice and snow. In short, we follow the sun.

We like Great Neck although we begin to realize we did not pick the cheapest place in the United States to live in. We have many old and good friends living on Losg Island within easy and short driving distances and we are close enough to New York to make it convenient for friends from afar to visit us when they are there. Some of our friends in the service already have come to Great Neck and we hope this letter, if published, will bring others to see us. Always there is a hearty welcome awaiting.

Personally, I keep pretty well, finding sufficient exercise (some may call it work) in our garden and around the house to keep me fit. I have no other hobby. In Florida I do some fishing.

FRANCIS R. STEWART.

From G. Howland Shaw

2723 N Street, N. W. Washington 7, D. C. May 12, 1948

Since my retirement from the Foreign Service late in 1944 my work has been in four closely interrelated fields: prevention and control of juvenile delinquency, community organization in urban slum areas, race relations and Catholic Action. To be more specific I am on the board and a member of the parole committee of three training schools for delinquent boys. I work with from fifteen to twenty-five boys from such schools. Some of them have made good, and some have gone on to reformatories and penitentiaries. This is by all odds the most important and the most interesting part of my work and I wish I could devote all my time to it.

A lot of time, however, has to be given to other activities. I am President of the Welfare Council of New York City, Chairman of the National Conference for the Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency and a member of the board of Boys' Clubs, Settlement Houses, Mental Hygiene organizations, etc. In the past year I have been actively concerned with the boy gangs problem in Central Harlem, the Puerto Rican problem in New York and the Mexican problem in Los Angeles. The gang problem in New York has been one of my principal interests. I am Chairman of the Welfare Council's Committee on Street Clubs which has set up a

project which promises to have far reaching effects in handling this particular kind of boy, and I have been an honorary member of a couple of gangs.

I live in Washington where I own a house, but I am away in New York, Chicago and other cities about half the time. I am blessed with a great number of good friends of all ages, kinds and conditions and from all over the country. I work hard every day, never take

(Continued on page 28)



Home of retired FSO Francis R. Stewart at 14 Burbury Lane, Great Neck, New York.

Service Glimpses







Thanksgiving Dinner held nt the Consulate General (combined qunrters) Lahore, 1947. Ist row, kneeling, l. to r.: Rev. W. A. Zoerner; Mr. Irving Sylvia; FSS Wm. Knowlson from Kabul; Mrs. F. B. Lewellyn. 2nd raw, standing: Miss W. H. Porter; Mrs. C. D. Stuntz; Miss Ida L. May; Miss Thoburn; Mrs. Davidson (seated); Rev. F. B. Lewellyn. 3rd row, standing: Rev. C. B. Stuntz; Rev. Ross Wilson; Mr. J. M. Benade; Mrs. Merle Gatewood; Consul R. D. Gatewood; Mrs. C. H. Rice; Miss A. H. Greigson; Mrs. Geo. Parker; Mrs. Ross Wilson, Major Davidson. 4th row, standing: Mr. Geo. Parker; Dr. Wm. Everade; Second Secretnry Paul A. Paddock, Kabul; Mr. R. Wilkinson; Miss McNair, Mrs. J. M. Bennde; Rev. S. L. Sheets; Consul Merritt N. Cootes; Mrs. J. B. Sproull; Rev. W. C. Thoburn; Dr. J. L. Manry. Last row (against flag): Rev. E. P. Wilder; Mr. P. Carter Speers; Dr. J. B. Sproull; Vice-Consul Charles W. Booth: Rev. Wm. Haltzer.



Staff of the American Consulate, Liverpool, February 6, 1948. Front row, l. to r.: E. Price, M. E. Volz, S. B. Vaughan, C. P. Kuykendnll, R. L. Lowry, G. Heuston, B. Scott. Center row: E. Rodgers, K. Nickson, F. Ingram, L. Ashplant, C. Langdon, G. Fryeurson, J. Pickens. Back row: A. Booth. M. Hughes, J. Adams, J. Rimmer, A. Taylor, T. Steel, R. Beaman.



