

Senate - Foreign relations

8944  
F96/a  
Am 1/2

# AMBASSADORIAL NOMINATIONS

GOVERNMENT  
Storage

Y 4  
.F 96/2

Am 1/2 HEARINGS

## BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON THE

AMBASSADORIAL NOMINATIONS OF EDWIN O. REISCH-  
AUER—JAPAN, ANTHONY J. DREXEL BIDDLE—SPAIN,  
WILLIAM ATTWOOD—GUINEA, AARON S. BROWN—NICA-  
RAGUA, J. KENNETH GALBRAITH—INDIA, EDWARD G.  
STOCKDALE—IRELAND, WILLIAM McCORMICK BLAIR, JR.—  
DENMARK, JOHN S. RICE—THE NETHERLANDS, AND  
KENNETH TODD YOUNG—THAILAND

MARCH 23 AND 24, 1961

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations

KSU LIBRARIES



AJJ900 914736 ✓



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1961

AMERICAN JOURNAL NOMINATIONS

AY  
F. 10/5  
Am 1/5

HEARINGS

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
UNITED STATES SENATE  
EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

J. W. FULBRIGHT, Arkansas, *Chairman*

JOHN SPARKMAN, Alabama  
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Minnesota  
MIKE MANSFIELD, Montana  
WAYNE MORSE, Oregon  
RUSSELL B. LONG, Louisiana  
ALBERT GORE, Tennessee  
FRANK J. LAUSCHE, Ohio  
FRANK CHURCH, Idaho  
STUART SYMINGTON, Missouri  
THOMAS J. DODD, Connecticut

ALEXANDER WILEY, Wisconsin  
BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, Iowa  
GEORGE D. AIKEN, Vermont  
HOMER E. CAPEHART, Indiana  
FRANK CARLSON, Kansas  
JOHN J. WILLIAMS, Delaware

CARL MARCY, *Chief of Staff*  
DARRELL ST. CLAIRE, *Clerk*



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON, D.C.



## CONTENTS

---

Statement of—	Page
Attwood, William, nominee to be Ambassador to Guinea.....	25
Biddle, Anthony J. Drexel, nominee to be Ambassador to Spain.....	22
Blair, William McCormick, Jr., nominee to be Ambassador to Denmark.....	53
Brown, Aaron S., nominee to be Ambassador to Nicaragua.....	30
Clark, Hon. Joseph S., United States Senator from the State of Pennsylvania.....	21, 59
Douglas, Hon. Paul H., United States Senator from the State of Illinois.....	56
Galbraith, J. Kenneth, nominee to be Ambassador to India.....	34
Holland, Hon. Spessard L., United States Senator from the State of Florida.....	48
Reischauer, Edwin O., nominee to be Ambassador to Japan.....	1
Rice, John S., nominee to be Ambassador to the Netherlands.....	60
Stockdale, Edward G., nominee to be Ambassador to Ireland.....	50
Young, Kenneth Todd, nominee to be Ambassador to Thailand.....	66
<b>Insertions for the record—</b>	
Biographical sketch of Edwin O. Reischauer.....	2
Biographical statement of Edwin O. Reischauer.....	2
Editorial and other comment from the Japan Times of March 16, 1961.....	18
Biographical sketch of Anthony J. Drexel Biddle.....	22
Statement of Senator Thomas J. Dodd.....	25
Biographical sketch of William Attwood.....	25
Biographical sketch of Aaron S. Brown.....	30
Biographical sketch of J. Kenneth Galbraith.....	33
Telegram from Bernard M. Baruch.....	37
Statement of Senator George A. Smathers.....	48
Biographical sketch of Edward G. Stockdale.....	50
Biographical sketch of William McCormick Blair, Jr.....	52
Biographical sketch of John S. Rice.....	60
Biographical sketch of Kenneth Todd Young.....	66
Summary index.....	71



## CONTENTS

1	Introduction
2	Chapter I
3	Chapter II
4	Chapter III
5	Chapter IV
6	Chapter V
7	Chapter VI
8	Chapter VII
9	Chapter VIII
10	Chapter IX
11	Chapter X
12	Chapter XI
13	Chapter XII
14	Chapter XIII
15	Chapter XIV
16	Chapter XV
17	Chapter XVI
18	Chapter XVII
19	Chapter XVIII
20	Chapter XIX
21	Chapter XX
22	Chapter XXI
23	Chapter XXII
24	Chapter XXIII
25	Chapter XXIV
26	Chapter XXV
27	Chapter XXVI
28	Chapter XXVII
29	Chapter XXVIII
30	Chapter XXIX
31	Chapter XXX
32	Chapter XXXI
33	Chapter XXXII
34	Chapter XXXIII
35	Chapter XXXIV
36	Chapter XXXV
37	Chapter XXXVI
38	Chapter XXXVII
39	Chapter XXXVIII
40	Chapter XXXIX
41	Chapter XL
42	Chapter XLI
43	Chapter XLII
44	Chapter XLIII
45	Chapter XLIV
46	Chapter XLV
47	Chapter XLVI
48	Chapter XLVII
49	Chapter XLVIII
50	Chapter XLIX
51	Chapter L
52	Chapter LI
53	Chapter LII
54	Chapter LIII
55	Chapter LIV
56	Chapter LV
57	Chapter LVI
58	Chapter LVII
59	Chapter LVIII
60	Chapter LIX
61	Chapter LX
62	Chapter LXI
63	Chapter LXII
64	Chapter LXIII
65	Chapter LXIV
66	Chapter LXV
67	Chapter LXVI
68	Chapter LXVII
69	Chapter LXVIII
70	Chapter LXIX
71	Chapter LXX
72	Chapter LXXI
73	Chapter LXXII
74	Chapter LXXIII
75	Chapter LXXIV
76	Chapter LXXV
77	Chapter LXXVI
78	Chapter LXXVII
79	Chapter LXXVIII
80	Chapter LXXIX
81	Chapter LXXX
82	Chapter LXXXI
83	Chapter LXXXII
84	Chapter LXXXIII
85	Chapter LXXXIV
86	Chapter LXXXV
87	Chapter LXXXVI
88	Chapter LXXXVII
89	Chapter LXXXVIII
90	Chapter LXXXIX
91	Chapter LXXXX
92	Chapter LXXXXI
93	Chapter LXXXXII
94	Chapter LXXXXIII
95	Chapter LXXXXIV
96	Chapter LXXXXV
97	Chapter LXXXXVI
98	Chapter LXXXXVII
99	Chapter LXXXXVIII
100	Chapter LXXXXIX
101	Chapter LXXXXX
102	Chapter LXXXXXI
103	Chapter LXXXXXII
104	Chapter LXXXXXIII
105	Chapter LXXXXXIV
106	Chapter LXXXXXV
107	Chapter LXXXXXVI
108	Chapter LXXXXXVII
109	Chapter LXXXXXVIII
110	Chapter LXXXXXIX
111	Chapter LXXXXXX
112	Chapter LXXXXXXI
113	Chapter LXXXXXXII
114	Chapter LXXXXXXIII
115	Chapter LXXXXXXIV
116	Chapter LXXXXXXV
117	Chapter LXXXXXXVI
118	Chapter LXXXXXXVII
119	Chapter LXXXXXXVIII
120	Chapter LXXXXXXIX
121	Chapter LXXXXXXX
122	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
123	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
124	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
125	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
126	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
127	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
128	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
129	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
130	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
131	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
132	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
133	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
134	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
135	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
136	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
137	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
138	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
139	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
140	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
141	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
142	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
143	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
144	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
145	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
146	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
147	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
148	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
149	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
150	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
151	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
152	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
153	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
154	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
155	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
156	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
157	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
158	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
159	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
160	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
161	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
162	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
163	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
164	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
165	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
166	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
167	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
168	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
169	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
170	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
171	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
172	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
173	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
174	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
175	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
176	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
177	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
178	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
179	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
180	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
181	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
182	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
183	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
184	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
185	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
186	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
187	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
188	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
189	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
190	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
191	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
192	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
193	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
194	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
195	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
196	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
197	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
198	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
199	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
200	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
201	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
202	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
203	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
204	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
205	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
206	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
207	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
208	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
209	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
210	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
211	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
212	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
213	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
214	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
215	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
216	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
217	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
218	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
219	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
220	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
221	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
222	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
223	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
224	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
225	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
226	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
227	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
228	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
229	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
230	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
231	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
232	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
233	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
234	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
235	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
236	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
237	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
238	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
239	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
240	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
241	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
242	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
243	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
244	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
245	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
246	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
247	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
248	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
249	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
250	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
251	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
252	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
253	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
254	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
255	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
256	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
257	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
258	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
259	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
260	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
261	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
262	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
263	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
264	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
265	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
266	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
267	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
268	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
269	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
270	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
271	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
272	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
273	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
274	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
275	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
276	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
277	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
278	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
279	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
280	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
281	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
282	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
283	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
284	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
285	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
286	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
287	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
288	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
289	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
290	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
291	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
292	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
293	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
294	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
295	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
296	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
297	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
298	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
299	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
300	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
301	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
302	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
303	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
304	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
305	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
306	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
307	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
308	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
309	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
310	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
311	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
312	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
313	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
314	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
315	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
316	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
317	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
318	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
319	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
320	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
321	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
322	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
323	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
324	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
325	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
326	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
327	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
328	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
329	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
330	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
331	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
332	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
333	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
334	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
335	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
336	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
337	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
338	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
339	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
340	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
341	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
342	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
343	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
344	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
345	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
346	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
347	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
348	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
349	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
350	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
351	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
352	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
353	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
354	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
355	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
356	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
357	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
358	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
359	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
360	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
361	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
362	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
363	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
364	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
365	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
366	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
367	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
368	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
369	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
370	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
371	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
372	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
373	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
374	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
375	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
376	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
377	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
378	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
379	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
380	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
381	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
382	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
383	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
384	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
385	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
386	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
387	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
388	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
389	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
390	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
391	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX
392	Chapter LXXXXXXXI
393	Chapter LXXXXXXXII
394	Chapter LXXXXXXXIII
395	Chapter LXXXXXXXIV
396	Chapter LXXXXXXXV
397	Chapter LXXXXXXXVI
398	Chapter LXXXXXXXVII
399	Chapter LXXXXXXXVIII
400	Chapter LXXXXXXXIX

## AMBASSADORIAL NOMINATIONS

---

THURSDAY, MARCH 23, 1961

U.S. SENATE,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,  
Washington, D.C.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:10 a.m., in room 4221, New Senate Office Building, Senator J. W. Fulbright (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senators Fulbright, Sparkman, Mansfield, Capehart, and Carlson.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

The committee is meeting this morning to consider ambassadorial nominations: Edwin O. Reischauer to be Ambassador to Japan; William Attwood to be Ambassador to the Republic of Guinea; Anthony J. Drexel Biddle to be Ambassador to Spain; and Aaron S. Brown to be Ambassador to Nicaragua.

The first witness this morning is Mr. Reischauer. Take a seat, please, sir.

### Nomination of Edwin O. Reischauer To Be Ambassador to Japan

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Reischauer, you have the reputation of being very well acquainted with affairs in the Far East, particularly Japan.

I wonder if you would care to open the hearing with a statement about this and anything else you wish to say to the committee.

#### STATEMENT OF EDWIN O. REISCHAUER, NOMINEE TO BE AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN

Mr. REISCHAUER. Senator Fulbright, I submitted a rather detailed biographical statement which I have presented to the committee.

I have no prepared statement except to say that, as you will see from that biographical sketch, I have had connection with State Department work before, but I have not had any diplomatic experience.

I hope I bring to this assignment, if it is given to me, a certain amount of special background and certain qualifications that would be of value.

As I see it, the friendship and sympathetic understanding of the Japanese are essential to the U.S. position in that part of the world and to the whole peace and stability of that part of the world.

I should hope that I could contribute to the maintenance of that friendship and sympathetic understanding.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH AND STATEMENT

The CHAIRMAN. I will put in the record this biographical sketch and statement of Mr. Reischauer, which I do not think we need to cover in detail.

(The biographical sketch referred to is as follows:)

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF EDWIN O. REISCHAUER

Present positions: Director, Harvard-Yenching Institute; professor of Japanese history, Harvard University.

Considered for: Ambassador to Japan.

Born: Tokyo, Japan (parents, U.S. citizens), October 15, 1910.

Education: A.B., Oberlin College, 1931; A.M., Harvard 1932, Ph. D., 1939; student, University of Paris, 1933-35; D. Litt., Oberlin College, 1957; studied abroad on Harvard-Yenching Institute fellowship in France, Japan, China, 1933-38.

Marital status: Married.

## EXPERIENCE

Non-Government: 1938-42, instructor, Harvard; 1946-50, associate professor of Far Eastern languages; 1948-49, member, Cultural Science Mission to Japan; 1950-, professor; 1956-, director, Harvard-Yenching Institute.

Government: 1941, senior research analyst, Department of State; 1942-43, War Department; 1945-46, Chairman, Japan-Korea Secretariat and Special Assistant to Director, Office of Far Eastern Affairs, Department of State.

Military: 1943-45, served as lieutenant colonel, Military Intelligence Service, War Department General Staff; awarded Legion of Merit.

Home: 3 Long Avenue, Belmont, Mass.

Office: 2 Divinity Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.

Legal residence: Massachusetts.

## BIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT OF EDWIN O. REISCHAUER

I was born on October 15, 1910, in Tokyo, Japan, of American missionary parents. My father was born and raised on a farm in southern Illinois. My mother, who herself had been born of American missionary parents in Persia, grew up in Indiana. They were active in educational work in Japan, representing the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church.

My early education through high school was largely at the American School in Japan, a private institution in Tokyo run along strictly American lines, but I had part of a year in school in Champaign, Ill., and my sophomore year in public high school in Springfield, Ohio. I attended Oberlin College in Ohio, graduating in 1931, and then spent 2 years in graduate study at Harvard University, obtaining an M.A. degree in history in 1932 and starting my serious studies of the Chinese language and of Japanese and Chinese history and culture. Between 1933 and 1938 I was a traveling fellow of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, spending 2 years at the University of Paris, 1 year each at the Universities of Tokyo and Kyoto in Japan, and 1 year divided between Korea and Peking, China.

In 1935 I married Adrienne Danton, who had been born in Newark, N.J., and whose father was a professor at Oberlin College. We had three children, now aged 22, 20, and 16, respectively. My first wife died in 1955 after a long illness.

A year later I married Haru Matsukata, my present wife. Her paternal grandfather had been one of the chief creators of modern Japan, having had a long and distinguished career as Finance Minister before serving twice as Prime Minister in the 1890's. Her maternal grandfather, however, had come from Japan to the United States in 1871 and had played a large role in developing the silk trade between Japan and this country. My wife's mother, therefore, was born and raised in New York and, though she lost her American citizenship, in accordance with the laws of the time, through her marriage to a Japanese citizen, she saw to it that her children received an American education. When my wife acquired American citizenship through marriage to me and subsequent residence in this country, she was, in a sense, rounding out legally a basic

Americanism that she had received by upbringing and education. I might mention that her brother and three of her four sisters have also become American citizens.

In 1938 I returned from the Far East to Harvard as a teaching fellow and received my Ph. D. in the field of Far Eastern languages the next year. I was then appointed an instructor in the Department of Far Eastern Languages and, through subsequent promotions, reached the rank of professor of Far Eastern languages in 1950. I have been the chairman of the Department of Far Eastern Languages since 1956, but I have also been a member of the Department of History and have recently had my title changed to professor of Japanese history. At Harvard, I have taught courses on Far Eastern history, pre-modern and modern Japanese history, the Japanese language, and, in my first few years there, the Chinese language.

My writings include several Japanese language textbooks, compiled in cooperation with colleagues at Harvard University: "Translations from Early Japanese Literature" (a series of independent studies and translations, some by Prof. Joseph Yamagiwa of the University of Michigan; 1951), "Japan Past and Present" (a brief history of Japan; 1946, revised in 1953), "The United States and Japan" (an analysis of the economy, culture, and history of modern Japan and a discussion of its relations with the United States; 1950, and revised in 1957); "Wanted: An Asian Policy" (an analysis of American foreign policy problems in Asia and a plea for a more effective American stand against communism in Asia; 1955); "Ennin's Diary" (the translation of a lengthy travel diary written in medieval Chinese by a Japanese monk who spent the years 838-847 wandering around China; 1955); "Ennin's Travels in T'ang China" (a book based on the materials in Ennin's diary and other contemporary sources; 1955); and "East Asia: The Great Tradition" (a detailed history of China, Korea, and Japan up to the early 19th century, of which I wrote the sections on Japan, Korea, and China up until the 13th century and Prof. J. K. Fairbank of Harvard the remaining sections on China; 1960). I have also written various technical scholarly articles as well as occasional articles of more general interest for Japanese and American newspapers and magazines. Two recent such articles were "The Broken Dialogue With Japan," which appeared in the October 1960 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, and an article entitled "Some Thoughts on Democracy in Japan," which was written for the Japanese public and appeared originally in Japanese in the October 1960 issue of the magazine *Sekai* and subsequently in English in the January-March 1961 issue of the *Japan Quarterly*.

Between 1941 and 1950 I served at various times in the Government. Because of the rising crisis in Japanese-American relations, I was invited in the summer of 1941 to join the Department of State, where I served in what was then known as the Division of Far Eastern Affairs. At the end of the summer I was asked to remain in the Department on a more permanent basis but felt that I had to return to Harvard, since I was needed to help organize and conduct a special Japanese language training program for the Navy. In September 1942 I was called down to Washington to organize and head up a large Japanese language training program for the War Department. I returned to Harvard for the summer months of 1943 to help plan further language training programs there for the Army. In September 1943 I was commissioned a major in the U.S. Army and served for the remainder of the war in Military Intelligence in the General Staff in Washington. During this time I was promoted to lieutenant colonel and at the end of my period of service was awarded the Legion of Merit.

As soon as I was released by the Army in October 1945, I entered the Department of State again, where I served as a special assistant to the Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs and as the Chairman of the Japan-Korea Secretariat. My duties were largely concerned with policy planning for Japan and Korea, and, during the latter part of my period of service, I frequently acted as the Department's representative on the Far Eastern Subcommittee of the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee, which at that time was the chief body for the coordination of foreign policy. When Harvard University refused to grant me any further leave of absence, I resigned from the State Department in August 1946 and returned to my academic duties in Cambridge. Until the late spring of 1950, however, I was frequently called down to the Department as a consultant on Japanese policy and particularly on the problems of the projected Japanese peace treaty. I was also sent by the War Department to Japan from September 1948 until January 1949 as a member of a commission to study the situation in the fields of the humanities and social science in the Japanese universities.

In recent years, I have borne rather heavy administrative duties at Harvard, in addition to my teaching and research activities. I have already mentioned my position as chairman of the Department of Far Eastern Languages. From 1956 to 1960 I also served as the Director of the Center for East Asian Studies, which was in charge of an extensive research program on the Far East and had the duty of coordinating East Asian studies at Harvard.

My heaviest administrative duty since 1956 has been as the director of the Harvard-Yenching Institute. This institute is an independent foundation devoted primarily to aiding higher education in Asia. It provides the bulk of the funds for the Department of Far Eastern Languages at Harvard and for the Chinese-Japanese Library, which, next to the Library of Congress, has probably the finest collection of books in Far Eastern languages in the Occident. The institute also maintains an extensive fellowship program for East Asian students at Harvard and a visiting scholars program, through which some 14 younger professors are brought from the Far East each year for study and research at Harvard. In addition, the institute provides funds for research and other purposes to several universities in Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and India and supports councils in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan which sponsor a wide range of research and publication activities in the field of East Asian studies.

In preparation for my duties as director of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, I spent the academic year 1955-56 in Japan and other parts of the Far East. I also spent the last 6 months of 1960 observing the work of the institute in East Asia and acquainting myself with some of the universities of south Asia.

#### TIME SPENT IN JAPAN

The CHAIRMAN. Very briefly, how much time have you spent in Japan in recent years?

Mr. REISCHAUER. In recent years—that is, since the war—I think I have been there a total of about 3 years on different visits.

I spent much longer periods during my youth and days of graduate study.

The CHAIRMAN. All together, how much time?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I would say about 20 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you speak the language?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes; I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you write it?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I would not say that I write it well, but I can write it.

I read it.

The CHAIRMAN. You read it?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Very easily.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it a difficult language to write?

Mr. REISCHAUER. It is a very difficult language to write.

#### VIEWS REGARDING THE JAPANESE SECURITY TREATY

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any views about the Security Treaty with Japan?

About a year ago, as you will recall, there was a considerable controversy.

Would you care to comment on that? Do you think it was in our national interest to approve that treaty?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I think it was definitely in our national interest to have the new Security Treaty. There are various improvements in it over the old treaty which I believe would have been very difficult to maintain. I think with the new treaty we can look forward to happier relations on this point with the Japanese for a considerable time in the future.



## FOREIGN AFFAIRS ARTICLE

The CHAIRMAN. Did you discuss this treaty in the article in Foreign Affairs last fall which has been referred to quite often?

Mr. REISCHAUER. No; I did not discuss the treaty itself.

I was discussing and trying to explain some of the Japanese reactions to the problems surrounding its acceptance by the Japanese Diet.

The CHAIRMAN. You were attempting to explain particularly to the American people the background of the Tokyo riot in Japan; is that correct?

Mr. REISCHAUER. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And I think you also commented upon the source of discontent that contributed to the riot; did you not?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes, I did.

I tried to explain why they were so discontented.

The CHAIRMAN. And you felt there was considerable misunderstanding; is that correct?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes. I think there has been a great misunderstanding of the American position, American ideals, and what we stand for in the Far East, on the part of certain elements in Japanese society, and I think it is important to correct some of these misunderstandings.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you see any reason why these misunderstandings cannot be corrected?

Mr. REISCHAUER. No, I do not.

I think our basic interests are the same.

I think the Japanese and we both want to see peace in that part of the world, stability, prosperity. We are hoping for the same things.

It is sometimes very difficult to understand each other across the language barrier and across the difference in cultures. But I think that people of good will can understand each other, and I believe that we can establish more sympathetic understanding.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you see any basic, important differences of interest between their country and ours that cannot be reconciled?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Oh, none that could not be reconciled. I think our basic interests are the same, and it is a misunderstanding on the part of some people to think that they are not the same.

JAPANESE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF  
SOUTHEAST ASIA

The CHAIRMAN. The Japanese, for example, are very interested in developing Southeast Asia and all that area, as they come along in their economic development, the same as we are, are they not?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes, they are.

The CHAIRMAN. And they have made substantial contributions?

Mr. REISCHAUER. They have made substantial contributions, and I think in the future they will make even greater contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. In many respects, due to past experience, they understand this area and can administer their assistance programs, such as they are, efficiently, can they not?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes, I think that is correct, sir. And I believe that their experience in this whole process of technological modernization has been conducted at levels that are closer to the levels of South-east Asia and, therefore, may be a very relevant experience for that part of the world.

The CHAIRMAN. They have been engaged in rather substantial activities in this connection in Indochina, in the Philippines, all the way around to India, have they not?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Frankly, sir, I do not know the full extent of their activities.

I have not been briefed on this, but I know there are some activities of this type.

The CHAIRMAN. I have seen reports where they are so engaged, and partly as a result of the substantial reparations which they paid.

Mr. REISCHAUER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And partly other voluntary arrangements for giving aid, as the building of a port in India, I believe.

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It is mutual. It is not grant aid in our sense, but they are making these development efforts with the aim of being able to trade with India.

It is a mutually beneficial arrangement, the way I understand it.

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes, it is, sir.

#### PARTICIPATION OF JAPAN IN OECD

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with the treaty that this committee recently considered, the OECD?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I know something about it.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe Japan is a member of the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD, is it not?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I believe it is.

The CHAIRMAN. And it is expected that you will play a part in that program?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think you would be able to assist the Japanese and ourselves and other members of the OECD in carrying that work forward?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I should certainly attempt to do so, and I should think that a fuller participation on the part of Japan in OECD would be highly desirable, bringing her economy more closely in contact with the economies of the whole Western World.

#### RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND KOREA

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with the problems in Korea?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes.

I know something about Korea. I have visited Korea several times, and for a long time I have been very deeply interested in Korea.

The CHAIRMAN. I think perhaps it is premature to ask you your views about what can be done about that. You have not had an opportunity to consider the substantive problems of Japan and Korea, our relations with them, have you? If you have, we would welcome any ideas you have.

Mr. REISCHAUER. No, sir.

I have not looked at them in detail. They are at present holding negotiations for the normalization of their relations. It would certainly be to the advantage of both countries, I should believe, and the United States also, if these relations could be normalized.

#### VIEWS REGARDING RECOGNITION OF COMMUNIST CHINA

The CHAIRMAN. Another question which the committee has usually shown a great deal of interest in would be your views with regard to Communist China, with regard to recognition and so on.

Have you made statements about this?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Well, I have made many statements. I have written quite a bit about it over a number of years, because this is, of course, a very serious problem that the public must think about and discuss, as well as the Government.

I have been a member of the public that was interested. I looked at the hearings of Mr. Rusk and Mr. Bowles and their statements on this subject.

I found myself fully in agreement with the statements they made: That under present conditions recognition is completely impossible and an academic problem.

The CHAIRMAN. In general, you would agree with the views that have already been given to us by the people in the Department of State?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I most certainly would.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the Senator from Alabama have any questions?

#### DISCUSSION OF RIOTS IN TOKYO

Senator SPARKMAN. Mr. Reischauer, did you read the article by Mr. Bowles in the April 1960 issue of Foreign Affairs?

Mr. REISCHAUER. No, sir; I did not.

I left the country shortly after that, and I have not seen that article.

Senator SPARKMAN. I may say that I have only had time to scan this hurriedly here this morning. I have not read your article in its entirety, but I look forward to doing so.

Did you find in your study of the riots last year that they ran very deep, or were they rather shallow and not too widespread?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Well, they were on a very large scale because there were actually hundreds of thousands of people rioting at any one time there. Of course, Tokyo is a very large city, so that is not a great proportion of the total population.

The fact that the excitement subsided very quickly would argue that it was not as deep as some people felt. On the other hand, I thought it was an expression of a rather deep undercurrent of discontent and unhappiness about the world situation in general on the part of very many people in Japan.

So I think it is a very serious phenomenon.

Senator SPARKMAN. Were teachers involved?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes.

Senator SPARKMAN. Was there great discontent among the teachers?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Well, it would be a large group of people known in Japan as intellectuals. That means anybody who has graduated from college and is not a member of the Government, let us say.

So it is a very large element in Japan; many parts of urban labor, people of that sort, also, I think were highly involved in these riots.

Senator SPARKMAN. You did recognize a danger in that the Communists were able to take advantage of the situation and did do it rather effectively, did they not?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Oh, very much so.

Quite obviously, the Communists had done their best to stir things up as they had on many occasions before. The dangerous aspect of the happenings of May and June was that there was such a large response on the part of many people who felt themselves to be not pro-Communists, even anti-Communists, but felt themselves to be acting in behalf of democracy and peace.

This was a rather frightening phenomenon.

Senator SPARKMAN. Did you not find that the security pact was used largely as an excuse rather than as a fundamental cause of the riots?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes; I think that would be true. It was certainly one of the initial factors that started things off, but very many other factors contributed to it, and I think the security treaty alone would not have aroused such large demonstrations.

Senator SPARKMAN. As a matter of fact, Prime Minister Ikeda, whose party was returned to power in November, advocated, just as strongly as Premier Kishi did, the security pact, did he not, and continuing friendliness to the West, particularly to America?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Quite definitely so; I think this was true of the whole Conservative Party in Japan, of all elements in it.

#### QUESTION OF TRADE BETWEEN JAPAN AND COMMUNIST CHINA

Senator SPARKMAN. Have you formulated any opinion as to the soundness or the desire of many industrialists and business people in Japan to open up unrestricted trade with the Communist mainland of China?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Well, certain elements in Japan have been advocating this for a long time.

It has often been a sort of "other-pastures-look-greener" type of view.

They are always hoping they will find new markets there. I think that over the years many have realized that this is not likely to develop into a large trade, even if it were allowed, but it is a large emotional factor in Japan. Many Japanese would desire greater trade relations.

Senator SPARKMAN. Do you believe that Japan could safely rely upon the China mainland for the raw resources that she so badly needs and wants?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I think it would be very dangerous for her to do so. I think it is very unlikely that the Communist mainland would provide her with the things she needs.

Senator SPARKMAN. Do you view with sympathy the effort of Japan to expand her markets into Southeast Asia?

Mr. REISCHAUER. This, I think, would be an excellent thing because it would strengthen that area and would strengthen Japan also.

#### TRADE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES

Senator SPARKMAN. Now, you said something in answer to questions by the chairman with reference to relations between Japan and the United States.

Certainly, there is a very strong trade relationship, is there not?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes; there is. Japan is our second largest market and second largest source of foreign products.

Senator SPARKMAN. Japan is the second-best purchaser of American products in the world; is it not?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes, it is. I think the trade last year was \$1,300 million that we exported to Japan.

Senator SPARKMAN. By the way, what is our first market?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Canada.

Senator SPARKMAN. And next to Canada, Japan is our best market?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes, that is right, sir.

Senator SPARKMAN. It is our best market on agricultural products; is it not?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I think very definitely so.

Senator SPARKMAN. It buys more raw cotton than we grow down our way than any other nation in the world, does it not?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. More soybeans, too.

Senator SPARKMAN. More wheat, Senator Mansfield says. It is a good thing other members of the committee are not present or we would probably find out about more of these commodities.

#### IMPORTANCE OF FOREIGN MARKETS TO JAPAN

But you do think that it is all-important that good relations be maintained between the United States and Japan and that Japan remain oriented to the West?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes; I think it is all-important. Japan has emerged again as a very great nation, and the whole stability of that part of the world, I think, depends upon Japanese friendship and understanding of our point of view.

Senator SPARKMAN. And should we not have an understanding of the necessity of Japan to sell in markets abroad because she is so highly industrialized as a nation?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes, sir. Japan can only live by importing many things, and to pay for that, she has to export. So she simply has to have markets.

Senator SPARKMAN. She cannot feed herself; can she?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Well, recently she has come very close to the point of feeding herself, but she certainly does not clothe herself.

Senator SPARKMAN. She has to import some food?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes, and there are oils and minerals she needs, fibers for clothing, and many other deficiencies exist in her economy.

Senator SPARKMAN. Mr. Reischauer, from what I have heard of you, I think you are well prepared for this job. I wish you well in it.

Mr. REISCHAUER. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Mansfield?

Senator MANSFIELD. Dr. Reischauer, I think we are extremely fortunate to have a man of your ability and background designated by the President of the United States to represent our country in Japan.

I personally am delighted that you have an American wife of Japanese ancestry. I am very happy that you speak Japanese and have had some experience with that country and the Far East area in general. The question of trade has been brought up, and I think that we ought to have a synopsis of what has been said, because I do not believe that our people really understand the significance and the importance of the trade between this country and Japan.

It has been brought out that Japan is one of our best, if not our best, customers in such agricultural items as cotton, soy beans, wheat, hides, and other products; and, as you have indicated, Japan has to trade in order to live; is that correct?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes, that is, sir.

Senator MANSFIELD. How much of its land is arable?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Roughly around 18 percent.

Senator MANSFIELD. And how large is Japan, compared with the State of California?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I have often heard it said that it is about the size of the State of Montana. I do not know just how it compares with California, sir.

Senator MANSFIELD. As a matter of fact, it is 10,000 square miles smaller in size than the State of Montana, but we have only 670,000 people, compared to Japan's 94 million or 95 million.

#### RESULT OF JAPANESE INABILITY TO TRADE WITH FREE WORLD

If the Japanese do not have the opportunity to trade, what, in your opinion, will be the result to the rest of the world?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Well, if they do not have the opportunity to trade with the free world, they would obviously be forced into trying to trade with the Communist world, and that would, of course, realine Japan completely.

Senator MANSFIELD. In other words, if she does not have the chance to live—and I use that term literally—through trade with the rest of the free world, it is quite possible that she will be forced into the Soviet orbit, whether she likes it or not?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes, that is very definitely true, sir.

Senator MANSFIELD. And the one important question in Japan today, in effect, is: Where is the next meal coming from?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes, sir.

#### FOREIGN AFFAIRS ARTICLE

Senator MANSFIELD. Now, you are supposed to have written an article critical of the part played by Ambassador MacArthur at the time of the proposed Presidential visit to Japan.

Does your criticism still hold?

Mr. REISCHAUER. No, it does not, sir. I did not write the article in criticism of Ambassador MacArthur or the American Government.

It was an attempt to explain what was in the minds of the Japanese who were doing this rioting, and there was an incidental reference that turned out to be a rather unfortunate reference to a "shocking misestimate" of the situation on our part.

Ambassador MacArthur subsequently showed me his specific reports, and on the basis of that, I saw that that statement was not correct on my part, and I have since corrected it publicly.

Senator MANSFIELD. Did you see Ambassador MacArthur's statement in Honolulu a few days ago to the effect that some time previous to the proposed visit he had requested Prime Minister Kishi to consider a cancellation?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I did not see that statement, but he told me that personally.

Senator MANSFIELD. I see.

#### QUESTION OF TRADE BETWEEN JAPAN AND COMMUNIST CHINA

The question of China trade has been brought up.

Is it not a fact that since the end of the Second World War, even during the Korean incident of a few years ago, there was a steady flow of trade, not large by any means, between Japan and Communist China?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes, there was a small trade.

Senator MANSFIELD. That trade now has been obliterated completely?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes, because of Communist action.

Senator MANSFIELD. The Japanese, though, think that there is a market for their products on the Chinese mainland?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Many of them hope that there is.

Senator MANSFIELD. In your opinion, Doctor, do you think there is a large market, or that the market, in reality, would be comparatively small, due to the industrialization and advancement of Communist China in recent years?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I think it would be very small, if it ever does develop, and I think perhaps the basic reason for that is that the Chinese would not allow themselves to become very dependent upon Japanese goods.

Senator MANSFIELD. So that means that as far as the free world is concerned, Japan, in effect, has to place greater reliance on what it does in its trade relationship with the free world?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes.

That is true, sir.

#### IMPORTANCE OF CLOSE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES

Senator MANSFIELD. In your opinion, do you think that the peace of the Pacific may well be in the hands of the two great powers of the Pacific—and I think Japan is a great power—and that the responsibility for that peace lies with Japan and the United States primarily?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I think that is very definitely true. Japan, I feel, is a great power and she is the only great industrial force in that whole part of the world.

Senator MANSFIELD. And, therefore, it behooves us to establish as close a relationship as possible between the two countries so that we can understand one another better and be able to work out problems through mutual agreement and thus seek to bring about an increase in the stability of the Pacific?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes, I feel that very strongly.

#### MR. REISCHAUER'S NOMINATION

Senator MANSFIELD. Dr. Reischauer, I want to say again I am delighted that you have been appointed by the President. I shall vote for you with a great deal of satisfaction, and I am happy that you have been appointed by the President. I am happy that at long last we are sending to this country a man who has knowledge of the language.

I would make this concluding comment:

It would be my hope that you would—and I am sure you will—try to get out among the various elements and groups which comprise the population of Japan so that we can have the benefit of your comprehensive reports and, thereby, a better understanding of the situation in Japan. I would hope on that basis we could attain a better knowledge of how to deal with the people.

Mr. REISCHAUER. Thank you, sir.

#### DISCUSSION OF HOLMES ALEXANDER ARTICLE

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Reischauer, I have had brought to my attention as chairman of this committee an article by Holmes Alexander in which he makes certain statements that people have written to me to inquire about, and I think this is the appropriate time to ask you about it for the record.

Have you seen that article?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes, I saw it.

The CHAIRMAN. For the record, I will read the paragraph so it will give you the background for commenting on it.

The professor was born in Tokyo, 1910, of American parents, is married to a Japanese, has 38 references in the published volumes of the Senate investigation of the Red-run Institute of Pacific Relations, has worked and traveled with the very discredited group of intellectuals who clustered about Owen Lattimore and Philip Jessup, seems from the record to have been an early advocate of recognizing Red China and of encouraging amity between the mainland Chinese and a "democratic" but apparently disarmed and isolated Japan.

Will you comment upon that statement?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Sir, that statement has many inaccuracies in it.

#### QUESTION OF MEMBERSHIP IN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

I was never connected with the IPR in any way. It just happened that my interests were not along those lines. At that time I was primarily interested in ancient history, and I was never invited to join, and I think I never did join.



The references in the—

The CHAIRMAN. Let me make it clear: were you ever a member of the Institute of Pacific Relations?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I may have subscribed to their publications for about a year at one time.

I found some on my shelves the other day, but that would be the only occasion I have.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not a member or an officer?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I was never an officer, I know that, and if I was a member—that is, subscribing to the publication—it was only for a year or so.

The CHAIRMAN. Does one become a member merely by subscribing to a publication?

Mr. REISCHAUER. That I do not know, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If you subscribe to Life, does that make you a member of Life magazine or Time?

Mr. REISCHAUER. A somewhat different type of publication.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not know about that. But, in any case, did you attend any meetings?