Wedding party following marriage in Brussels of Edward H. Brown of the Staff Corps, and Miss Lucienne Rels, af Brussels, on April 10 at Maison Communale, Woluwe Saint Lambert. L. to r., back row: Vice Consul O. W. Fredrickson, Mrs. De Rom, Roger Rels (the bride's brother), Mrs. Fredrickson. Front row: Mrs. Rels (the bride's mother), Mr. and Mrs. Brown, and Mr. De Rom, who gave the bride awnv.

Our Retired Officers

(Continued from page 26)

a vacation and am never bored although given the nature of my work there are, of course, tough and discouraging spells.

G. HOWLAND SHAW.

From Ralph J. Totten

2800 Ontario Road, N. W. Washington 9, D. C. April 30, 1948.

Many of my old friends in the service will remember that I was a pretty active man in the old days. I was keenly interested in hunting of all kinds, but especially in the big, dangerous game of Africa. My total bag includes four lions, rhinos, buffaloes, moose, bear and many other trophies. I was also very fond of fishing, golf, riding, swimming and

almost all forms of out-door sports.

But in 1936 I had a particularly severe attack of coronary thrombosis, which made it necessary for me to give up all of my strenuous, open-air avocations, and forced me to retire six years before my time. If I'd had no other real interests I feel sure that I'd have simply folded up and died, of boredom if nothing else, but fortunately for me I was lucky enough to have other, less physically trying hobbies, which kept me busy and happy, and helped me through the long months of living slowly that are imperative if one hopes to win in the battle with the insidious blood clot.

I had always been interested in painting and general art work, so as soon as the doctor's decision became final that I had to get out of harness, I took an apartment here in Washington which had a large, extra room, with good light, and set up a kind of studio for painting, etching and the

making of the various kinds of prints.

During the years since retirement I have worked pretty seriously at it, putting in most of my mornings in the studio and I've had a fair amount of success, which has kept me interested and keen. I've had one-man shows in Washington, Baltimore, Nashville and Birmingham. I have won first prize in oils in two fairly important exhibitions, and have won two "honorable mentions" in other shows.

In my afternoons I do a little writing, mostly hunting and fishing stories for the sporting magazines from my own fairly large experience, illustrated by photographs taken at

the time, and etchings made from memory.

In the meantime by obeying the doctor's orders and taking things easily for a very long time, the old blood clot has completely absorbed, and bit by bit I have been able to resume many of my former, more active pastimes. Duck shooting, from a blind; sora rail shooting, from a punt; moose and bear hunting, from a canoe; and even a little trout fishing on lovely, mountain streams, are once more a part of my life. On the first day of last October I killed a fine bull moose in northern Quebec, and that first day of October happened also to be my seventicth birthday.

I still have a lot of pictures to be painted, etchings to be made, fish to be caught, and shooting trips to be got out of my system. Of course one's strength and recuperative powers are not what they once were, but with care and a little luck I'll get some of them done, but even if I don't I shall

have had a grand time trying.

RALPH J. TOTTEN.

From Rollin R. Winslow

Rms. 14-15-16 Shepard & Benning Bldg. St. Joseph, Mich. May 5, 1948

I thank you for your letter of April 29, 1948, and welcome the opportunity of addressing my friends in the Service through the columns of the JOURNAL.

In applying for retirement in 1944, I was faced with a serious problem as I could not expect to support my wife and four children on minimum retirement pay. Though I had been admitted to the Michigan Bar in 1920, the possibility of making a living as an Attorncy seemed remote because one can forget much in twenty-four years.

The next question was; where to settle? After long years abroad I was out of touch with American life and its keen competition. I thought of Washington, D. C., or nearby Virginia or Maryland, but these were too close to the throne. I did not wish to be in the pathetic position of living too much in the past and of looking eagerly for stray crumbs to fall from the table of the powers so I decided to make a clean break and settle in the place of my birth, though I supposed few contacts were left there after thirty years of absence.