STATE DEPARTMENT CONFERENCE ON THE FAR EAST HELD IN 1949

Mr. REISCHAUER. No, I never attended any meetings. The references to me in the hearings of the IPR have largely to do with a conference called by the State Department which I was invited to attend in two capacities: As a member of the general public, and also because of my previous State Department service, I was asked to do a briefing on Japan for that particular conference.

The CHAIRMAN. You were invited by the State Department?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes. I was invited by the State Department to come to that meeting.

General Marshall and many other people were there.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not go as a representative of the IPR?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I? Oh, no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You went as a citizen?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you then a professor?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I was a professor at that time and some of the people did not agree with some of the things I said, and then they later on mentioned that in the IPR hearings. I do not know what it had to do with IPR hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. That occurred in hearings before Senator McCarran in the Senate, did it not?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes, I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Much later?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I do not remember exactly when those hearings were.

I cannot remember exactly when that conference was. It may have been in about 1948 or 1949; 1949, it must have been.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, go ahead. I just wanted to make that clear.

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes.

And so those citations that he makes have nothing to do with the IPR but to a State Department conference.

I have over the years advocated that we should take an open-minded attitude toward the whole Chinese problem, weighing the pros and cons at each stage.

At most stages, I should say, recognition has been an impossibility.

The CHAIRMAN. But was this conference before or after the war in Korea?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Before; yes, I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. This, in other words, was shortly after the defeat of the Nationalist Chinese or their exodus to Formosa; is that correct?

Mr. REISCHAUER. It was just after the Communist takeover on the continent, as I remember.

The U.S. Government was wondering what attitude to take. They called a conference of people interested in the Far East: men like General Marshall, John D. Rockefeller III, various other people.

We discussed this matter very freely, and one remark I know that I was criticized for very much later on was the suggestion that in exploring this problem it might be wise to see what attitude the Indians were taking.

It seemed to me a sensible suggestion at that time, and I see nothing wrong with it now.

The CHAIRMAN. At that time did this country recognize any other Communist country in the world?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes, we did.

The CHAIRMAN. How many?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I cannot tell you how many, but we have recognized the Soviet Union for quite a long time.

The CHAIRMAN. That is well known.

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And there were several others we had recognized, so that it was not wholly contrary to our policy to recognize a Communist regime with which we had not at that time had a war; is that right?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes, that is true.

I am not sure that I even said that we should recognize them.

I think the main statement I made was that we should consult with the Indians and others, and perhaps take a joint stand on this problem.

The CHAIRMAN. I understood you to say you said we should consider the question of whether or not we should recognize it.

Mr. REISCHAUER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that what you said?

Mr. REISCHAUER. That has usually been my point of view.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. REISCHAUER. I do not remember too much about the conference beyond that.

I have not looked at the record recently to see what I did say at that particular conference.

But I have at various times talked about the pros and cons of the Chinese Communist problem because in the long run we have this problem of dealing with 600 million people there.

## REFERENCE TO COLEGROVE AND STASSEN TESTIMONY

The CHAIRMAN. Was it at that conference that this statement applies:

Two reputable witnesses, Harold Stassen and Kenneth Colegrove, placed Reischauer in a group of orientologists who—

this is a quote in the article—

“were not thinking so much of America as they were of other things, and that group tended to be very sympathetic to Communist China and very, very considerate of the Kremlin.”

That ends the quote.

A parenthesis says “Colegrove testimony.”

Do you know Mr. Colegrove?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I know Mr. Colegrove slightly. We were both in Government service together at some time, and I saw that statement that he made and I thought it was a very unfair and unpleasant statement.

The CHAIRMAN. And have you never had any discussion of this matter with Colegrove?

Mr. REISCHAUER. No, I have not.

I do not like fights.

The CHAIRMAN. With Mr. Harold Stassen?

Mr. REISCHAUER. No, I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Mr. Stassen?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I have met him, I think, on a previous occasion; that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Stassen not a member of that conference also?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Oh, yes, he was at the conference, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He was invited there the same way you were?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Exactly, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And he took quite an active part in it, did he not?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes, he did.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, I think he testified later in connection with Mr. Philip Jessup's hearing about this conference.

I am confident he did.

That was in a period when he was quite active in his public discussions of matters in this field, you will recall.

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes.

Senator SPARKMAN. Mr. Chairman, may I interpose for just a moment to say that you and I were both on that subcommittee that you referred to as holding hearings, and at that time there was made available to us a full transcript of the conference.

It may be in the files of our committee somewhere now; I do not know. But we were furnished a transcript of the conference which showed just what everyone said.

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is correct. I remember some of the positions that Mr. Stassen took. I think he felt rather strongly against Mr. Jessup, did he not?

Senator SPARKMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. At the same time.

Well, this article—you have read it—it cautions this committee to go very thoroughly into this matter, and if you have anything further to offer with regard to this conference, you may do so.

Mr. REISCHAUER. No, I have no further comment on it. It was extremely interesting. I hope it was useful to the State Department.

Senator MANSFIELD. May I ask a question there, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

#### QUESTION OF RECOGNITION OF COMMUNIST CHINA

Senator MANSFIELD. Dr. Reischauer, you have stated that you were fully in accord with the views expressed by Dean Rusk when he appeared before this committee for confirmation?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes.

Senator MANSFIELD. On the question of recognition of Communist China?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes, sir.

Senator MANSFIELD. Is that correct?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes, it is.

Senator MANSFIELD. To your knowledge, have the Chinese Communists ever sought recognition by this country?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Not that I know of, and I am sure they would not allow us to recognize them on the terms that we could do so.

Senator MANSFIELD. To your knowledge, have they ever sought recognition by the United Nations—or admission to the United Nations?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Not that I know of, sir.

Senator MANSFIELD. Britain was one of the first countries to recognize Communist China.

Has Peiping to this day received a British Ambassador?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I believe it has not. The relationship has been a very unhappy one.

Senator MANSFIELD. There is a Chargé d'Affaires in Peiping?

Mr. REISCHAUER. That is right, sir.

Senator MANSFIELD. And no ambassador?

Mr. REISCHAUER. As far as I know, that is true, sir.

Senator MANSFIELD. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

#### SERVICE IN MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AND WAR DEPARTMENT

The CHAIRMAN. One last thing.

I believe, Mr. Reischauer, you served in the military intelligence during the war in the War Department; is that right?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes, I did.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you serve?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I was in uniform for a little bit over 2 years.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice you were awarded the Legion of Merit.

For what were you awarded the Legion of Merit?

Mr. REISCHAUER. For service in military intelligence we took all sorts of oaths.

The CHAIRMAN. And then you had served in the War Department prior to that?

Mr. REISCHAUER. Yes, I had, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In what capacity?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I had set up for them a special training school in the Japanese language for intelligence officers.

The CHAIRMAN. General intelligence officers. Do you have anything further to say?

Mr. REISCHAUER. I do not, sir.

#### QUESTION OF MEMBERSHIP IN THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

Senator MANSFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I think it ought to be brought out that as long as the question of Dr. Reischauer's membership in the Institute of Pacific Relations is involved, that he has stated that he was not a member unless he became a member through subscription to this magazine.

But we do have in the records of this committee—and I think it is public information—that certain distinguished Members of both the House and Senate were members, dues-paying members, of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, it came out in those previous hearings.

It is quite pertinent to be reminded of that. It was quite natural that anyone interested in the Far East would be interested in such a magazine at that time.

Mr. REISCHAUER. That is quite right.

At that time my primary interests were in the ancient field and they dealt primarily in the modern, and that is the only reason, probably, that I was not a member.

#### NOMINATION COMMENDED

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Reischauer, so far as I am concerned, I think you are extremely well qualified to represent us in Japan.

I realize that politics is a little more complex and difficult than the academic life, having been in both of them.

I hope that you do not find it so, and I wish you the best of luck.

I was very gratified to notice that the press in Japan has almost uniformly endorsed this appointment and praised you very highly.

I have had the report of the various leading newspapers in Japan, and I think they are all, with one exception that was called to my attention, well satisfied with it.

So I hope you have a very fruitful tour of duty in Japan.

Mr. REISCHAUER. Sir, might I add that the one exception, I believe, was a Communist paper. It is the only one that was not very kind to me.

The CHAIRMAN. We often find that if we happen to do something correct in this country, the Communists usually condemn it.

Thank you very much, Mr. Reischauer.

I wish you the best of luck.

Mr. REISCHAUER. Thank you, sir.

## JAPANESE NEWSPAPER COMMENT ON MR. REISCHAUER'S NOMINATION

The CHAIRMAN. I shall ask that there be inserted in the record at this point an editorial and other comment which appeared in The Japan Times of March 16, 1961, concerning Mr. Reischauer's appointment.

[From the Japan Times, Mar. 16, 1961]

## REISCHAUER IN JAPAN—SCHOLAR TURNED DIPLOMAT TO FACE FRIENDS, FOES, AND FANTASIES

(By Kiyooki Murata)

No other U.S. Ambassador to Japan will be more warmly welcomed by his host country at large than Prof. Edwin O. Reischauer just as no other U.S. Ambassador has caused more excitement before appointment than he has.

The long, agonizing—no doubt to the Harvard scholar himself but also to many Japanese both in official and private circles—delay has been marked by many a speculative theory to explain it.

Reports from Washington as of this week seem to be clearly divided between two dominant schools of thought. One is that it was simply a matter of routine security clearance. In this particular case, the investigation agency "found that the professor had an unexpectedly large number of friends and acquaintances throughout the world."

The other theory holds that there really was objection raised—not in Japan but in official U.S. circles. His views, expressed in the books and articles he had written, for instance, are said to have been "too progressive" to many Congressmen.

## HAPPY REACTION

A full story, because of the nature of the matter involved, will never be disclosed officially at least.

In any event, the end of the nearly 2 months' suspense turned out to be a happy one to most Japanese who are interested at all in the question of who holds the U.S. Ambassadorship in Tokyo.

The generally enthusiastic local reaction which has been noted ever since the first, premature indication of the appointment, is due to two factors: (1) his ability to read, write, and speak Japanese as fluently as a native and (2) his political stand on the United States-Japan Security Treaty and other diplomatic issues involving Japan, such as the question of Communist China.

The policy of sending diplomatic agents who have a knowledge of the language of the people to deal with was enunciated by the Democratic Party in its platform adopted last July. Under the heading, "The Instruments of Foreign Policy," the party proposed to create after winning the election a situation where there would be no American "representatives who are ignorant of the language and culture and politics of the nation" to which they are assigned.

## LANGUAGE ASSET

In this particular case of the Japanese-speaking U.S. scholar coming to Japan as Ambassador, he has an enviable advantage over his colleagues in other posts. A U.S. Ambassador to France who speaks French fluently will be taken for granted; and if he doesn't he is despised. Even a Japanese Ambassador to the United States whose knowledge of English is less than adequate would be courteously looked down upon.

In Japan, however, a foreign diplomatic who does not speak the vernacular is exposed to no such peril. But one who does is admired and probably adored unless, of course, he has disagreeable qualities to offset the asset.

Such an indigenous attitude is due to the long-held popular notion that it is impossible for foreigners, or at least for Occidentals, to master the Japanese language. The idea contributed to the relative lack of security cautions about state and military secrets before and during the recent war. It has been made known in fact that Japanese regarded their own language as a kind of code in itself.

## MYTH DIES HARD

In spite of the numerous American linguists, who started to learn the enemy language during the war and distinguished themselves as prominent scholars on Japan after the war, the popular myth dies hard.

To the professionals, an Ambassador who can out-native the natives with his knowledge of their language would be a dread, for there would be little the natives can hide from him.

Fortunately for the United States however, the Japanese—including intellectuals—don't want to hide anything. Rather, they are anxious that their minds and thoughts are thoroughly read by the American Ambassador.

The happy expectations which have been heaped on the Reischauer appointment are based on a debatable popular notion: Dr. Reischauer's predecessors—because their knowledge of Japanese was limited—were unable to correctly understand the Japanese.

## OTHERS MISINFORMED

Shortly after the initial indication in late January of the forthcoming appointment, a well-read columnist in a major Japanese daily observed ecstatically:

"How wonderful it would be if a U.S. Ambassador can read, for instance, this particular column at breakfast table before he goes to his office."

Together with many other Japanese, this columnist is under the impression that the U.S. Ambassadors to Japan have been "misinformed" and "misled" by a particular kind of Japanese they associated with those who spoke English but did not represent the nation at large.

The second factor for the favorable mood over the appointment, however, is perhaps more significant. Among the so-called Japanese intellectuals there is a strong feeling that the new Ambassador can "improve Japan-United States relations" to their own liking.

## REALISTIC ASSESSMENT

More responsible for this than anything else is the Foreign Affairs article of last year, which has been quoted and later reprinted in full in Japanese. And the vague impression that Dr. Reischauer was sympathetic to the rioters and was against the revision of the security treaty lingers on while his own retraction of part of his conclusions in the article is not well remembered.

Compared with many of the intellectuals, Socialists and their friends, the Japanese Communists have made a more realistic assessment of the Reischauer appointment.

The April issue of the *Zenei*, the monthly organ of the Communist Party, carries an unsigned article on the subject. According to the tract which may be regarded as representing the official view of the party, the appointment suggests "the true nature of Kennedy's 'new line'" which is only a new approach "in meeting the tide of the democratic forces in Japan and the world, which have been struggling against American domination and oppression."

## KENNEDY'S NEW LINE

To tie Professor Reischauer's stand with this Kennedy "new line," the article, quotes one paragraph out of the Foreign Affairs article, which read as follows: "The nature of the opposition of these Communists is clear, as is their cynical attempt to use parliamentary government as one route by which to achieve the type of dictatorship in which they believe."

This paragraph, however, is badly mistranslated with the result that it reads somewhat ungrammatically in Japanese as follows:

"It is clear that the nature of the Communists and the opposition is the insidious attempt to use parliamentary government as one route by which to achieve the type of dictatorship in which they believe."

Thus, Professor Reischauer will find in Japan many friends, a few foes and some fantasies. Because of his personal background and because of the particular circumstances which led up to his appointment, he will also find many potholes awaiting him along his path. If he is not aware of all of them, however, he will have little difficulty in detecting them for he is better equipped than any other American to do so.

[From the Japan Times, Mar. 16, 1961.]

#### TWO GENERATIONS OF REISCHAUERS

When one reviews the century-old history of Protestant Christian activities in Japan, one is always bound to be moved by the deep affection and humanity extended to the Japanese people by August K. Reischauer, father of Edwin O. Reischauer, U.S. Ambassador-designate to Japan, and his mother.

The whole Reischauer family devoted itself to the welfare of the Japanese people and handicapped children. The elder Reischauer, now 83 years old, first came to Japan at the age of 27 as a professor of philosophy at Meiji Gakuin in 1905, and stayed in Japan until 1941 punctuated by several brief trips to the United States in between.

In recognition of his meritorious services to Japan, Reischauer senior was granted the Third Class Order of the Sacred Treasure from the Emperor in April 1954.

He is a well-known scholar on Japan and Japanese culture.

Some of his works include: "Studies in Japanese Buddhism" published by the Macmillan Co., New York; "The Task in Japan" published by the Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, in 1926; and "Buddhism in the Great Religions of the Modern World" published by Princeton University Press in 1946.

His chief translations are "Shinshu Hyakuwa." (A catechism of the Shin Sect,) in 1912 and Genshin's Ojo Yoshu (Collected Essays) in 1931.

August Reischauer went back to the United States at the invitation of the Deems Foundation and gave a series of six lectures on "Studies in Japanese Buddhism" at New York University. He received a degree of doctor of divinity in 1913 from that university on the fine reputation of the lectures on Japanese Buddhism. His "Studies in Japanese Buddhism" was published in 1916 in book form. In 1917 he became the head of the higher school of Meiji Gakuin and served in that capacity until 1919.

While the Reischauer family was living on the campus of Meiji Gakuin, the U.S. Ambassador-designate, Edwin, was born on October 15, 1910.

Edwin went to the American School in Tokyo and left Japan for the United States for further schooling at the age of 16.

In the United States, young Reischauer studied at Oberlin College, Ohio, and received a B.A. degree in 1931.

He received his M.A. degree from Harvard University in 1932 and went to study at the University of Paris from 1933-35.

Reischauer returned to Japan and entered the graduate school of Tokyo University for 1-year graduate work in 1935 and went to the graduate school of Kyoto University in 1936-37.

He received his Ph. D. from Harvard University in 1939, and an honorary degree of D. Lit. from Oberlin College in 1957.

In the meantime in Japan, his father participated in the founding of Tokyo Joshi Daigaku (Tokyo Women's Christian College) in Ogikubo, Tokyo, in 1918, and became executive secretary of the board of trustees of the college (from 1918 to 1941) after the approval of the college by the Education Ministry.

In 1918, Reischauer senior went to the United States for a fund-raising trip and successfully raised a total of \$200,000, which made it possible to purchase the present land and to construct the present buildings of Tokyo Women's Christian College.

With the founding of the Tokyo Women's Christian College, the Reischauer family lived on the campus of the college at No. 124, 3-chome, Iogi, Suginami Ward, Tokyo. Reischauer senior became treasurer of the college in 1926 and remained in the post until 1941 when he resigned because of old age.

The new Ambassador's mother, now deceased, started Japan's first school for deaf and mutes at Kamita, Kami-Kitazawa, Setagaya Ward, Tokyo, in 1920 together with Miss Lois Kramer and introduced a unique method of teaching handicapped Japanese children. The school was named Nihon Roa Gakko (Japan School for Deaf and Mutes), adopting the first oral teaching method in this country.

She founded the school on her own private property and on donations from abroad totaling several thousand yen at that time because she recognized the necessity of establishing such a school in this country for the handicapped. Even after the Reischauer family returned to the United States, in 1941, Mrs. Reischauer devoted herself to the improvement of the school until she died.



All three children of the Reischauer family—Robert, Edwin and his sister were born in Tokyo. The eldest son, Robert, was killed in Shanghai in 1937 while leading a group of American scholars in China.

The U.S. Ambassador-designate is a well-known scholar on Oriental studies.

Besides his fluent Japanese, he is in full command of the Chinese language.

Since 1937, he has served Harvard University and the Harvard-Yenching Institute of which he became a director in 1956. Since 1950, he has been a professor of Japanese history at Harvard University.

His works on Japan and the Orient include: *Japan Past and Present*, 1947, revised in 1953; *The United States and Japan*, 1950, revised in 1957; *Ennin's Diary*, 1955; *Ennin's Travels in T'ang China*, 1955; *Wanted, an Asian Policy*, 1955.

His translations from ancient Japanese literature include *Izayoi Nikki*, *Heiji Monogatari*, and *Tsutsumi Chunagon Monogatari*.

His latest book is "East Asia: The Great Tradition, 1960."

[From the Japan Times, Mar. 16, 1961]

#### PRESS COMMENTS SUMMARIZED

##### REISCHAUER AND U.S. POLICY

The White House announced appointment of Prof. Edwin O. Reischauer as the new U.S. Ambassador to Japan. The only thing remaining is formal Senate approval. To a casual observer's eyes, the ambassadorial changeover from Douglas MacArthur II to Reischauer may seem to be a mere personnel change accompanying the recent U.S. administration switch. But on close observation one notices a significant change in the U.S. Government policy. President Kennedy picked the Tokyo-born Harvard professor not merely because he is well informed with affairs in the Far East and Japan, but also because the U.S. Government is anxious to open up new avenues in diplomatic problems. Now that the Americans are making efforts toward a betterment of the Japan-United States friendship, there is no reason for the Japanese Government and authorities concerned to remain silent.—ASAHI SHIMBUN.

### Nomination of Anthony J. Drexel Biddle To Be Ambassador to Spain

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness is Anthony J. Drexel Biddle, of Pennsylvania, presently adjutant general of Pennsylvania, to be Ambassador to Spain.

We are honored by having the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania, Senator Clark, here who wishes to say a word with regard to Mr. Biddle.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

Senator CLARK. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate very much the opportunity to appear very briefly before your committee to endorse the nomination of my personal friend of long standing, Anthony J. Drexel Biddle, who has had a most distinguished career in our Commonwealth, as well as in the service of his country.

I hesitate to use that word "distinguished" because we in the Senate throw it around with such abandon.

But in this case I think it means what the dictionary says.

General Biddle's story of his life is before you and I shall not burden the record by reiterating it.

I think his experiences both at home in Pennsylvania and abroad in the Foreign Service eminently qualify him for the high position to which the President has nominated him. I would predict that if your committee were to act favorably on his name and the Senate would confirm him, that he will add even greater laurels to his present distinguished crown.

I commend him strongly to your committee and urge favorable action on his name.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Clark.

Mr. Biddle, would you care to make any statement on your own before we have questions?

**STATEMENT OF ANTHONY J. DREXEL BIDDLE, NOMINEE TO BE  
AMBASSADOR TO SPAIN**

Mr. BIDDLE. Senator Fulbright, I brought no such statements. (Mr. Biddle's biographical sketch follows:)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF MR. BIDDLE

ANTHONY J. DREXEL BIDDLE

Present position: Adjutant general of Pennsylvania, with the rank of major general.

Considered for: Ambassador to Spain.

Born: Philadelphia, Pa., December 17, 1896.

Education: Graduate, St. Paul's School, New Hampshire, 1915; LL.D., Temple University, 1938; Drexel Institute of Technology, 1955.

Marital status: Married.

EXPERIENCE

*Non-Government*

1931-34: Engaged in shipping business; mining business, South Africa; chairman, Pennsylvania Aeronautics Commission, State Armory Board; trustee, Temple University.

1936: Assistant secretary, Democratic National Convention, Philadelphia.

*Government*

1935: E.E. and M.P. to Norway.

1937: A.E. and P. to Poland.

1941: Served also as E.E. and M.P. to the Netherlands, Norway, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Greece, and as A.E. and P. to Belgium (established in London).

1942: A.E. and P. to the Netherlands, Norway, Greece, and Yugoslavia (established in London).

1943: A.E. and P. to Czechoslovakia and E.E. and M.P. to Luxembourg (established in London).

*Military*

1917-18: Served with U.S. Army, advancing to captain.

1944: Active duty as lieutenant colonel, U.S. Army, advancing to brigadier general, 1951.

1945: Deputy chief, European Allied Contact Section SHAEF; chief, Allied Contact Section, USFET.

1946-48: EUCOM; Deputy Foreign liaison officer, General Staff Corps, Department of Army, Washington.

1950-51: Foreign liaison officer.

1951-53: Executive National military representative, SHAPE.

1953-55: Special assistant to Chief of Staff, Department of Army, Washington.

1958- : Now Adjutant General, Pennsylvania, with rank of major general; Pres. Association U.S. Army.

Medals: Recipient Meritorious Service medal, State of Pennsylvania, Distinguished Service Medal, 1958; Legion of Merit (U.S.), Palmes d'Academie, Legion of Honor, Croix de Guerre with palm (France), and various other medals.

Memberships and clubs: Philadelphia, Racquet and Tennis (Philadelphia); Brook, Knickerbocker, Union, Racquet and Tennis, River (New York City); Travelers (Paris). Member American Court Tennis Teams competing for Bathurst Cup, 1932, 1933, and 1934.

Office: Indiantown Gap Military Reservation, Pa.

Home: R.D. 2, Annville, Pa.

Legal residence: Philadelphia, Pa.

#### PREVIOUS AMBASSADORIAL SERVICE AND BACKGROUND

The CHAIRMAN. You have served as our ambassador on numerous other occasions, have you not?

Mr. BIDDLE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you for the record state where you served as ambassador?

Mr. BIDDLE. I served as Minister first in Norway from 1935 to 1937, early 1937, when I went as Ambassador to Poland, where I remained until the war in Poland was over. Then I accompanied the Polish Government to France, and when 8 months later the Nazi forces turned on France, I became interim Ambassador to France, inasmuch as our regular Ambassador remained in Paris.

Later, I returned to London as Ambassador to Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Poland, Greece, Yugoslavia, and then I acted as informal liaison between General de Gaulle of the Free French Government which was set up in London and our Government here.

Also, I served in an informal capacity at the side of the King of Albania who had a great many difficulties at that time and was residing in London.

The CHAIRMAN. He still has difficulties, does he not?

Mr. BIDDLE. Yes, sir; a great many.

#### KNOWLEDGE OF SPAIN AND U.S. RELATIONS WITH SPAIN

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever served in Spain?

Mr. BIDDLE. I have never served in Spain, sir, but I have gone there a great deal during my periods of service abroad. As a matter of fact, I spent every vacation I had in Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you speak Spanish?

Mr. BIDDLE. I speak it enough to get around and it is getting better every day. I am plugging at it hard, sir; I should say that I will really be able to master it in about 60 days.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with our relations there, particularly with regard to the bases?

Mr. BIDDLE. Yes, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. You are familiar with that?

Mr. BIDDLE. Yes, sir. I have followed that from the very outset, because at the time that that was being negotiated, I was on the staff of SHAPE, the military agency of NATO.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with any of the activities of what has been referred to in the press as a Spanish lobby group in Washington, in this country?

Mr. BIDDLE. No, sir; I am not.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know anything about that?

Mr. BIDDLE. No, sir. I have not been briefed on it.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know that there is such a group. It has been alleged that there is.

Mr. BIDDLE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Mansfield, do you have any questions?

Senator MANSFIELD. I do not know whether to call him "General."

The CHAIRMAN. It is difficult to know right at this point what to call him.

Senator MANSFIELD. But he will be "Ambassador" again, I am sure, and soon.

Mr. Biddle, you have had a lot of experience. You have served as minister and ambassador to governments in being; you have served as ambassador also to governments in exile. You also served under General Eisenhower in Europe, did you not, in line with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization?

Mr. BIDDLE. Yes, sir.

Senator MANSFIELD. While there, you held the rank of brigadier general?

Mr. BIDDLE. Yes, sir.

Senator MANSFIELD. When you returned to this country you became the adjutant general of the Pennsylvania National Guard?

Mr. BIDDLE. Yes, sir.

Senator MANSFIELD. Do you still hold that position?

Mr. BIDDLE. Yes, sir.

#### APPOINTMENT COMMENDED

Senator MANSFIELD. I think, Mr. Chairman, that we are extremely fortunate to have a man of Mr. Biddle's background, experience and training, and I look forward to the service which I know that he will render to our country in his new post, because, based on past experiences, he has always done an outstanding job in every post to which he has been accredited.

That is all.

Mr. BIDDLE. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have anything further, Mr. Ambassador?

Mr. BIDDLE. No, Senator Fulbright.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. We appreciate your coming down, and I hope you have a very pleasant tour of duty in Spain.

Mr. BIDDLE. I thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a very beautiful country. It has its political problems, I may say.

Mr. BIDDLE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sure you will deal with them properly and in our interests.

Mr. BIDDLE. I shall do my utmost.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. BIDDLE. Thank you, sir.

## Nomination of William Attwood To Be Ambassador to Guinea

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness will be Mr. William Attwood of Connecticut to be Ambassador to the Republic of Guinea.

### STATEMENT OF SENATOR DODD

I ask the reporter to insert in the record at this point a statement by Senator Thomas J. Dodd with regard to Mr. Attwood.  
(The statement referred to follows:)

### STATEMENT OF SENATOR THOMAS J. DODD

I regard the nomination of William Attwood as Ambassador to Guinea as one of the outstanding ambassadorial appointments of recent years.

Mr. Attwood is a resident of New Canaan, Conn., and I am privileged to know him. He has an intimate knowledge of foreign affairs arising in part from long experience as a foreign correspondent for the New York Herald Tribune and Collier's magazine and for the past 10 years as European editor and foreign editor of Look magazine.

I believe that Mr. Attwood possesses the qualities of character and competence which will make him an outstanding success in the very difficult post to which he has been named by the President.

I respectfully recommend that his nomination be favorably reported by the committee and swiftly confirmed by the Senate.

### STATEMENT OF WILLIAM ATTWOOD, NOMINEE TO BE AMBASSADOR TO GUINEA

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Attwood, you have had quite a career, I believe, as a news correspondent both in Europe and Africa, have you not?

Mr. ATTWOOD. Yes, sir.

### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF MR. ATTWOOD

(Mr. Attwood's biographical sketch follows:)

### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF WILLIAM ATTWOOD

Present position: Foreign editor, Look magazine.

Considered for: Ambassador to Guinea.

Born: Paris, France (American parents), July 14, 1919.

Education: Choate School, 1937; Princeton University, 1941, A.B.

Marital status: Married.

### EXPERIENCE

#### Non-Government

1946-49: Herald Tribune, New York City, Washington, D.C., Europe and Africa;

1949-51: Free lance writer: European correspondent for Collier's;

1951-61: Look magazine, first European editor, second national editor, now foreign editor.

#### Government

None stated.

#### Military

1941-45: U.S. Army artillery and intelligence; enlisted and rose to rank of captain.

Membership and clubs: None stated.

Home: 40 Carter Street, New Canaan, Conn.

Office: 488 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

Legal residence: Connecticut.

## KNOWLEDGE OF GUINEA

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been in Africa in recent years?

Mr. ATTWOOD. Not in the very recent years.

I used to cover Africa from Paris, when I was a correspondent of the Herald Tribune there, when the area was French West Africa.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever been to Guinea?

Mr. ATTWOOD. I have been to Guinea.

The CHAIRMAN. Recently?

Mr. ATTWOOD. No, I was in Guinea before it became independent.

The CHAIRMAN. Before it became independent?

Mr. ATTWOOD. Yes. When it was still a French colony.

## LANGUAGE KNOWLEDGE

The CHAIRMAN. French is the common language there, is it not?

Mr. ATTWOOD. It is.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you speak French?

Mr. ATTWOOD. It has been my second language since childhood, as it has been my wife's.

The CHAIRMAN. So your wife speaks French?

Mr. ATTWOOD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is very important, too.

## CONCEPT OF ASSIGNMENT

Do you care to make any statement regarding this assignment, your duties there, for the information of the committee?

Mr. ATTWOOD. I have no statement other than to say that I am honored by the nomination.

If confirmed, I intend to devote all my energies to what promises to be a difficult assignment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this your first appointment to Government service?

Mr. ATTWOOD. Yes, it is.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been a journalist all your adult life; is that right?

Mr. ATTWOOD. Ever since I got out of the Army in 1945. I might say, Mr. Chairman, that I think that journalism and diplomacy in many respects are allied professions, and that they both involve observation, exercise of judgment, accurate reporting, and in my own experience in journalism, which has been the last 15 years, much of it has been concerned with covering the cold war in many parts of the world—in Africa, Asia, Europe—in the course of which I have had considerable opportunities to watch communism in action.

I have been in all the satellite states, as well as the Soviet Union, and I have been able to see something about their weaknesses, as well as their methods.

I think this experience will probably be valuable in a country, an African country, where Soviet influence has been strong and is getting stronger.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions, Senator Mansfield?

## ORIENTATION

Senator MANSFIELD. Mr. Attwood, you are aware of the fact that this is not an easy assignment?

Mr. ATTWOOD. I am very much aware of the fact, sir.

Senator MANSFIELD. Have you been undergoing, in addition to what knowledge you already have, training in acquiring some understanding of the conditions, the culture, the mores of Guinea?

Mr. ATTWOOD. Yes, sir.

I have certainly in the last few weeks here in Washington, but, in addition to that, over the past several years, as foreign editor of *Look*, I have been in charge of the planning and the direction, supervision, and editing of most of our African issues, of which there have been several.

So I have been rather familiar with the problems of newly independent Africa, and that is why I was particularly interested in this assignment.

## U.S. POLICY TOWARD GUINEA

Senator MANSFIELD. In a sense, Mr. Attwood, you will be a trail-blazer because, while we have had one very good Ambassador to Guinea previously, Mr. Morrow, there are nevertheless these problems which are apparent and becoming more so each day throughout all of Africa.

Is it your intention to travel over the country and get to know the different elements which make up the population?

Mr. ATTWOOD. I am very hopeful that I will be able to travel around the country.

I think the main problem at first, as it is in all the countries, is probably to establish better communications with the leadership of these countries.

I think they are highly suspicious, highly sensitive people, and if we can persuade them that our own foreign policy aims, certainly as enunciated by the President, in many ways are not inconsistent with their stated aims, that is, rapid economic development of their countries, more and better education, keeping the cold war out of Africa so far as possible; if we can persuade them that these are the things we want for Africa, too, we may be able to make some headway.

I think the door to the West is still open in Guinea, and I would not want to see us slam it shut.

Senator MANSFIELD. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The Senator from Indiana?

Senator CAPEHART. No questions?

## TRAVEL ABROAD

The CHAIRMAN. The Senator from Kansas?

Senator CARLSON. Mr. Chairman, just this, and I assume maybe that Mr. Attwood has answered it.

In view of your past experience and service as foreign correspondent for various newspapers, including the *Herald Tribune*, *Collier's*, and presently with *Look*, you have traveled, have you, in these countries?

Mr. ATTWOOD. Yes, sir, I have.

Senator CARLSON. You are familiar with them?

Mr. ATTWOOD. Yes, I am.

Senator CARLSON. That is all.

#### POLITICAL AFFILIATION

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Attwood, are you a Democrat or a Republican?

Mr. ATTWOOD. I am a Democrat.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a Democrat when you were on the Herald Tribune?

Mr. ATTWOOD. Yes, sir.

I was a Democrat on the Herald Tribune.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been a Democrat all the time. Did you make any contribution to this campaign?

Mr. ATTWOOD. I contributed what I had, which was time and effort.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not make any financial contribution?

Mr. ATTWOOD. No, sir.

I just contributed what I had.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not a career appointee. Would you be described as a political appointee, or how would you describe yourself?

Mr. ATTWOOD. Well, I would describe myself as I suppose technically I am a political appointee.

It is probably unlikely that I would have been nominated had the Republicans won the election.

But I like to think that the main reason for my appointment or nomination, rather, has been that I have special qualifications for this particular assignment, both linguistically and background and experience, and I might add one thing which I think is important in these countries.

I am contemporary with the leadership of these countries. As a matter of fact, the President is 2 years younger than I am.

I think in establishing better communications it is sometimes helpful to be the same generation.

The CHAIRMAN. How old are you?

Mr. ATTWOOD. I am 41, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Senator from Indiana?

Senator CAPEHART. You said you gave what you had. Just what was it you had?

Mr. ATTWOOD. Well, I had some talent at writing and I had some time.

Senator CAPEHART. You mean you gave of your time and your ability.

Were you on the payroll of any committee?

Mr. ATTWOOD. Yes; I was on the payroll of the Democratic National Committee for a period during the campaign; not for the entire time.

Senator CAPEHART. For what, did you say?

Mr. ATTWOOD. For a part of the campaign.



Senator CAPEHART. You were on their payroll. You worked for the Democratic National Committee?

Mr. ATTWOOD. Yes, sir.

Senator CAPEHART. You did writing?

Mr. ATTWOOD. In the Kennedy headquarters I was involved in the section that prepared the speeches.

CONCEPT OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY IN AFRICA

Senator CAPEHART. You said a moment ago that you would follow out the foreign policy of the President.

Just what do you understand the foreign policy of the President to be, or the foreign policy of the United States?

Mr. ATTWOOD. In Africa, as I said a moment ago, I think that the policy, as enunciated, is that we want to contribute to their economic development, to their political stability; that we look with favor on their desire for independence.

Senator CAPEHART. Their what?

Mr. ATTWOOD. Their desire for total independence, and for their desire, expressed desire, to keep the cold war out of the continent.

And many of these aspirations of theirs are the same that we had ourselves after our own revolution 200 years ago.

I think for this reason we may be able to establish good communications with these new leaders.

Senator CAPEHART. In other words, you want to help those that do not have independence to gain independence; those that do, you want to help them become successful nations?

Mr. ATTWOOD. My own responsibility in Guinea would not involve this. It would involve working with the Guinean Government, which has already achieved independence.

Senator CAPEHART. Well, it is a big job.

Mr. ATTWOOD. I think so.

Senator CAPEHART. Africa is a continent that has 45 nations and where 800 different languages are spoken. It is no easy task.

Mr. ATTWOOD. That is what makes it interesting, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all?

Senator CAPEHART. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Attwood, I appreciate your coming here.

I congratulate you.

I think you are the only Democrat who did anything for the election that has come before this committee for appointment. So far as I can see, you are almost unique.

Senator CARLSON. The chairman would not want to leave the impression we have been appointing Republicans.

The CHAIRMAN. To a great extent, we have, but more importantly, more Democrats who did not do anything in the election. So I think you are entitled to special recognition.

Mr. ATTWOOD. I am not a hopeless cause, Senator. I cast my first vote for Willkie in 1940.

Senator CAPEHART. Well, he was a good Hoosier. Too bad he was not elected.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. ATTWOOD. Thank you.

## Nomination of Aaron S. Brown To Be Ambassador to Nicaragua

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness is Mr. Aaron S. Brown, of New Hampshire, to be Ambassador to Nicaragua. Mr. Brown, I believe you are a Foreign Service officer; is that correct?

(The biographical sketch of Mr. Brown follows:)

### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF MR. BROWN

#### AARON S. BROWN

Present position: Deputy Assistant Secretary for Personnel.

Considered for: Ambassador to Nicaragua.

Born: Pontiac, Mich., April 15, 1913.