This was the wisest decision I could have made. The contacts were more numerous than I had supposed and I was fortunate in becoming associated for two years with one of the best trial lawyers in the County. Then, with some of the cobwebs swept away, I launched out for myself. Though I am not getting rich, I am making a good living and never was happier. I can now read the JOURNAL without suffering any pangs of nostalgia and would not voluntarily return to the Service on any consideration. As a matter of fact, I feel a genuine sympathy for my former associates in the Service since long experience in the foreign field appears to pay small dividends. I visited the Department once following one of the numerous "reorganizations," and found some of my friends had the "jitters." As there have been two "reorganizations" since then, I assume that those few who remain must now have a genuinely "hunted" look.

Perhaps I am wrong, but looking at the Service from a distance, it seems to me that a condition precedent to an efficient and courageous service is security. Most of the criticism against the Department has heen on the basis of policy such, for instance, as the vascillating and un-American policy as regards Palestine but, when the inevitable "reorganization" comes, the FSOs and the lesser lights in the Department appear to suffer while those who shaped the policy are sent as Ambassadors to some place or other.

The first serious attack on the essential security of the Service was made in the 1930s when political appointees, such as Commercial Attachés, Agricultural Attachés, et cetera, were taken into the Service wholesale at grades corresponding to their salaries with the inevitable result that men who had devoted their lives to a career awoke to find men with only two or three years of service, many grades above them. Later the Department did the same thing on a much bigger scale. The great incentive was gone, and now the Department, if it sees fit, can appoint a man to the rank of Consul General who has had little if any experience behind him whereas in the past men would slave for years with that goal in view.

Even more tragic to me is the so-called non-career service where a lifetime of efficient service is given even less reward or consideration.

Well, a Consul General once told me that I would have gone much further in the Service if I had not "put my neck out" so often, so you see you can't teach an old dog new tricks. However, as I see it, so long as the Service has no security nohody will put their "necks out" and when no "necks" are out there is no moral courage and where there is no moral courage there is no truly efficient service.

ROLLIN R. WINSLOW.



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Note: Chiefs of Mission, FSOs, FSRs on active duty and FSS Corps, Classes 12 to 1, inclusive, are eligible for Active membership. Former active members, personnel of the Department of State, FSS Corps other than Class 12 to 1, inclusive, are eligible for Associate membership.

It is my understanding that this membership will include a concurrent subscription to the AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL. It is my further understanding that renewal dues are payable prior to July 1 each year.

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NOTICE TO MEMBERS

Members of the Association will soon receive notices covering dues for the fiscal year 1948-49. The Association is doing its utmost to bring its affairs, so far as may be possible, to a strict fiscal year basis and members are earnestly requested to give prompt attention to the payment of dues on receipt of notice so that arrears may not accumulate.

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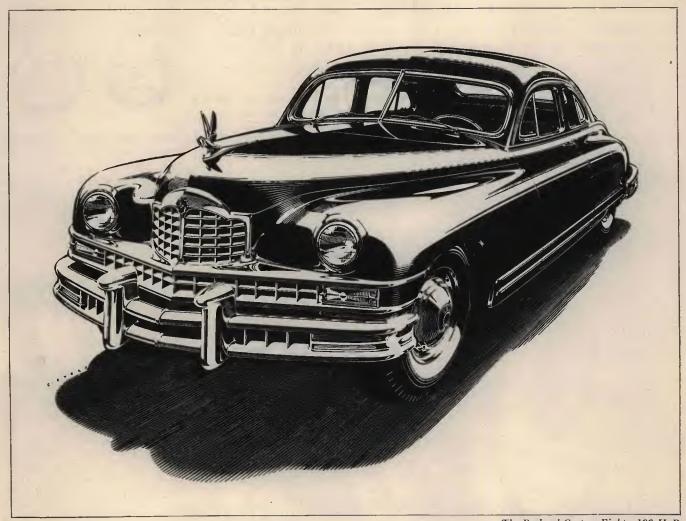
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ASK THE MAN WHO OWNS ONE

Letters to the Editors

(Continued from page 14)

not possible for the JOURNAL or the Department in order to promote the healthy development of the Service which you advocate, to make specific suggestions regarding other fields which might be available to an officer retiring after thirty years or more service?

Your editorials do not specifically bring up the question of the merits of the new promotion-up or selection-out system and I am not sure that discussion of the point would be of great value, since the principle is already incorporated in legislation. However, since the impetus has been applied, I am sorely tempted to add to this lengthy letter my opinion

on that point, too.