Education: Student, Cranbrook School, Bloomfield Hills, Mich., 1927-31; A.B., Princeton, 1935.

Marital status: Married.

#### EXPERIENCE

Non-Government: 1936-37, reporter, Pontiac Daily Press.

Government: 1937, appointed Foreign Service officer, unclassified, vice consul of career, and secretary in the diplomatic service; vice consul, Mexico; 1938, to Department; 1942, FSO-8; 1943, third secretary, Dublin; 1944, FSO-7; second secretary, Dublin; 1945-46, to Department; second secretary, Bogotá; FSO-6; FSO-4; 1947-48, to Department, FSO-3; appointed consul; 1949, assistant to director, Executive Secretariat; 1950, special assistant to Deputy Under Secretary; 1951, FSO-2; consul and counselor of Embassy, Bangkok; 1953, counselor of Embassy and Deputy Chief of Mission, Lisbon; 1956, FSO-1; assigned to the Department as Deputy Director, Office of Personnel; 1958, consul general; Deputy Assistant Secretary for Personnel.

Office: Department of State, Washington, D.C.

Home: 3616 East Thornapple Street, Chevy Chase, Md.

Legal residence: Lyme, N.H.

Political affiliation: Career.

### STATEMENT OF AARON S. BROWN, NOMINEE TO BE AMBASSADOR TO NICARAGUA

Mr. BROWN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in the Service?

Mr. BROWN. Since 1937, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. How many posts have you had in that period?

Mr. BROWN. I have served in Mexico and Dublin, Ireland; I am now closing my third tour of duty in the Department during my career, and I have served in Lisbon, Bangkok, and Bogotá, Colombia.

The CHAIRMAN. You have served in the Latin American area?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir, twice before.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you speak Spanish?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

#### NICARAGUA

The CHAIRMAN. Do you care to tell us about Nicaragua for the information of the committee?

Mr. BROWN. Nicaragua is one of the Central American nations, Mr. Chairman.

It is a small, a relatively small, country. I am finding in the course of my briefing that it is a very interesting and fascinating one.

It is a country, I think, with great potentiality. The population is small. There is quite a bit of undeveloped land in the country, good land, which can be used to the advantage of the people of that nation.

It is a country with a good financial situation. It has a rather diversified crop situation which is an advantage to the country.

They have just begun to develop over the last few years light industry, and it is a country that I am going to find most interesting and most challenging, in which to represent my country.

#### ESTABLISHMENT OF CENTRAL AMERICAN COMMON MARKET

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think they are making much progress in that area toward the establishment of a common market? Do you know anything about that?

Mr. BROWN. Somewhat, Mr. Chairman.

There have been some very interesting developments in Central America, itself, toward coordination among the countries.

This is a very useful thing—it could be—because of the fact that the market in each country is relatively small.

But if one of the countries can develop an appropriate industry, one that is appropriate for its own resources, and yet can extend its markets easily to the neighboring countries, this will be an advantage.

For example, there has recently been developed a Central American Bank with headquarters in Tegucigalpa in Honduras. It is interesting, however, that the first president of that bank is a Nicaraguan.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his name?

Mr. BROWN. Enrique Delgado.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know him?

Mr. BROWN. I met him the other evening; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Mansfield?

Senator MANSFIELD. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Capehart?

#### MR. BROWN'S NOMINATION

Senator CAPEHART. You are going down to relieve or take the place of Ambassador Weyland, I believe?

Mr. BROWN. That is correct, sir.

Senator CAPEHART. You really have a tough man to follow.

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir; I realize that.

Senator CAPEHART. He has been down there for many years. The Nicaraguans call him Tommy.

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

Senator CAPEHART. I feel if you can do as good a job as he has in creating good will, you will make a very, very successful Ambassador.

Mr. BROWN. I hope I can, sir.

Senator CAPEHART. I wish you success.

Mr. BROWN. Thank you.

Senator CAPEHART. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Carlson?

Senator CARLSON. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have anything else you would like to say, Mr. Brown?

Mr. BROWN. Thank you very much. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. We are very glad to have you here.

#### OTHER WITNESSES PRESENT

I want the record to show that Mr. Reischauer is still here, as is Mr. Biddle.

Would either of the Senators who have come in care to ask them questions while they are here?

Senator CARLSON. Mr. Chairman, I would just like to state, as far as I am concerned, that I made some inquiries, and I understand that the chairman and Mr. Mansfield did inquire of Mr. Reischauer as to some of the problems that have been mentioned in connection with his assignment, and, therefore, I do not believe I care to ask any questions.

The CHAIRMAN. I just thought while they were here, that if the Senators would care to question them, why, we would be glad to call them back?

Senator Capehart?

#### REFERENCE TO DR. REISCHAUER'S MEMBERSHIP IN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

Senator CAPEHART. I guess the problem is the Pacific Institute.

Does he admit that he was associated with the Pacific Institute?

The CHAIRMAN. He discussed that and stated that his only relation was that he had subscribed to the magazine, I think over 1 or 2 years.

Senator CAPEHART. That is the only connection he had with it?

The CHAIRMAN. His testimony was that he had never been an officer or attended meetings of this organization. He is here.

Senator CAPEHART. That is all I would care to ask, and you have already asked that question.

#### COMMITTEE PROCEDURE

The CHAIRMAN. I may say that I was requested by one or two members who could not be here not to vote on these until tomorrow after we complete the list of witnesses. Tomorrow we will have the ambassadorial nominations of Mr. Galbraith, to India; Mr. Stockdale, to Ireland; Mr. Blair, to Denmark; Mr. Rice, to the Netherlands; and Mr. Young, to Thailand.

After that meeting, we will expect to vote on the confirmation of all of those that we heard today and those we will hear tomorrow. Any further questions?

If not, the committee is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 11:05 a.m., the committee adjourned, to reconvene Friday, March 24, 1961.)

## AMBASSADORIAL NOMINATIONS

FRIDAY, MARCH 24, 1961

U.S. SENATE,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:10 a.m., in room 4221, New Senate Office Building, Senator J. W. Fulbright (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senators Fulbright, Sparkman, Humphrey, Lausche, Symington, and Wiley.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

### Nomination of J. Kenneth Galbraith To Be Ambassador to India

The first witness before us this morning will be J. Kenneth Galbraith of Massachusetts, professor of economics at Harvard University, to be Ambassador to India.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF MR. GALBRAITH

(The biographical sketch of Mr. Galbraith follows:)

##### J. KENNETH GALBRAITH

Present position: Economist; professor of economics, Harvard (Paul M. Warburg professor).

Considered for: Ambassador to India.

Born: Iona Station, Ontario, Canada, October 15, 1908.

Education: B.S., University of Toronto, 1931; M.S., University of California, 1933, Ph. D., 1934; student, Cambridge University, England, 1937-38; LL.D., Bard College, 1958, Miami University (Ohio), 1959.

Marital status: Married.

##### EXPERIENCE

Non-Government: 1931-34—research fellow, University of California; 1934-39—instructor and tutor, Harvard; 1939-42—assistant professor of economics, Princeton University; 1943-48—member, board of editors, *Fortune* magazine; 1948-49—lecturer, Harvard; professor of economics since 1949.

Government: 1940-41—economic adviser, National Defense Advisory Commission; 1941-42—Assistant Administrator in charge of Price Division, Office of Price Administration; 1942-43—Deputy Administrator, Office of Price Administration; 1945—Director, U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey; 1946—Director, Office of Economic Security Policy, State Department.

Home: 30 Francis Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.

Office: Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Legal residence: Massachusetts.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Galbraith, we are delighted to have you before the committee. Will this be your first Government assignment?

STATEMENT OF J. KENNETH GALBRAITH, NOMINEE TO BE  
AMBASSADOR TO INDIA

Mr. GALBRAITH. No, I have been in the Government before.

The CHAIRMAN. What positions have you held?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Well, apart from some minor posts in the 1930's, in 1940 I was with the Defense Advisory Council and then from 1941 to 1943 I was Assistant Administrator and Deputy Administrator in the Office of Price Administration. And then, in 1945 I was a Director of the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey in the War Department and in 1946 I was head of the Office of Economic Security Policy in the Department of State.

ASSIGNMENT AS AMBASSADOR TO INDIA

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever been in a diplomatic post?

Mr. GALBRAITH. I have never been, no.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you looking forward to an assignment to India?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Well, I'm perfectly delighted by the prospect.

It is a country which has long interested me and with which I have long been involved professionally. It is one of the great remaining problems in economics that could be solved. The well-being and welfare of a great many million people turn on the success of Indian economic development. And, needless to say, there is a tradition of American-Indian friendship which one hopes will be sustained and developed.

The CHAIRMAN. You are an economist, are you not?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Yes, sir.

PAST STUDY OF CONDITIONS IN INDIA

The CHAIRMAN. Have you given any particular study to conditions in India?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Yes. I have been rather closely involved with Indian matters for, oh, upwards of 10 years. Would you like me to say a word on that?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, I would.

Mr. GALBRAITH. In 1952 I began a seminar at my university, Harvard, which was devoted to the problems of the developing countries, of the countries that were winning independence, and particularly to the economic problems of the countries of the Asian subcontinent. And I've been associated with that seminar and with this research and teaching ever since and this has attracted over the years a very considerable number of Indian and Pakistani students. And I have spent several months in India on two different occasions and I'm also, of course, somewhat familiar with the problems of Ceylon and Pakistan where I've also acted as a consultant or adviser to the planning bodies.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the nature of your activities while you were in India? Were you investigating its economy?

Mr. GALBRAITH. The Indian Government in 1956 through the Indian Statistical Institute invited about half a dozen economists from various parts of the world to come and spend several months there

just at the beginning of the second 5-year plan. I was one of those invited, went and during that time we were asked to comment on various problems in connection with the second 5-year plan, write various papers in connection with it, and generally to familiarize ourselves and make what useful comments we could. Later I went back to visit industrial enterprises firsthand. There always has been a considerable difference between what goes on in the capital and what actually happens in the field, and I was attempting to bridge that difference and familiarize myself with the actual industrial problems.

#### INDIAN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT SEEN AS ENCOURAGING

The CHAIRMAN. Are you encouraged by the prospects of economic development in India?

Mr. GALBRAITH. On balance, yes. There has certainly been a very good development on the industrial side. The Indians are good businessmen, good entrepreneurs, and the private sector of the Indian economy has been, of course, expanding very rapidly in these last years. And in the public sector there has been development, impressive development, of steel, heavy machinery, power, fertilizer, all of which adds up to a good deal of progress.

I do not think anyone, certainly any friend of India, would want to say he was satisfied with it, but it is more than an encouraging start.

#### PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

I should think one would have to say that developments in agriculture are a good deal less encouraging. The agricultural industry has not been developing in as satisfactory a way as has the industrial sector.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, why is that? How do you explain that?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Well, there are many explanations for it. Certainly some have thought it has not received sufficient attention. I would be myself inclined to stress the fact that agriculture is a less manageable, less approachable industry, than, say, steel or machinery building. You have in India an almost unimaginable number of agricultural villages, 450,000 of them. The mere task of establishing communication with that many agricultural communities is a very large one, and without some communication, without some rudiments of an extension service, of course, there is no way of getting to the villager with fertilizer and with credit and with the other things which he needs for increasing his output.

Then there are problems in getting water use that have not been fully solved. The water comes down from the Himalaya Range and is spread on the land. This is a problem of some technical difficulty and some of the older irrigation works in India, particularly in the Punjab, have been waterlogging. The water table has been rising and destroying the land. This problem is still not solved. This is perhaps somewhat more serious in Pakistan than it is in India.

All in all, I think no one would doubt that agriculture presents a much more difficult problem in modern developing society than does industry.

## EVALUATION OF THE ETAWAH PROJECT IN INDIA

The CHAIRMAN. We had some years ago a report of what was called the Etawah project. Are you familiar with that project? We sent a county agent over there to undertake a kind of a pilot project. I cannot think of the man's name at the moment. Can you, Senator Sparkman?

Senator SPARKMAN. No, not at the moment, but I know the man you are referring to.

Mr. GALBRAITH. I visited that about 6 or 8 years ago. My knowledge of it is out of date, Mr. Chairman. This was a combined agricultural and industrial development which at one time showed great promise. My impression is that it may not have sustained its original promise. But I am speaking of information that is, I am sorry to say, somewhat out of date.

The CHAIRMAN. As I recall, this was strictly an agricultural project, to introduce improved seeds, fertilizer, and so on. It was very imaginative at the time. The county agent came from Tennessee, I believe.

## THE POPULATION PROBLEM IN INDIA

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say the population problem in India is a serious one?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Oh, yes. India adds some 8 million people to its population every year and in both India and Pakistan the problem of keeping the food supply abreast of the increase in population is certainly a serious one, no question about it.

The CHAIRMAN. I have been informed they are very interested in slowing down their population increase.

Mr. GALBRAITH. I think this is one of the encouraging things, that in both countries there is a complete realization that population is a problem. This is not something that any leader in that part of the world needs to be told. I'm not sure parenthetically that there are very many things they need to be told. This is again a case where the difference between will and execution, will and action, is a considerable one. It is very difficult to execute a population policy, a very difficult thing.

## IS INDIA AT THE "TAKEOFF" POINT OF DEVELOPMENT?

The CHAIRMAN. It is said by some that India is at that "takeoff" point where an infusion of capital would enable it in the reasonably near future to create a self-generating economy. Do you think that is true?

Mr. GALBRAITH. No. There are differences of opinion on this and it is my own opinion that this is too optimistic, that India will have to import capital for quite some time to come.

## DISCUSSION OF MR. GALBRAITH'S TERM, "POST OFFICE SOCIALISM"

The CHAIRMAN. You are quoted in a Washington Post article of December 30, 1960, as referring to "post office socialism" in India. What did you mean by that phrase?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Well, this bears almost immediately on what we were talking about. The Indian Government is engaged in the creation of a number of great industrial enterprises and the question has arisen whether these should be run with a minimum of profit with low prices and perhaps somewhat higher wages than might otherwise be



paid or should it minimize its profits? The Indian steel industry is potentially a very efficient industry and has very low-cost materials. It is modern. Should it produce at no profit or should it seek to produce a considerable margin of income for plowing back in expansion? I characterize "post office socialism" as the first choice, not producing any profit. I think this is the perhaps not unfair characterization of the way post offices are run. I was making the case for producing the largest amount of revenue possible for further development from these enterprises. I must say I learned that if one uses a phrase like "post office socialism," one can count on having to explain it.

#### EXPANSION OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR OF THE INDIAN ECONOMY

The CHAIRMAN. I have been told that this private sector in India has made quite a bit of progress. What has surprised many people in recent years is that it has come along very vigorously. Is that your impression?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Yes. I have never been quite clear as to why people should be surprised about this. Indians are very good businessmen. It is certainly quite true that the private sector of the economy has expanded very rapidly. But it would be wrong to assume it can do all the job. A large-scale public sponsorship of enterprise will still be required.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean more or less the way we have done it here?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Yes, although I should think that coming later, and with the absolute imperative of getting development, that there is no alternative, as in the case of the steel industry, for example, to a very substantial public participation.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to insert in the record at this point a telegram I have received from Mr. Bernard M. Baruch concerning Mr. Galbraith's nomination.

KINGSTREE, S.C., March 17, 1961.

Senator FULBRIGHT,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.:

Letter concerning Galbraith received and I am pleased to be recorded as saying that he is well qualified to be Ambassador to India.

BERNARD M. BARUCH.

The Senator from Alabama. Do you have any questions, Senator?

Senator SPARKMAN. Mr. Chairman, first I just want to tell you that the name of the county agent was Mr. Holmes.

Mr. GALBRAITH. Horace.

Senator SPARKMAN. Horace Holmes. You remember the work that he pioneered in India, do you not, Mr. Galbraith?

Mr. GALBRAITH. I do, indeed; yes, sir.

#### WORK OF FORD FOUNDATION IN INDIA

Senator SPARKMAN. Is it not true that the Ford Foundation has been doing quite a job of training, but primarily in agricultural work?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Yes. I think the Ford Foundation has been doing a really first rate piece of work. It has been under the very distinguished leadership of Douglas Emsinger, who is a graduate of agricultural work in the United States. In both the village development plan what we would call an extension service—

Senator SPARKMAN. Basic extension service.

Mr. GALBRAITH. Basic extension service, and the more recent development of selecting certain areas and seeing what can be accomplished in the way of increased food production by very intensive application of fertilizer, improved water use, and new genetic strains. Both of those are examples of first-rate leadership by the Ford Foundation.

Senator SPARKMAN. You stated that India, in your opinion, will have to import capital for a good many years. But doesn't India have some problems with reference to inducing foreign capital to come in? Are there not some pretty severe handicaps, such as her tax laws, or private industry's obtaining permission to come in and develop industry?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Yes. I should think that that is true.

#### MR. GALBRAITH'S REPORT TO THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT

Senator SPARKMAN. By the way, I was interested in the questioning by the chairman about "post office socialism." I have read some of the excerpts from your report to the Indian Government. You made that report not long ago, did you not?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Yes. I made a number—I did make one about a year ago, a year and a half ago.

Senator SPARKMAN. I have heard you called an "egghead socialist." Do you think that is very descriptive of you?

Mr. GALBRAITH. It is not excessively complimentary. [Laughter.]

Senator SPARKMAN. Well, reading those remarks that you made to the Indian Government, it seemed to me to be quite contradictory.

Mr. GALBRAITH. Well, I must say we all have our own image of ourselves and that is true in my case.

I like to think of myself as being essentially practical on these issues, of recommending and doing what in the given situation gets the results.

I frankly do not think the Indians would have got a large steel industry without public enterprise.

Senator LAUSCHE. Without what?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Without public enterprise, without public leadership.

On the other hand, India has built an enormously successful textile industry by private enterprise. I think one should and my own disposition is to favor what gets results.

Senator SPARKMAN. May I say, Mr. Galbraith, that from what I read of your report to the Indian Government, I thought you made some very fine and practical suggestions to them. You recognized the very problems that you have just pointed out—encouraging private enterprise as far as it could be done, but recognizing the fact that in some instances the government is going to have to operate. In fact, their industry has been built very largely on that kind of a basis, has it not?

Mr. GALBRAITH. This is essentially my feeling; yes, sir.

#### PREVIOUS ASSOCIATIONS WITH INDIA, CEYLON, AND PAKISTAN

Senator SPARKMAN. You have been an economic adviser to the Government of India; is that not right?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Well, I think that would perhaps exaggerate, in my opinion, my position a little bit. I was there, as I said, for an extended period as a guest of the government, and invited to comment and submit papers which included the ones which you have just mentioned.