I think that the principle of promotion-up or selection-out is excellent; that we need the young and active Service which is its object. It may achieve that object, hut I for one feel that the risk of damage is not worth the poseible good results and that the same end might perhaps have been achieved by other means avoiding the risks. Promotion-up or selection-out has undoubtedly proved to be an excellent system in its application to a cohesive and unified Service, such as the Navy. Its results have not been proven for a dual Service such as our own, with its diplomatic and consular hranches.

I do not have statistics before me, but it is logical and, I believe, an accepted fact that a large majority of officers who have been appointed to be ambassadors or ministers have been selected from the diplomatic, rather than the consular hranch. It is a logical corollary that all or almost all officers in the consular branch who are considered to be of ambassadorial caliber have been or will be appointed to fill positions as counselor or secretary. Is it not reasonable to suppose, therefore, that when selection-out becomes effective, its results will be rather disastrous for the consular hranch? Will it not result in the repeated lopping off of the heads of various consular establishments to provide ad-

vancement in hoth branches?

Furthermore I have found that the most valuable type of young officer in a consulate is what I might call a vinced consular officer," a man who likes the work and would prefer to stay with it, rather than the bright young man who is killing time in a consulate and counting the days until he is called to the important position in the Paris Embassy which he pictures as waiting for him. Convinced consular officers are scarce today. That is surely due to the fact that it is evident even now that the road to the top is by way of the diplomatic branch, rather than that diplomatic work is more attractive than consular. What will be the result when it is clear that the only opportunity for advancement for a man who remains in consular work leads to stepping out gracefully after thirty years of faithful work? am afraid that the result will be a consular hranch that is solely a stepping stone to diplomatic positions, headed by a rapidly changing group of older men who have failed to make the grade. It distresses me hecause I am thoroughly loyal to the consular branch and have a strong feeling that it has an individual and valuable function to perform for the Government.

The ohvious conclusion would be a reversion to separate Services with promotion-up or selection-out applied to each individually. I am not sufficiently heretical to advocate that, but I do feel that the interchange of officers should he exercised a little more sparingly, particularly of older officers. I also believe that great care should be observed to provide sufficient promotions-up of men qualified in consular work, even though perhaps not of amhassadorial ealiber, to assure a good, substantial nucleus at the top to carry on the needed experienced supervision.

THOMAS H. ROBINSON.





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Hawaii's Fight for Statehood

(Continued from page 13)

- 8. The strategic location in the mid-Pacific of Hawaii's modern community of a half-million loyal American citizens, with its modern facilities for transportation, communications and defense, is of immeasurable value to the nation.
- 9. Granting statehood to Hawaii at this time will be an actual demonstration of the purpose of the United States in granting self-determination to the peoples of the world.

Hawaii passed the half-way mark in its struggle for state-hood on June 30, 1947, when the House of Representatives, after a brief debate, passed the statchood bill—H.R. 49—by a vote of 196 to 133.

The bill then was referred to the Senate. Memhers of the Interior and Territories Committee expected to visit Hawaii late last year but due to the special session of Congress were unable to make the trip. The Committee, instead, delegated Senator Guy Cordon of Oregon to make an on-the-spot investigation.

In March of this year Senator Cordon reported to the full committee, urging that the Hawaii Statehood Bill be favorably reported to the Senate floor with a recommendation for immediate action.

This resulted in the full committee scheduling a public hearing on April fifteenth to sound out the sentiment of the people of the nation in regard to admitting Hawaii. The hearing took place for one day and no one appeared to register opposition. Eight witnesses urged immediate favorable action.

Hawaii's cause was further bolstered by announcement of results of another Gallup Poll—the announcement coming on the day the public hearings were held. The poll showed that two out of three voters in the United States believe the time has come to admit Hawaii and that "sentiment approving the step is higher now than ever before." The results were announced as follows:

	Today	March, 1946	Jan. 1941
Favor	. 66%	60%	48%
Oppose	_ 15%	19%	23%
No opinion	19%	21%	29%

However, in spite of the preponderance of favorable testimony for Hawaii's cause and a public endorsement rarely equalled in national legislative annals, the full Senate committee on May 8 by a vote of 7 to 5 refused to consider the statehood bill further until its members had made a "trip or trips" to the territory.

In an effort to prevent the bill from dying in committee, Senator William F. Knowland (R) of California, introduced a resolution two days later, which would force the bill to the Senate floor.

On May 20, the Senate voted down the resolution 51 to 20 despite eloquent pleas during a two hour debate by Senators Cordon and Knowland and Senator Magnuson of Washington. The opposition was led by Senator Butler of Nebraska, chairman of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and Senator Ecton of Montana, a committee member.

The 80th Congress had added another to a long list of delays for the Territory's aspirations to acquire complete self-government in the proposed world pattern of democracy.



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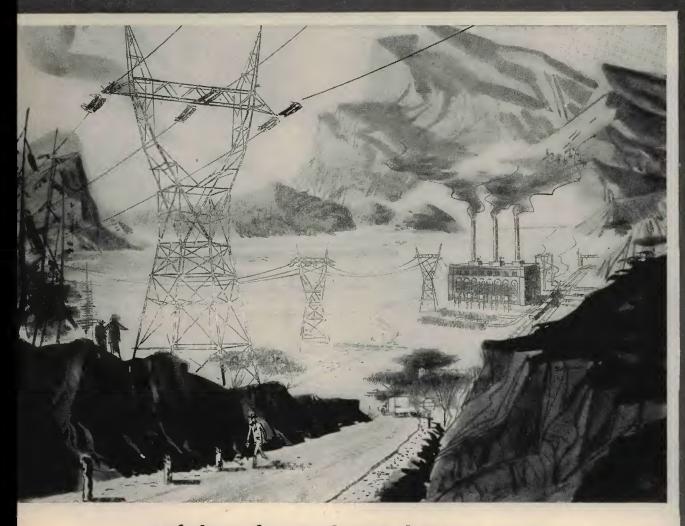
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News from the Department

(Continued from page 21)

vises the instruction, is applying the new technique and insights developed by modern linguistic science, and uses his own scientific transcriptions. His students won't see an alphabet until the course is three-fourths completed. Nor will there be much in the way of writing, since his theory is that "language is the noise you make with your face and not the scratches you make with your fist.'

Arabic has long been one of the most troublesome language problems of the Foreign Service. Last year Dr. Ferguson, an experienced instructor in Arabic, Japanese and Bengali with the Army Specialized Training Program and the Office of Strategic Services, was sent to the Near East to gather material from the daily speech of the Arabs for a proposed new course at the Institute. He returned to Washington a few months ago and started putting his findings into practical use.

The five FSOs now studying in the course are RODGER P. DAVIES, DAVID L. GAMON, and MILTON C. WALSTROM, formerly Vice Consuls at Jidda, Asuncion, and Kingston, respectively. The other two are DAVID FRITZLAN, formerly Vice Consul at Tangier, and DAYTON S. MAK, formerly Vice Consul at Hamburg. HARLEN B. CLARK, Consul at Beirut, who received a head start under Dr. Ferguson's tutelage at

Beirut last year, joined the group later in May.

The teaching of Arabic is greatly complicated by the fact that written and spoken Arabic are poles apart. From country to country, and even from locality to locality, spoken Arabic varies greatly. On the other hand, written Arabic is traditionally the classic Arabic of the early Middle Ages.

The classical written language has a prestige in Arab lands completely unlike the prestige which any written language of our own past has with English-speaking peoples. For example, when an Arah ruler addresses any kind of governmental assembly, he reads an eloquent speech composed by a classical scholar. When the extemporaneous remarks of assembly members are put in the record, they are phrased in classical Arabic to match the ruler's address.

Radio programs in Arab countries are also written in classical Arabic. Hence, only the educated can understand them. Script writers find that if they try to reach a wider audience by using a modern vernacular they run into difficulties since the program, while far more intelligible, locally lacks the prestige and commands little confidence or respect.