I, of course, also gave a great many lectures while I was there, and it was part of my first visit, at least, which was to enable me to familiarize myself more closely with the Indian problem than I had previously had an opportunity of doing.

Senator SPARKMAN. Haven't you rendered similar service to Ceylon and Pakistan?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Yes. The late Premier Bandaranaike invited me to Ceylon not a great time before his death, and I was there in connection with their effort to launch their first development plan and I have always been—well, I have been very close to Pakistan developments for slightly different reasons.

Mr. Bell, now the Budget Director, when he was at Harvard, traveled extensively between Cambridge and Pakistan in connection with an arrangement by which the school of public administration there helped to staff the Pakistan Planning Board. I was associated with that work.

#### DIVERSITY OF INDIAN CIVILIZATION

Senator SPARKMAN. Then, you have a fair knowledge of that whole area, do you not?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Well, yes. I suppose this would be not too immodest. This is a part of the world, Senator, where I think one should suspect anyone who claims great knowledge. This is an old and very diverse civilization. One can almost liken India to Europe.

It has almost as many languages and it is almost as large, and part of its interest, indeed I suppose maybe its greatest interest, is that one feels he has never stopped learning; there is always some mystery to be solved.

Senator SPARKMAN. It is a great country, a big country, and it is a big job that you are undertaking. I think you will do well at it. I certainly wish you well.

The CHAIRMAN. The Senator from Wisconsin.

#### QUESTION OF CHINA POLICY

Senator WILEY. I notice that you were born in Canada, and part of your education was obtained in England.

What is your attitude in relation to Communist China's admission to the United Nations?

Mr. GALBRAITH. I would support—well, I would, of course, in my, in any official role see myself as the representative of the President's policy on that.

Going on to my personal view, I should hope—and you asked me so I state my personal view, I should hope—that the time will come when it would be possible to see the existence of two Chinas and have peace in that part of the world.

I do not think that Communist China is going to disappear from the face of the world.

Senator WILEY. Will you speak louder? I do not hear you very well.

Mr. GALBRAITH. I first made the point, sir, that I considered myself the President's representative and the exponent of the President's policy as that is developed.

You asked me for my personal view. It is that I should hope that the time will come when it would be possible to have peace in that part of the world based on the existence of our commitments to Formosa, based on the existence of an independent Taiwan, and I assume that that implies the ultimate recognition of Red China. Whether they are willing and when they are willing to accept negotiations to that end, of course, remains a great unknown. I do not, in all candor, think that Red China is going to disappear from the face of the earth.

#### ATTITUDE OF PEIPING GOVERNMENT

Senator WILEY. Then, if I understand your position correctly, it is that personally you feel that Red China ought to be admitted to the United Nations. But, if this is not the Government's attitude, you will follow the Government's position in the matter. Is that correct?

Mr. GALBRAITH. No. I think I would revise that to say that personally I would hope that negotiations would ultimately lead to that end with the existence of an independent Formosa as part of the result.

Of course, as we all know, the Peiping Government has shown no interest in that outcome, and since that is what I am suggesting, it really rests with them rather than with ourselves.

Senator WILEY. As you know, the Peiping Government has practically laid down an ultimatum to the effect that unless Formosa becomes part of its original government, it would not even want to come into the United Nations.

Mr. GALBRAITH. That is why I say I see no immediate hope of the solution which, I would think, the only possible ultimate one.

#### MR. GALBRAITH'S INTERPRETATION OF THE FUNCTIONS OF HIS POST

Senator WILEY. How much time did you spend in India?

Mr. GALBRAITH. I was there from February until May 1956, Senator. Then I was back again in late March through April, and into early May for, perhaps, 5 weeks as a total in 1959.

Senator WILEY. Do you know all the leaders of India?

Mr. GALBRAITH. No.

Senator WILEY. Now, when you go there as the Ambassador of this country, what do you think your main functions will be in this world of near chaos?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Well, that is a very good question to answer. The functions are exceedingly diverse. I should suppose if one were to summarize it, it would be to act as the interpreter between the President of the United States and the Secretary of State and the leaders of Indian Government, and the reverse.

Senator WILEY. In your opinion, will one of your functions be to get acquainted with the attitude of the Indian people, insofar as it is possible?

Mr. GALBRAITH. I should certainly hope so, sir.

Senator WILEY. Would you get out and sort of mix with the common people, as have many of our Ambassadors and, because of such action, the people have a different idea about our country?

Mr. GALBRAITH. That, I hope, very much, sir, is my disposition.

#### INDIAN-PAKISTANI PROBLEMS

Senator WILEY. Now, you said you have been in Pakistan; is that right?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Yes, sir.

Senator WILEY. As you know, there are still problems between Pakistan and India? Do you expect to render any service in that respect at the instance of the President?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Well, I should hate to think, sir, that I was going out as a miracle worker. These problems, as you so well know, are very deep and very difficult, and involve problems of the greatest magnitude.

To see a peaceful resolution of the problems as between India and Pakistan, both good friends of the United States, is something that we should all hope for. But there is nothing that I would want to work harder for.

On the other hand, these are problems which it would be pretentious to suppose that any one man can hope to solve.

#### MR. GALBRAITH'S BUSINESS EXPERIENCE

Senator WILEY. Well, all these questions lead to one thing. You have been a professor in economics. You are a specialist, and you are known throughout this country as such. Mr. Galbraith, have you had any business dealings of your own? Have you had any connection with problems of business in a "business" relationship?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Well, I would not want to exaggerate my business experience. I grew up on a farm, which gives one a healthy respect for the problems of making a living.

I was for several years a member of the board of editors of Fortune magazine, which brought me into solid and close touch with problems of modern American enterprise.

But other than some very brief identification with one or two businesses with which I have been associated as an adviser, I have had no experience with running a business; no, sir.

#### QUALIFICATIONS OF AN AMBASSADOR

Senator WILEY. Just the other day I heard a discussion—we have had such discussions before—on the comparative merits of theorists and those men who know the practical aspects of dealing with problems of government. That is what my question led to. I would like to get your own idea as to the qualifications necessary for an Ambassador to a tremendous country like India. What are the qualifications that you think an Ambassador should have?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Well, I am afraid, sir, that—

Senator WILEY. Don't be modest. Just speak up. [Laughter.]

Mr. GALBRAITH. Modesty is something which I have never had to be warned against. [Laughter.]

Senator WILEY. You have never been accused of that before.

Mr. GALBRAITH. I should suppose that patience and a desire to learn the problems of the country, plus some appreciation of the problems of the people and, perhaps, in addition, a sense of compassion are the main requirements.

I should hope, sir, that those might be found in professional diplomats and college professors and in businessmen, and that they are not peculiar to anyone.

Senator WILEY. In other words, you think that teaching gives you a qualification that would qualify you for a job of this kind or must one have some other natural ability to handle the problems of government?

Mr. GALBRAITH. I should hope, sir, that is a question which I could leave in your hands with one comment, that I have always been enormously proud of having been a teacher.

Senator WILEY. I think that is all, Mr. Chairman.

#### "TWO CHINA" POLICY

The CHAIRMAN. The Senator from Ohio?

Senator LAUSCHE. Yes.

Mr. Galbraith, how long have you entertained the private view that there ought to be two Chinas?

Mr. GALBRAITH. To answer your question literally, Senator, I would have difficulty in—

Senator LAUSCHE. How long have you entertained the view that Red China ought to be admitted to the United Nations?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Well, I should like to repeat what I said to Senator Wiley. My view is that Red China will not disappear from the globe, that it is here to stay.

My view is that the ultimate peace in this part of the world can be based only, on the one hand, on our commitments to Formosa and, on the other hand, to the fait accompli of the possession by Red China of the mainland.

This leads on to the eventual—to the nature of that settlement which, I would suppose, involves recognition, ultimate membership, in the world organizations.

I am quite aware, sir, that I am stating a position which is not universally agreed upon, but I would be less than honest if I did not tell you what my—the logic of the situation causes me to conclude.

Senator LAUSCHE. Well, I admire you for that. But—

Mr. GALBRAITH. I should hasten to say this is a question which is not, I think, in the ambit of my forthcoming responsibilities.

#### QUESTION OF RED CHINA'S ADMISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Senator LAUSCHE. Well, how long have you entertained the view that Red China ought to be admitted to the United Nations?

Mr. GALBRAITH. I suppose, sir, that I have held this view since I reached the conclusion that this was a government which was not going to be overthrown, a government which had established itself, and was there to stay.

Now, when I reached that conclusion, I must tell you I could not say.

Senator LAUSCHE. Can you give an estimate of the time?

Mr. GALBRAITH. It is certainly—it has certainly been several years, 2 or 3 years.

Senator LAUSCHE. Have you ever spoken publicly on the subject?

Mr. GALBRAITH. I have never spoken publicly on the subject. I do not, sir, consider myself an expert on this subject. I would be less than candid if I did not tell you my private view.

Senator LAUSCHE. Did you maintain the view before the Korean action that Communist China should be admitted to the United Nations, that there should be two Chinas?

Mr. GALBRAITH. No; I would not think so.

#### RED CHINA AND THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Senator LAUSCHE. Having in mind the declaration of principles of the United Nations, and having in mind the conduct of Red China, can you reconcile the principles with Red China's conduct?

Mr. GALBRAITH. As I said to Senator Wiley, Red China has shown no indication that it would accept this resolution of the matter at all. It has never conceded, so far as I am aware, of the possibility of an independent Formosa.

Senator LAUSCHE. I am not talking about the resolution; I am talking about the declaration of principles of the United Nations being reconciled with Red China's action in regard to Quemoy and Matsu, Nepal, Tibet, and Korea, and what I assume it is ready and prepared to do now in Laos.

Mr. GALBRAITH. No. I would accept the implication of your question, sir. I would only hope, only assume, that the entry of the Chinese, of the mainland Chinese, into the United Nations would be based on an acceptance of the principles of the United Nations Charter, and this certainly is not something which they have shown a disposition to do so far.

Senator LAUSCHE. You do understand that Red China has positively stated that Quemoy and Matsu yielded to them will not be adequate: that Formosa must come with Quemoy and Matsu?

Mr. GALBRAITH. I quite understand that.

Senator LAUSCHE. Do you think we can yield to that type of demand in the face of our commitments?

Mr. GALBRAITH. I said to Senator Wiley that in speaking of our policy, which was based on an independent Formosa, I was speaking of something which the Red Chinese have shown no disposition they were likely to accept.

Senator LAUSCHE. They likewise positively declared there would be no two Chinas—only one.

Mr. GALBRAITH. That is true.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA'S ECONOMY

Senator LAUSCHE. Now, I understood you to have said that you hoped to look upon yourself as having a practical approach to problems, seeking to adopt methods that will produce results. Now I am referring to the development of the economy of India.

In your report and study, you recommended—rather, you leaned toward—private enterprise in India; isn't that correct? I have not seen your report.

Mr. GALBRAITH. Well, the report, Senator Lausche, did not really deal with this question. The report was on the present management of the public enterprises, particularly the steel mills, and it was somewhat critical of the present management, and made a number of suggestions as to a change in that management. I did not in that report take the position as between the public and private sector.

Senator LAUSCHE. Am I correct in assuming that you will approach these problems in a practical manner, trying to adopt means that will produce the best results?

Mr. GALBRAITH. That is correct.

Senator LAUSCHE. All right.

#### COMPARATIVE PER CAPITA INCOMES

Now, then, that brings up this question: India is pitted against Red China, at least in the eyes of the Communist world, the latter as having made great progress through communism. From a practical standpoint, having in mind that India has a per capita income of \$77, with about 400 million people, how do you feel their economy can best be developed?

Mr. GALBRAITH. This is a question which does not lend itself to a short answer.

Senator LAUSCHE. Let me illustrate what I have in mind, and you apply the practical approach: Let us say that Soviet Russia has brought the per capita income of its people up to \$800, and the per capita income in India is \$77. Would you have any qualms about what course the Indian Government should take in the development of its economy?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Well, these comparisons have to be taken certainly, sir, with a grain of salt. It is, of course, true that the Russian per capita income is very much higher than that of India and several times as high.

The American per capita income is very much higher than that of Russia. One could as well say that the United States is a model which will be attractive to the Indians as well as Russia. There has been a great deal of talk about comparison between China and India.

Senator LAUSCHE. What do you understand the per capita income of China to be?

Mr. GALBRAITH. This is something that I—I was looking at some figures yesterday. The per capita income of China in terms of consumer goods, in terms of things to eat and wear, is probably somewhat lower than that of India.

Senator LAUSCHE. \$60?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Well, these figures have a large element of imagination in them.

But, as you of course know, the Chinese have been taking it out of the hide of the people; they have been squeezing them very, very hard for investment, in further development in steel mills and machinery, and so forth, and also for military purposes.

#### PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IN INDIA

Senator LAUSCHE. May I assume that you would advocate private enterprise to the maximum degree?



Mr. GALBRAITH. I think, sir, that you can assume that I would advocate private enterprise wherever it is the possible solution.

Senator LAUSCHE. Wherever it is practical?

Mr. GALBRAITH. That is right.

Senator LAUSCHE. And if it is not practical, what do you then advocate?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Well, rather than doing nothing, I would unhesitatingly advocate that the Government do it.

Senator LAUSCHE. I think that is all, Mr. Chairman.

Senator SPARKMAN (presiding). Senator Humphrey.

Senator HUMPHREY. I do not think I have any questions, Mr. Galbraith. I think I know your views quite well. I find them not only illuminating, but reassuring. I wish you quite well.

#### RED CHINA SITUATION

Senator SPARKMAN. I want to ask you one or two questions additionally with reference to this Red China situation.

Let me see if I understand clearly what your position is. You do not think that admission to the United Nations is feasible now?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Oh, no. But as I—

Senator SPARKMAN. But you hope the time will come when it will be; is that correct?

Mr. GALBRAITH. I do, yes.

Senator SPARKMAN. And you recognize that in order for that to come to pass, China has to make a great many changes—

Mr. GALBRAITH. That is right.

Senator SPARKMAN (continuing). Involving compliance with the requirements of the U.N. Charter of being a peace-loving nation?

Mr. GALBRAITH. That is right; and accepting the existence of an independent Formosa.

Senator SPARKMAN. The principles therein.

By the way, in regard to that phrase "peace-loving people," Senator Vandenberg also used to say a "peace-loving people." Would you subscribe to that idea as applied to the Communist Chinese?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Yes, I think so. I should hope also that we would not lose sight of the Chinese people themselves. These were people for whom we once had great affection and friendship and they have unquestionably been suffering very severely under the impact of this regime.

Senator SPARKMAN. Do you by any chance—

Mr. GALBRAITH. But the point that I was seeking to make to Senator Wiley and Senator Lausche was that I would be less than candid with them if I said that I thought Red China was going to disappear from the face of the earth. I do not think it is.

#### COMMUNIST CHINA'S OPPOSITION TO "TWO CHINA" SOLUTION

Senator SPARKMAN. You realize, of course, that Red China has taken a rather adamant stand in opposition to a two-China situation?

Mr. GALBRAITH. I quite agree with that.

Senator SPARKMAN. They have stated that under no condition would they ever accept such a situation.

Mr. GALBRAITH. Yes. But—

Senator SPARKMAN. And yet you see this "two-China" arrangement as the only practical solution of admitting Red China to the United Nations?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Yes.

Senator SPARKMAN. And until and unless Communist China accepts this, you would not be in favor of its admission?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Oh, we could not sacrifice or go back on our commitments. We do not do that.

Senator SPARKMAN. Would your approach be to require Red China to come up to the requirements of the Charter, and at the same time, to insist upon our complying with our commitments to Nationalist China on Formosa?

Mr. GALBRAITH. That is correct, sir.

#### BOOTHBY-LODGE DEBATE

Senator SPARKMAN. Did you by any chance hear the debate last night between Lord Boothby and Henry Cabot Lodge?

Mr. GALBRAITH. I am sorry to say I did not.

Senator SPARKMAN. If I understand your position, except as to the independence of Formosa—I did not hear that mentioned last night—it seems to me your position is identical with that taken by Henry Cabot Lodge. You might be interested in reading a transcript of that debate.

Mr. GALBRAITH. Mr. Lodge comes from my State; he is a friend of mine, and I am glad to be in such distinguished alliance.

Senator HUMPHREY. Boothby did pretty well, too.

Senator SPARKMAN. Yes, he did. It was a good debate.

I believe that is all.

#### QUESTION OF COMMUNIST CHINA'S ADMISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Senator WILEY. Just a minute, Mr. Chairman. I do want to get this question cleared up. I think that your questions made quite a contribution toward that end. But now let us try to get the picture a little clearer in another sense.

Do you mean that if and when Mao Tse-tung is out of the picture, and if and when there is a leadership in China that is not affiliated with the Kremlin and is not Communist, then you would be willing to have them come into the United Nations?

Mr. GALBRAITH. I think you go—

Senator WILEY. A little louder, please.

Mr. GALBRAITH. I say, I think you rather go further in seeking my agreement than I would care to go, sir.

No, I would not go that far.

We do know, however, that regimes of all sorts change.

I would say that whatever the development, and whatever the reasons, when there is agreement on the independence of Formosa, when there is acceptance of the U.N. Charter, and if these things could be negotiated, then there seems to be a possibility of negotiating toward this result, then I would hope that we might have a settlement.

I am, sir, an optimist in the sense that I hope that questions of this sort can be resolved peacefully.

Senator WILEY. You do not think that any agreement made with Khrushchev, unless it were proved that it were advantageous to him, would be kept by him? Do you think the same is true of Mao Tse-tung? How many agreements have we had with Khrushchev? He has broken every one but one.

Senator LAUSCHE. Which one did he keep?

Senator SPARKMAN. What was that one?

Senator WILEY. We will look that up later. [Laughter.]

Senator SPARKMAN. I will tell you; it was the Austrian peace settlement.

Senator WILEY. I want to get this matter clear in my mind, because a lot of people take the attitude that China should be admitted to the United Nations now. They have the right to an honest opinion of that kind. I want to find out, because you are going to a very delicate position in the Far East. You are going over there where things are really stirring, and it will be important to know, and for the Far East to know, what your position is in relation to this matter. India is playing a tremendous part right now down in Africa.

And now if our Ambassador to India is not definite in his own mind on the subject we are discussing, it could be very serious.

Mr. GALBRAITH. Well, I should like to tell you, with all definiteness, sir, that my position will be that of President Kennedy. I went beyond that to tell you what my own private and personal views are because it is my custom to be completely candid.

Senator WILEY. Well, I have no questions about that; but I am still trying to understand just what your view is in relation to Red China, and Mao Tse-tung and the Communist regime. You said you would not go so far as my previous supposition. Now then, Mao Tse-tung is running the show; China is under his domination. Would you, under those conditions, think an agreement could be effected, so that China could be admitted to the U.N.? Would that agree with your ideas?