Confronted by such a complex situation, the Institute has had to take the bull by the horns and make a start on some one dialect of spoken Arabic. The one chosen is that of the Beirut-Damascus-Jerusalem area. While this dialect has its limitations, it is intelligible to most Eastern Arabs. The plan of approach is to teach students how to move from their knowledge of this dialect into other related dialects, such as those of Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Egypt, and that of the Bedouin tribesmen of the desert.

In mid-summer, instruction will he launched in the written language through the medium of newspapers and other popular publications. From this, students will move to a consideration of classical books and documents. The transition is helped by the fact that modern newspaper Arabic is intermediate between spoken Arabic and the written classical

language.

From the study of the language, acquired in direct daily contact with native Arabic speakers, it is easy to move on into consideration of the psychology of the Arabs and their social patterns.

Training at Commerce

An interesting and enjoyable detail to trade conference work was recently performed by FSO RALPH A. SCHWEITZER and VC CHARLES J. KOLINSKI, at the Third Mississippi Val-



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The Mayflower

WASHINGTON, D. C.

C. J. MACK GENERAL MANAGER ley World Trade Conference held at New Orleans, April 15 and 16.

These officers were assigned to the Department of Commerce for reorientation and instruction in commercial procedures and policy, and were ordered to New Orleans for a period of training under the direction of Mr. Harold C. Jackson, District Manager of the New Orleans Department of Commerce Field Office.

The Mississippi Valley World Trade Conference coincided with the period during which Messrs. Schweitzer and Kolinski were in New Orleans, and they were detailed to the conference as observers. This annual conference, one of the most important and progressive international trade meetings in the United States, included representatives of business interests and import and export firms throughout the Mississippi Valley. Featured on the conference program were sessions on current import and export practice, international banking and finance, transportation, freight-forwarding, and trade zone methods. Among those who spoke at the meetings were the Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge; Henry Luce, Editor, Time-Life International; C. D. Jackson, Managing Editor, Time-Life International; the Honorable deLessups S. Morrison, Mayor of the City of New Orleans; Messrs. Thomas R. Wilson and Thomas E. Lyons, Executive Secretary, Foreign Trade Zones Board, OIT, Department of Commerce; and Winthrop G. Brown, Office of International Trade Policy, Department of State.

Other highlights of the conference for the two Foreign Service representatives were the several receptions given at International House, and a steamer trip covering New Orleans famed dock area. Arrangements for these officers to attend all functions were made by Mr. Harold C. Jackson, and Mr. Clarence S. Reinerth, President of the Export Managers' Club of New Orleans.

Mr. Schweitzer has recently returned from the American Consulate at Recife, and is now awaiting a new assignment. Mr. Kolinski is on detail with the Department, his last post abroad having been at Glasgow. Following the conclusion of the Mississippi Valley World Trade Conference, these officers were given a two-week period of on-the-job-training under Mr. Jackson's supervision, which included conferences with Mr. Albert E. Wolff, Foreign Trade Consultant, Department of Commerce, and visits to important industrial establishments and shipping companies located in the Delta area.

The fourth class of officers of the Foreign Service assigned to the Department of Commerce for instruction got underway on May 11th. There has been much satisfaction and enthusiasm expressed by members of the Service who have taken this course and those now assigned to it. The current class is composed of: FSSs Robert E. Dowland, Robert L. Brown, Morton Pomeranz, Alfred C. Ulmer, Carvel Painter, and Kenneth Beede, and FSOs William J. Ford, William L. Kilcoin, Merlin E. Smith, Byron White, Robert M. Winfree, Thomas K. Wright and William Smyser.

News from the Field (Continued from page 23)

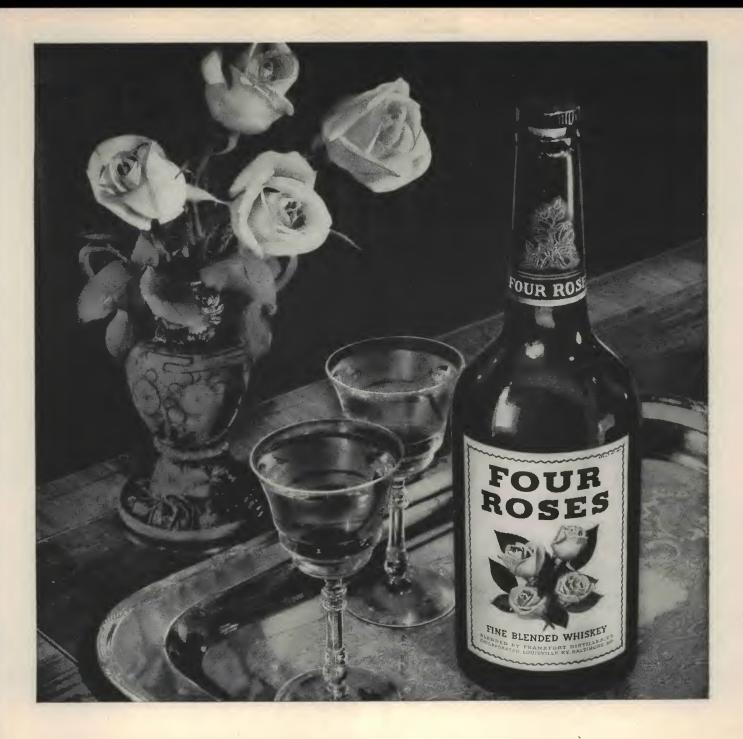
ZURICH

May 10, 1948.

A trip to the Consulate General at Zurich was included in the itinerary of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt during her recent brief stay in Switzerland. The former First Lady visited the Sihlwald, a nearby forest famous for its 600-year-old management, after which she called upon Consul General Austin R. Preston, who arranged for all members of the staff to meet her personally.

ELEANOR R. BORROWDALE.

(Continued on page 40)



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MEXICO, D. F.

April 29, 1948.

At a simple and intimate ceremony held in the garden of the Embassy on April 28th, Mr. Maurice L. Stafford said farewell to his colleagues and friends of the Embassy upon his retirement from the Foreign Service following seven years of distinguished service as Consul General in Mexico. Charge d'Affaires Raymond E. Geist paid tribute to the high qualities which have marked Mr. Stafford's career of twenty-eight years in the Foreign Service, and brought him the respect and affection of the Embassy staff and the whole American community in Mexico. On behalf of the assembled personnel of the Embassy, Mr. Geist then presented to Mr. and Mrs. Stafford a present of three handsome Mexican silver trays.

Mr. and Mrs. Stafford were honored by a series of parties by their innumerable friends in Mexico. They will remain for at least some months in Mexico City, where their home is at Monte Himalaya 815 at the Lomas de Chapultepec.

The new Consul General is Mr. Carl W. Strom, who served in Mexico City previously as Secretary of Embassy and Consul from 1943 until his transfer to the Department of State in Washington in 1945. Mr. and Mrs. Strom are being welcomed back to Mexico by the many friends they made in that time.

DORSEY G. FISHER.

BRUSSELS

May 3, 1948.

The visit of Mrs. Roosevelt to Brussels marked a high spot in Belgo-American relations. On April 17, the President's widow, who is in her own right a distinguished representative of the American Government to UNESCO, spoke in French before a large and enthusiastic audience which had come to hear her observations and to witness a showing of "The Roosevelt Story." On the following day she addressed a luncheon audience of some 500 people and listened to a series of brilliant speakers, women and men, who paid tribute to the American role in peace and war. Between public engagements, Mrs. Roosevelt, with characteristic energy, visited a number of places in the city, made several broadcasts, and was honor guest at several distinguished entertainments and receptions.

While in Brussels, Mrs. Roosevelt, who was accompanied by her indefatigable and pleasant secretary, Miss Thompson, and her adviser, Major Hooker, was the guest of Charge d'Affaires Hugh Millard and Mrs. Millard at the Ambassador's residence.

Third Secretary and Mrs. Robert M. Winfree and family expect to sail on April 20 from Rotterdam on the *Nieuw Amsterdam* for home leave. Popular Bob and Lee Winfree have been the center of many gay going-away parties staged by their many Belgian and American friends.

QUITO

May 3, 1948.