Mr. GALBRAITH. You mean an agreement that involved the acceptance of the independence of Formosa?

Senator WILEY. Yes.

Mr. GALBRAITH. The acceptance of the Charter? I do not think there is any possibility of such an agreement.

Senator WILEY. Well, I guess I have stirred up the matter now. Go ahead, Mr. Galbraith.

Senator LAUSCHE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask one further question?

Senator SPARKMAN. Go ahead, Senator Lausche.

Senator LAUSCHE. I suppose you and Professor Reischauer have discussed this Red China matter at times?

Mr. GALBRAITH. I do not recall that I ever have, Senator.

Senator LAUSCHE. Thank you.

Senator SPARKMAN. All right. Thank you, Mr. Galbraith.

#### QUESTION OF THE LAOS SITUATION

Senator WILEY. You might give us your ideas on the Laos situation. It might concern you, if you are over there.

Senator HUMPHREY. Actually, Senator, I believe it is quite a ways away from India.

Senator SPARKMAN. Thank you, Mr. Galbraith.

Our next witness will be Mr. Edward G. Stockdale.

Senator WILEY. Just a minute, Senator. I believe I have asked Mr. Galbraith a question.

Senator SPARKMAN. Let me say that, of course, the Senator can ask as many questions as he wants to. I did not hear him ask any question. The Senator is recognized for any questions he wants to ask.

Senator WILEY. Thank you.

To continue the question: What do you think of the Laos crisis?

Mr. GALBRAITH. Well, I must tell you that I am not—I do not speak with any competence about Laos. It would seem to be absolutely essential that, as President Kennedy said last night, we not allow it to fall under Communist domination.

I share what I think to be the hope of everyone that this can be done without military intervention, that it can be done by diplomatic means.

Senator WILEY. Thank you.

Senator SPARKMAN. Now, is the Senator through?

Senator WILEY. For the time being, yes.

Senator SPARKMAN. Thank you, Mr. Galbraith.

Mr. GALBRAITH. Thank you, Senator.

### Nomination of Edward G. Stockdale, To Be Ambassador to Ireland

Senator SPARKMAN. Our next witness will be Mr. Edward G. Stockdale, who has been nominated to be Ambassador to Ireland.

Senator Holland is here with us. Senator Holland, we will be very glad to recognize you at this time.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF FLORIDA

Senator HOLLAND. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I regret the fact that my colleague, Senator Smathers, is not here. He was called to our State on official business today. He left a letter addressed to the chairman of your committee, Senator Fulbright, which I would like to read into the record, if I may, for him.

Senator SPARKMAN. That will be done. Very well, you may proceed.

#### LETTER OF HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF FLORIDA

Senator HOLLAND (reading):

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I regret that due to the fact that I will be absent from Washington on official business, it is not possible for me to be here to present to you and the members of your committee, Mr. Edward G. Stockdale, who has been nominated to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Ireland. However, I do appreciate the courtesy which you have extended to me to submit this letter in his behalf.

Mr. Stockdale is affectionately referred to by his many friends as Grant. He has been known to me for many years. When I was elected to Congress in 1947,

he served as my assistant for a period of a year, following which he returned to Florida to enter politics on his own. At that time, he was elected as a member of the Florida Legislature. From 1952 to 1956 he served as a member of the Dade County Board of Commissioners, and for his outstanding service on this board he was given the good government award by the chamber of commerce in 1956. During this time, of course, I have been in Washington so our contacts have been few, but we have remained good friends.

During World War II he enlisted in the U.S. Marine Corps where he served honorably and retired with the rank of captain.

Grant Stockdale has a fine family who will be a great help to him in performing the duties of his office. With his energy, ideas, and genial personality, I am sure he will do a most effective and useful job as Ambassador to Ireland.

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I recommend Edward G. Stockdale to you and your committee, and I sincerely trust that his nomination will be reported promptly and favorably to the Senate.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE A. SMATHERS.

#### MR. STOCKDALE'S BACKGROUND

Now, Mr. Chairman, my own relationship to Mr. Stockdale has not been as long and, perhaps, not as intimate as that of Senator Smathers. I have known him, however, well and most favorably since he came here at the same time that I came to the Senate or about the same time, in 1947.

I think it would be well for me to state that I always associated him and my colleague together very closely, because they served together as officials in the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Miami, as I first knew them both and, as a matter of fact, Senator Smathers was its president, and was succeeded by Mr. Stockdale as its president the next year.

It is a very active, very vigorous organization of fine young men, and they both served with eminence in that position.

I should say in addition that Mr. Stockdale, after serving a bit in public life, as described in the letter of Senator Smathers, became a real estate developer, with an office and business of his own, one in Miami, and one in St. Petersburg, and has attained success and economic independence and a high reputation for honesty in that line of work.

It occurs to me that anybody who is able to earn that kind of success in that relatively few years must have, as Mr. Stockdale does have, very fine ability to mix with people and is, I think, one of the most acceptable persons in his dealing with the public that I have ever been privileged to know.

Now, another word which I think bears very definitely upon his capacity to serve in Ireland, his wife is a very lovely woman. They have five children, all the way from one now beginning in college this year, down to a boy of six, and I want to say that I think they are one of the loveliest groups of children that I have ever seen, and that his wife is certainly a very fine person to add to the team which will represent us in Ireland.

She is a poetess of considerable recognition. She has had her poems published, I think, in all of the best known magazines, the Saturday Evening Post, Better Homes & Gardens, Harper's, McCalls, Ladies Home Journal, and others, and she is a person of recognized charm and ability, and I think will be a great asset not only to Grant but to our country in the position as wife of the Ambassador to Ireland.

Ever since, as a boy, I used to read Sir Thomas More and listen to John McCormick, not the one we know now, I have had the idea that the Irish are particularly fond of poetry and music, and they certainly will find our Ambassador and his family well attuned to their proclivities in that regard.

Grant was a marine in the war, enlisted as a private and came out as a captain, saw real service in the Pacific for a long time, and I just want to say in Florida he is regarded as one of our finest young, up-coming men, with character, ability, and fine public relations qualities which, I think, will go far to equip him to do a good job, so I am pleased for my colleague and myself to present Mr. Stockdale at this time.

Senator SPARKMAN. Thank you, Senator Holland.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF MR. STOCKDALE

Mr. Stockdale, we have your biographical sketch.  
(The biographical sketch of Mr. Stockdale follows:)

#### EDWARD G. STOCKDALE

Present position: Owner of Grant Stockdale & Associates. Real estate investments and sales, Florida.

Considered for: Ambassador to Ireland.

Born: Greenville, Miss., July 31, 1915.

Education: Graduated Greenville High School; entered University of Miami, 1936; graduated 1940, B.B.A.

Marital status: Married.

#### EXPERIENCE

Nongovernment: Owner of Grant Stockdale & Associates, Miami and St. Petersburg, Fla. Real estate investments and sales. From 1946 to 1948, administrative assistant to Senator George Smathers; 1948-49, member of Florida Legislature; and 1952-56, member of Dade County Board of Commissioners. Awarded Good Government award by chamber of commerce in 1956.

Government: None stated.

Military: Enlisted U.S. Marine Corps, Parris Island, 1943. Officers training, Quantico, Va., 1944 and later attended Navy Intelligence School, Quonset Point, R.I. Served as intelligence officer, Eniwetok Atoll, Saipan, and Okinawa. Retired, captain U.S. Marine Corps Reserve.

Office: 1523 Dupont Building, Miami, Fla.

Home: 611 North Greenway Drive, Coral Gables, Fla.

Legal residence: Florida.

Senator SPARKMAN. Mr. Stockdale, do you have a statement you would like to make?

#### STATEMENT OF EDWARD G. STOCKDALE, NOMINEE TO BE AMBASSADOR TO IRELAND

Mr. STOCKDALE. Mr. Chairman, I have no formal statement.

I would like to make a few remarks here. I would like to rest on what my two very fine Senators have said about us, and rest my case here and now.

I want to thank Senator Holland, our senior Senator, and I want to thank my former boss, Senator George Smathers, for the fine statement which he has made.

While I say I have no formal statement, I would like to say that this is the greatest honor of my life to be sent to you gentlemen by the President for your deliberation and for your consideration.

I know that very few men come before you, and while this may be an ordinary thing for you to see them come and go every day, when you consider the 180 million people, it is an extraordinarily

wonderful honor. I know it; I know you know it, but I want you gentlemen to know that I know that you know it.

## MR. STOCKDALE'S FAMILIARITY WITH IRELAND

Senator SPARKMAN. Have you traveled in Ireland? Are you familiar with the country?

Mr. STOCKDALE. Mr. Chairman, I unfortunately have not traveled in Ireland. I have been through it on two occasions, but I have not traveled in Ireland.

Senator SPARKMAN. Senator Humphrey?

Senator HUMPHREY. I do not understand whether or not you are of Irish descent.

Mr. STOCKDALE. Senator Humphrey, there are about five generations back that I do have some Irish extraction, and—

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, you sort of have the glint in your eye. I thought there might be a little there.

Mr. STOCKDALE. My wife is three, I think four generations back. She is a McMeekin and, as a matter of fact, we are bringing the rocking chair back with us to Ireland which her great, great grandmother brought over here. We are disassembling it very meticulously, and we are going to take it back with us.

## APPOINTMENT COMMENDED

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, Mr. Stockdale, the letter from Senator Smathers, I think, is a very fine testimonial to you, and the comments of Senator Holland are surely very complimentary and, I am sure, well-deserved.

I do not really have any probing questions to ask you. The President has selected you. He has selected you because he knows of your competence and your dedication to this country. It just seems to me when a man, as you have indicated, has this high honor—and it is a truly high honor—I think the fact that you have recognized this, is one of your finest qualifications, because a man who knows it is a great honor will always honor the position.

I hope that when you are there on this assignment you will be a real interpreter of our country to these fine and wonderful people.

I have often felt that the job of an Ambassador is, in a sense, to be the projection of the nation he represents and of the personality of the nation he represents, and I am sure that you can do that.

Your background has indicated to me that you have that experience. I have known of you through Senator Smathers, who has talked of you before, and with your lovely family you ought to make a very fine impression.

Sometimes it is the little things that we do or do not do that are more important than these big state decisions that make the headlines. I have a feeling that you will be a very well-received man in Ireland.

Mr. STOCKDALE. Senator Humphrey, I am very grateful to you for those remarks.

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you, sir.

## MR. STOCKDALE'S PREPARATION FOR HIS POST

Senator HOLLAND. Mr. Chairman, may I make one more comment that I think I should have made before. Mr. Stockdale is a graduate of the University of Miami, and I have been particularly impressed with the serious way in which he has addressed himself to the matter of trying to find out everything he could—and this also applies to Mrs. Stockdale—about Ireland, its history, its customs, its mores, since long before his name came to the Senate, since the time, in fact, that the President announced that he would probably appoint Mr. Stockdale to this important post.

I know that he has been reading—both he and Mrs. Stockdale have been reading—everything they could get, and he has been here receiving briefings and instructions from the State Department, I believe, for 3 or 4 weeks on this subject, making the most serious effort, in other words, to equip himself in every way he possibly can to do a good job, for which I commend him, and which I thought I should mention to you.

Senator SPARKMAN. Thank you, Senator Holland.

Senator LAUSCHE?

Senator LAUSCHE. No questions.

Senator SPARKMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Stockdale.

Mr. STOCKDALE. Thank you.

### Nomination of William McCormick Blair, Jr., To Be Ambassador to Denmark

Senator SPARKMAN. Our next nominee will be Mr. William McCormick Blair, Jr., of Illinois, to be Ambassador to Denmark.

I do not see Senator Douglas, so I think you will have to launch out on your own.

I think most of us know you anyhow, Mr. Blair.

We have your biographical sketch. Do you have any statement to make?

#### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF MR. BLAIR

(The biographical sketch of Mr. Blair follows:)

##### WILLIAM MCCORMICK BLAIR, JR.

Present position: Formerly partner, Stevenson, Rifkind & Wirtz.

Considered for Ambassador to Denmark.

Born: Chicago, Ill., October 24, 1916.

Education: A.B., Stanford University, 1940; LL.B., University of Virginia, 1947.

Marital status: Single.

#### EXPERIENCE

Nongovernment: 1948—Admitted to Illinois bar, former partner, Stevenson, Rifkind, & Wirtz law firm.

Government: 1950-52—Executive assistant to Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson.

Military: 1943—Enlisted U.S. Air Force. 1943-45—Served as captain, China, Burma, India theater.

Office: 135 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.

Legal residence: Chicago, Ill.



STATEMENT OF WILLIAM McCORMICK BLAIR, JR., NOMINEE TO BE  
AMBASSADOR TO DENMARK

Mr. BLAIR. I have no formal statement, Senator Sparkman.

I would again like to express my gratitude to President Kennedy for his expression of confidence in me, and I can assure you that if I am confirmed by the Senate for the post of Ambassador to Denmark, I shall certainly do my best, and certainly consider it a great honor to be a representative of this country to a people whose loyalty and steadfast devotion to the principles of freedom and justice have made of their nation, I think, one of the most prosperous and most stable and most enlightened countries in that part of the world.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Blair, I am very sorry I was not here. I had to go down and assist in making a quorum of another committee. You have just started?

Mr. BLAIR. Just started, Senator Fulbright.

MR. BLAIR'S BACKGROUND IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever represented the Government in any capacity in its foreign service before, Mr. Blair?

Mr. BLAIR. I never have, Senator Fulbright.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been in the practice of law?

Mr. BLAIR. I have been in the practice of law.

The CHAIRMAN. You consider this assignment, I assume, as a political appointment?

Mr. BLAIR. I think it is a political appointment; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you contributed to the Democratic Party?

Mr. BLAIR. I have contributed in the past to the Democratic Party.

The CHAIRMAN. You have worked for it?

Mr. BLAIR. I have worked for it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is very good. [Laughter.]

You have voted, too, I take it?

Mr. BLAIR. I voted.

The CHAIRMAN. Your home is in Illinois?

Mr. BLAIR. That is right.

MR. BLAIR'S FAMILIARITY WITH DENMARK AND THE LANGUAGE

The CHAIRMAN. You traveled in Denmark, I believe?

Mr. BLAIR. I traveled in Denmark, I think, six or seven times in the past 10 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you studying the language? Do you understand the language?

Mr. BLAIR. I do not understand the language, but I am studying it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you speak French?

Mr. BLAIR. I used to speak French, but it is rusty and I am taking lessons again in French.

CERTAIN TRADE RESTRICTION POLICIES OF DENMARK

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with our trade relations with Denmark?

Mr. BLAIR. I have been trying to familiarize myself in the past few weeks, Senator Fulbright.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not hear that. I was interrupted. What did you say?

Mr. BLAIR. I have been trying to familiarize myself with the trade policies in the last few weeks. I had a rather superficial knowledge at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with the fact that Denmark has rather severe restrictions against the importation of many of our commodities?

Mr. BLAIR. I do not believe they do have, to my knowledge, severe restrictions.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, this is a good opportunity to introduce you to some of this—I would read to you a portion of the hearings on the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, held on February 14 and 15 and March 1 and 6, and relative to Denmark; in the hearings it is said:

Among the commodities subject to licensing which are of special interest to the United States are: meat and edible offals, poultry meat, lard, fresh apples and pears, wheat, rye, cornstarch, vegetable oils, some fruit juices, canned peaches and fruit cocktail, footwear and leather goods, generators, some motor vehicles, and ships and boats.

The Senator from Oregon, Senator Morse, and I have discussed these restrictions before with others, too.

This is only to illustrate that during the war and over the period of the so-called dollar gap, several European countries set up very severe restrictions against our commodities.

We did not object then because we had a favorable balance of trade. I call your attention to the fact that Denmark is among those countries that has retained these restrictions. Are you familiar with our problem on our balance of payments? You are, are you not?

Mr. BLAIR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You know we have been running a very substantial deficit.

Mr. BLAIR. I am aware of that.

The CHAIRMAN. I hope you will interest yourself in this subject, and see if you can persuade the Danes to remove these restrictions upon our commodities. I think we have been very generous in receiving commodities from all these countries now in the OECD area. I hope you will interest yourself in these matters.

Mr. BLAIR. Well, I will, Senator.

It has been my understanding that Denmark had lifted recently many of the restrictions that had previously been imposed on American goods.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I believe this information I referred to was supplied to us by the State Department. This is an official statement of the State Department only a month old, so I hope you will look into it.

I do not think you are correct on this, particularly in such important matters as the poultry meat. This is one of the few commodities this country is able to produce competitively and export without a subsidy. This is quite different from many other items, such as wheat.

Mr. BLAIR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a slight subsidy on cotton.

Senator HUMPHREY. Would you like to tell us how slight that is, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. It is only 6 cents a pound.

Senator HUMPHREY. It was higher than that.

The CHAIRMAN. 7½ cents.

Senator HUMPHREY. We do not produce much cotton in Minnesota.

The CHAIRMAN. You do produce a lot of wheat. But these commodities I mentioned—particularly, for example, fruit—really constitute free, legitimate trade. I see no excuse for Denmark to continue these restrictions.

If they continue unduly, this country would have no alternative but to reciprocate with similar restrictions, and we do not want to do that. It would be contrary to the objective of the OECD.

It seems to me that, as Ambassador, you could do a great deal in pointing out to them the necessity for liberalizing their trade restrictions. Denmark is a very prosperous country, is it not?

Mr. BLAIR. It is a prosperous country now. I think last year Denmark purchased \$70 million of more goods from this country than we purchased from them.

I believe we also have restrictions on the importation of Danish products, but it is a situation that I will want to address myself to promptly.

The CHAIRMAN. This works both ways. We cannot do it all unilaterally.

Mr. BLAIR. I agree.

#### DANISH GOVERNMENT'S SUPPORT OF U.N. AND NATO

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any knowledge about the Danish Government's attitude toward the United Nations and our position in the United Nations?

Mr. BLAIR. Well, Denmark has been consistently, I believe, a strong supporter of the United Nations. I do not—

The CHAIRMAN. Would you describe Denmark as a neutral nation?

Mr. BLAIR. I would not describe her as a neutral nation, no.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not?

Mr. BLAIR. I do not, Senator Fulbright. She is, of course, a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a strong supporter of NATO. She has provided us with bases in Greenland, of course, which have contributed to our defense.

#### RELATIONS OF DENMARK AND SOVIET UNION

The CHAIRMAN. You have traveled in the Soviet Union, have you not?

Mr. BLAIR. I have traveled once in the Soviet Union.

The CHAIRMAN. What are the relations between Denmark and the Soviet Union?