Ambassador John F. Simmons and Mrs. Simmons won the Scotch Foursome Tournament at the Quito Golf Club on April 25, 1948. It was an exciting match and was won on the last hole 1 up.

The individual cups were donated by Mr. Carlos Musello, a local banker, and are known as the "Carlos Musello Cups."

Mr. Carlos Musello, the donor of the cups, and his partner, Mrs. Virgil Fletcher, were beaten in the finals by the Ambassadorial couple. The quality of the game and the stiff competition is illustrated by the fact that Mr. Musello is a scratch player.

It may be mentioned in passing that Mr. and Mrs. Simmons are certainly consistent golfers as they won the same tournament in San Salvador just before they were transferred to Quito.

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Tientsin	Consui
Department	FSO
Mexico City	Counselor
Toronto	Vice Consul
Jerusalein	FSS
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Hamburg	FSS



BIRTHS

SQUIRES. A son, Christopher Oliver, was born on August 26, 1947, to FSO and Mrs. Leslie A. Squires in San Salvador where Mr. Squires is Third Secretary.

EWING. A daughter, Maitland Marshall, was born on February 19, 1948, to Mr. and Mrs. Richard T. Ewing in Bern where Mr. Ewing is Assistant Attache.

COHEN. A daughter was born on February 23, 1948, to Mr. and Mrs. Joe Cohen in London where Mrs. Cohen (nee Orpah Caudle) was until recently a member of the Staff

HILLIKER. A daughter, Janet Lee, was born on March 18, 1948 to FSO and Mrs. Grant Gilbert Hilliker in Naples where Mr. Hilliker is Vice Consul.

PRATT. A son, John Eastman, was born on April 1 to FSO and Mrs. Norman K. Pratt in Alexandria where Mr. Pratt is Vice Consul.

MELBY. A son, Eric Kinne, was born on April 13, 1948 to FSO and Mrs. Everett K. Melby in Bern where Mr. Melby is Third Secretary.

WASHER. A son, Edward Clayton, was born on April 13, 1948, to Mr. and Mrs. Frederick F. Washer in London where Mr. Washer is a member of the Staff Corps.

WEISE. A son, Carl Henrik, was born on May 4, 1948, to FSO and Mrs. Robert W. Weise, Jr. in Washington, D. C. Mr. Weise is assigned to the Division of International Resources of the Department of State.

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Trieste

(Continued from page 9)

appeared more intent on rendering the plan unworkable than on reconciliation. For the American Government the irony of the attempt to find a fair solution in 1919 and in 1946 has been to be vilified by each side in turn, and for substantially the same proposal.

In the face of the Yugoslav threats not to sign the treaty, followed by persistent demonstration of unwillingness to cooperate in the program for the Free Territory of Trieste, the British, French and American governments have proposed the return of Trieste to Italian sovereignty.

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The United Nations Maritime Conference

(Continued from page 11)

nations which have now announced their aspirations for achieving maritime independence cannot be overlooked by the presently leading shipping nations. The recent experiences of non-ship owning nations during two World Wars was emphasized as demonstrating the need of each nation, in the interest of its own security, to possess sufficient ships to supply its minimum wants. However, an encouraging sign was seen in the willingness of the non-shipping nations to appreciate the problems of the so-called "common carrier" nations, whose national economies depend to a large extent on the carriage of cargoes originating in nations other than their own, an appreciation reflected in the compromises on functions and the composition of the Council. It must not be overlooked that by these same compromises the shipping nations accepted the possibility that ultimately many practices, until now well outside the scope of formal international review, such as conferences, subsidies and division of tonnage agreements, would come under scrutiny of the organization. Definite action on these matters is still believed to be a long way off.

The success of the Conference was due, in a great measure to Doctor Ian Oyevaar of the Netherlands, who was elected President of the Conference. Doctor Oyevaar played an outstanding part in getting the Conference through its business in a record time of two and one-half weeks. He was ably assisted by Vice President Llambi of Argentina and Wu of China and by Mr. Bruna Lukac and his secretariat staff.

The creation of this Organization rounds out the circle of those specialized agencies believed essential by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations for handling the many technical and specialized problems relating to world transport and communications services.

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