Mr. BLAIR. Well, they recognize the Soviet Union. I believe they recognize most of the Iron Curtain countries. But there is very limited trade. I believe the United States is one of Denmark's three largest customers, and I think this trade with the Soviet Union is very limited.

The CHAIRMAN. I see the distinguished senior Senator from Illinois has come into the room. He was also detained by another meeting of another committee, and I would now recognize him if he would care to make a statement.

**STATEMENT OF HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS**

Senator DOUGLAS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

As you know, Mr. Blair is a member of one of the oldest and most distinguished families in Chicago, and is distinguished in his own right.

He has been a very close associate and law partner of Illinois' most famous son, Gov. Adlai Stevenson. I do not know whether he brought this further fact out in his testimony, but he has made a number of trips to Denmark since 1948, and is in the process of learning the Danish language. He tried out a number of paragraphs on me yesterday, and although I am not competent to pass upon his accent, but it seemed to me to be quite Scandinavian. [Laughter.]

It seemed to be Scandinavian in its general contour, and he is obviously taking this job very seriously, as he takes everything he does seriously, and I think his is a good appointment.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it seems to me, Senator, you may be facing a serious crisis in Chicago and Illinois, in taking so many of your leading citizens and putting them into the Federal Government.

This is the last of the firm; is it not?

Senator DOUGLAS. We are glad that at last the country recognizes the contributions which we have been making to the Nation. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Does the Senator from Alabama have a question?

Senator SPARKMAN. You did not catch the question the Chairman put.

Will your appointment complete the dissolution of your law firm, Mr. Blair?

**STATEMENT OF WILLIAM McCORMICK BLAIR, JR.—Resumed**

Mr. BLAIR. I am the last partner in the Chicago office. My only comment, Senator Sparkman, is that patience has its own reward.

**TRAVEL ABROAD**

Senator SPARKMAN. With reference to your travels and your associations with Governor Stevenson, as a matter of fact, you traveled pretty well all over the world with him, did you not?

Mr. BLAIR. I have during the past 10 years; yes, sir. I made all the trips.

Senator SPARKMAN. You have made all the trips with him, have you not?

Mr. BLAIR. That is correct.

Senator SPARKMAN. And that includes Russia, Africa, South America, Europe?

Mr. BLAIR. That is correct.

Senator SPARKMAN. You did not make Australia and New Zealand?

Mr. BLAIR. I made Australia and New Zealand on my own.

Senator SPARKMAN. Well, I commend you for this important post, and I agree with you as to the importance of Denmark as one of the strong supporters of NATO, and a people very friendly to us, and I certainly wish you well in your mission.

Mr. BLAIR. Thank you, Senator.

Senator SPARKMAN. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The Senator from Minnesota.

#### U.S. REPRESENTATION IN DENMARK

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, Mr. Blair, you are going to succeed a former Ambassador who made a very splendid record, and I am referring to Mrs. Eugenie Anderson, who came from the State of Minnesota, who, I think, has earned for herself one of the finest reputations and records as U.S. Ambassador of any of our people.

She was appointed by President Truman when Mr. Acheson was Secretary of State.

It was at that time that, as you know, the NATO Treaty was being implemented. I have visited with her many times and discussed the important role of Denmark in the NATO structure, and I am hopeful that this will always be uppermost in your mind, as I know it will. This is so because Denmark has a very unique position in NATO in terms not only of the defensive structure on the continent but, as you have well indicated, also of our relationships in Greenland. You are well aware of that, I know.

#### DANISH TRADE RESTRICTIONS

The other observation I should like to make to you is that I would like to underscore what Senator Fulbright pointed out in reference to these trade restrictions, and I use you, in a sense, as a foil here because we ought to take this up with each Ambassador.

The greatest number of trade restrictions against the United States are in the field of agriculture, and it is in this area that we need to implement and expand our agricultural effort to improve our international trade in the field of agriculture. And you could be very instrumental in this because, as I recall, the Foreign Minister of Denmark—I visited with him a year or so ago—is one of the key figures in trade relations in Europe.

The Danes have always been very skilled in the field of trade, and their foreign office is looked upon on the Continent as being one of the most able and skilled and talented in this whole complex area of trade relations, restrictions, and embargoes and, of course, in improving trade.

So you are going to have a great opportunity here, and I hope that you will give some leadership to it, and I expect that you will.

#### DESIRABILITY OF EMBASSY CONTACT WITH CROSS SECTION OF DANISH PEOPLE

Are you going to open up the American Embassy over there to a good cross section of the people in Denmark?

Mr. BLAIR. That is certainly my intention, Senator Humphrey.

Senator HUMPHREY. You are well aware that the cooperative movement is very strong in Denmark?

Mr. BLAIR. I am aware of that.

Senator HUMPHREY. And, as Ambassador, you would not have any feelings that you ought not to invite in one of these good farm folks from the cooperative movement?

Mr. BLAIR. I certainly would not, Senator.

Senator HUMPHREY. I want to say that most embassies are known for their lack of interest in them. I would hope that you will have some interest.

Mr. BLAIR. I will certainly have it, sir.

Senator HUMPHREY. The labor movement is very strong in Denmark. It is a free democratic labor movement. I gather that you will have no feelings of resistance to inviting a few of the prominent labor leaders of Denmark into the Embassy?

Mr. BLAIR. There would be no resistance at all.

Senator HUMPHREY. I have traveled to many an embassy, and I want to tell you that whenever I found anybody from the labor movement at a dinner party, I almost wondered if there was a national crisis going on. Generally somebody who does not have any real influence in the country is the one invited.

But you will invite labor leaders, cooperative leaders, and farm leaders?

Mr. BLAIR. My intention, Senator Humphrey, would certainly be to invite to the Embassy a cross section of the Danish people, and also to get around the country as much as I can and see a cross section.

Senator HUMPHREY. In these Scandinavian countries it is very important because the labor movement, the cooperative movement, the other related movements, are a very, very important part of their lives. And I only mention this to you, sir, because you are a friend and I know that you are taking it in the spirit in which it is given—as a friendly comment.

All too often our Ambassadors become involved with personalities who are in the upper crust, so to speak. The trouble with the upper crust is that it is breaking up in many parts of the world. I am trying to enlist our Government officials to support—to use a symbol, the nurseries instead of the cemeteries—that which is coming instead of that which is going, and I know that you will be one of those who will be interested in what the future has to offer.

#### EMBASSY FACILITIES IN COPENHAGEN

I want to wish you well. I understand that the facilities that you are to occupy over there, so a friend of mine told me, could possibly stand a little renovation. Are you familiar with the Embassy facilities in Copenhagen?

Mr. BLAIR. Well, not very familiar, Senator Humphrey. I stayed in the Embassy about 10 years ago when a friend of mine was the Ambassador.

Senator HUMPHREY. Was that the last time it was painted and renovated?

Mr. BLAIR. I am not sure of that.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, I want the record to indicate that I am somewhat familiar with it. It sure could stand a good going over.

Mr. BLAIR. That is what I understand.

Senator HUMPHREY. And I mean by that some refurnishing, refurbishing, and some other improvement. If the State Department wants to do something for the image of America, they can shine this Embassy up a bit.

Mr. BLAIR. Thank you.

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you, and good luck.

Mr. BLAIR. Thank you, Senator Humphrey.

The CHAIRMAN. The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I merely want to state for the record that I have known Mr. Blair for, I think, about 15 years, and I hold him in the highest esteem, and I would be glad to give him my support.

Mr. BLAIR. Thank you, Senator Lausche.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Blair. We are very happy to have had you.

Mr. BLAIR. Thank you, Senator Fulbright.

### Nomination of John S. Rice, To Be Ambassador to the Netherlands

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness is Mr. John S. Rice of Pennsylvania who has been nominated to be Ambassador to the Netherlands. I believe the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania, Mr. Clark, is here and wishes to say a word. Senator Clark.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

Senator CLARK. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am happy to support the nomination of John S. Rice to be Ambassador to the Netherlands. Mr. Rice is a generalist, not a specialist. I consider this an asset, not a liability. He has been a success in every field of activity in which he has participated.

Mr. Rice graduated from Gettysburg College, where he was a member of Phi Beta Kappa society. He is presently chairman of the board of trustees of that college. He founded his own business at which he made a substantial success. He still owns it.

I would make a lunge for the prejudices of Senator Humphrey by saying that he has been a successful farmer for a good many years, and I assume he would like to meet a lot of farmers in the Netherlands if and when he gets there. He went into Government and served for 8 years as a State senator in Pennsylvania, rather critical years in the life of my party and that of the party of the members of the committee who happen to be here, because those were the 4 exciting years of the Earle administration when, for the first time since the Civil War, the Democratic Party controlled both branches of legislature and was able to enact a host of measures which had been withering on the vine for many a long year. Mr. Rice was the floor leader in the State senate during that period. He has been secretary of property and supplies in the Governor's cabinet. He has been Secretary of the Commonwealth. In the field of politics he has recently served as the chairman of the Democratic State committee.

During the war he was in the U.S. Army Air Force, and rose to the rank of colonel, being awarded the Legion of Merit.

There is hardly an activity in which Mr. Rice has served in his long and varied career in which he has not risen to the front, and not the least of his attractions as an Ambassador to the Netherlands, will be his very charming wife, who I can assure the committee will be of enormous help to him in his relationships with all of the many and varied and different kinds of people he will be called upon to meet and deal with.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Clark.

Mr. Rice, do you care to volunteer any statement to the committee before we ask you questions about this appointment?

#### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF MR. RICE

(The biographical sketch of Mr. Rice follows:)

#### JOHN S. RICE

Present position: Manufacturer.

Considered for: Ambassador to the Netherlands.

Born: Arendtsville, Pa., January 28, 1899.

Education: B.S., Gettysburg College, 1921.

Marital status: Married.

Experience: nongovernment: 1929-present—president, Rice Trew & Rice Co., Biglerville, Pa.; direction, Gettysburg National Bank, State Container Co.; 1932-40—State senator, Pennsylvania; 1946—Democratic nominee, Governor of Pennsylvania; 1955-56—president pro tempore; member, Pennsylvania Liquor Control Board; 1956-57—secretary of property and supplies, Pennsylvania Governor's cabinet; 1958—Secretary of the Commonwealth, chairman of the trustees, Gettysburg College; 1959—chairman, Democratic State central committee.

Military: Served as colonel USAAF; decorated Legion of Merit.

Memberships and clubs: Member, American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Phi Gamma Delta, Phi Beta Kappa, Elks, Lions (Gettysburg).

Home: 60 West Broadway, Gettysburg, Pa.

Office: Biglerville, Pa.

Legal residence: Pennsylvania.

#### STATEMENT OF JOHN S. RICE, NOMINEE TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE NETHERLANDS

Mr. RICE. Mr. Chairman, I have no formal statement to make. I do want to say, however, that the fact that the President has considered me and recommended me for the post as Ambassador to the Netherlands I consider the highlight of a somewhat varied career, and if it should be approved by the U.S. Senate, I would consider it an honor and a privilege to serve my country in that capacity.

#### MR. RICE'S INTEREST IN THE NETHERLANDS; HIS KNOWLEDGE OF EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

The CHAIRMAN. Are you well acquainted with the Netherlands, Mr. Rice?

Mr. RICE. Only to the extent that I have visited in the Netherlands.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you speak Dutch?

Mr. RICE. No, sir. I have studied a number of languages, French, German, Greek, Latin, and since my name has been under consideration here, both Mrs. Rice and myself have diligently been working



on Dutch. I hope that I will, at least, have a working knowledge so that, perhaps, the man in the street will be able to understand me, and I will be able to understand him, and to read their newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you do speak German and French?

Mr. RICE. Not too well, but I do have a working knowledge of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that will be of great assistance to you. Why are you interested in being an Ambassador to the Netherlands?

Mr. RICE. One, I have always been interested in our foreign affairs. One cannot be interested in Government these days without having a very keen interest in foreign affairs. I think at this time, and it has been true for some few years and will probably continue to be so, that our foreign affairs are, perhaps, as important, if not more important, than anything else to the United States and our relations with the various countries. It seems to me that I possibly might be able to make some contribution in this field.

#### NATURE OF U.S. RELATIONS WITH THE NETHERLANDS; QUESTION OF NEW GUINEA

The CHAIRMAN. What are the principal problems, if any, that this country has with the Netherlands?

Mr. RICE. The Netherlands traditionally have been a very friendly country to the United States. They have been one of our staunchest supporters, as I understand, not only in NATO but in the United Nations, not just passively, but very actively have supported our position.

The CHAIRMAN. Have we had any problems or differences with them in recent years?

Mr. RICE. Well, there has been, and is, somewhat of a problem in our relationships in this question of New Guinea, and as to what disposition will be made of that problem.

#### U.S. TRADE RELATIONS WITH THE NETHERLANDS

There are no very serious problems that we have. Of course, there is the question of trade. However, our trade balance with the Netherlands is very favorable, as I believe in 1960 it was something over \$700 million of goods they bought from us, and we bought from them some \$250 million, or in that general area.

The CHAIRMAN. The Netherlands have been much more agreeable in their trade relations than many of the countries in Europe, I may say. They have no serious restrictions upon most of the items that I mentioned, and we have less difficulty with the Netherlands and Germany than we have with most. So you can compliment them, for me at least, in that respect.

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE STATUS OF MR. RICE'S APPOINTMENT

I was curious about why the President chose to send you to the Netherlands, whether there was anything particular in your experience. You have never represented the Government before, have you?

Mr. RICE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You will consider this a political appointment?

Mr. RICE. I would consider it a political appointment. I hope that would not be the only consideration in my appointment.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you worked for the Democratic Party, didn't you?

Mr. RICE. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. I hope you did, because it is nice to have one now and then who has worked for the Democrats.

Mr. RICE. I certainly am on public record as to my work for the Democratic Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, I assumed that. It is not anything to be ashamed of.

Mr. RICE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There are all kinds of political appointments, some good and some bad. I may say the same is true of career appointments. I hope you will be a good one.

#### NOMINEE'S EXPERIENCE IN BUSINESS AND THE EXPORT TRADE

Tell me, you were a manufacturer. What did you manufacture?

Mr. RICE. Senator Clark was just slightly in error. I am no longer engaged in business. In 1956 I sold my business. I was engaged in the manufacture of fruit package supplies which were distributed over the United States, and also corrugated boxes. I sold that, along with my orchards; my family and myself had been engaged in the orchard business for many years.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind, apples?

Mr. RICE. Apples, peaches, and some cherries, and I am somewhat familiar with this export business because it has been quite a number of years ago that we exported a lot of apples to various countries in Europe, and I am sure, along with Senator Byrd, who is very familiar with that situation, that I am familiar with it, so I think I, with my business experience and my agricultural experience, realize the trade implications, particularly with a country such as the Netherlands.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not have to inspire you with our interest in the export business, do I? You already have it.

Mr. RICE. No, sir, because I know what happens when you lose an export—

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any business interests that would conflict with your responsibility as our Ambassador?

Mr. RICE. No, sir; none.

The CHAIRMAN. You only raise apples now?

Mr. RICE. I do not do that now; I have sold my orchards.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not do that now. I thought you retained your orchards?

Mr. RICE. No, sir. I have been devoting my last few years exclusively to governmental service.

#### DISCUSSION OF THE "SIX" AND THE "SEVEN"

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with the so-called Common Market in Europe?

Mr. RICE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the Netherlands a member of that?

Mr. RICE. The Netherlands and the so-called Benelux nations, with the Six and also with the Seven.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you know that is a very interesting problem, one which may be good or may be bad according to the way in which it develops, don't you? You are familiar with the potential danger of the development of the Common Market and the Seven into a trading area that may or may not be useful to the whole world and, particularly, to the United States?

Mr. RICE. Yes, sir; I realize the implications of that.

The CHAIRMAN. And you also know about the OECD Treaty which we have just approved?

Mr. RICE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you know what its function is, I am sure?

Mr. RICE. Yes, sir; I think I am familiar with its purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. The Senator from Alabama.

Senator SPARKMAN. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Humphrey.

#### DESIRABILITY OF EMBASSY CONTACT WITH MANY AREAS OF SOCIETY

Senator HUMPHREY. Mr. Rice, you heard my questions to our good friend, and he is a good friend of mine, Mr. Blair, relating to the contacts that American representation, and American Ambassadors, have with all of the areas of a society.

I am concerned about this because there is a tendency at embassies to concentrate the social attention upon those who have a little more time for social life, and I am hopeful—and I think you will be the kind of a man who will fulfill that hope—that your contacts on behalf of our Government in the Netherlands will be with the representatives of these great world groups which are well-organized in the Netherlands, the cooperative groups, the labor movement, the business community. Do you have any thoughts on that?

Mr. RICE. Yes, I do very definitely. I see no reason why I should suddenly change my principal method of living. I think whatever success I may have attained, and my background has indicated that, I like people. Mrs. Rice likes people, and if you do not know the people of a country, and that applies to the United States, as well as to any other country, and if you do not associate with them and get their ideas, I do not think you can be successful.

This is one of the reasons why, in addition to the fact that I think it is only courteous that you have some working knowledge of the language of any country in which you are going to be stationed, I would think it is one of the things which would be very helpful to me in my association with the people of the various groups in the Netherlands.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, I mention this, and I am going to keep at it for a little while, because where we are losing out in the world is in our contacts with the labor movement, the cooperative people, the farmers. Of course, this is basically true in the underdeveloped areas and not nearly so much in the Continental and Western European areas. I know that our relationships in the Netherlands are very good.

The Netherlands is represented here in this country by an outstanding Ambassador, and our trade relations, as you have indicated, have been reasonably good.

But it gives me an opportunity, because of your background, and I am very pleased and impressed with it, to state something that has been gnawing at my heart and mind for a long time. I have been attending dinners around this city of Washington for far too many years.

If I ever go to a dinner where they have a leader of the farm co-operatives present, it will be the miracle of the day. Yet we bring people over here to impress them, and we generally impress them with people whom they don't like. I have been going here to dinners in Washington that our own Government puts on, and I have yet to find a trade union leader ever present unless in unusual circumstances. I seldom find teachers present at these occasions. Generally what you find is the social life of Washington, a few of our business associates, my fellow Members of Congress, and members of the Diplomatic Corps. Well, that is all right. I enjoy these dinners; they are wonderful. In fact, maybe I enjoy them more than most people. But I do not think they do very much good unless you have a purpose in mind, and I am hopeful that in the embassies, such as the one where you are to be assigned, you will keep this uppermost in mind.

I say this because the Social Democratic parties in Europe, while friendly to the United States, are becoming less friendly, and I want to serve a word of warning in this hearing that the Social Democratic parties in Europe have been somewhat ignored by the Government of the United States, and we are going to pay a price for this in the days ahead. Now, there is a new administration here, and maybe this will make the difference. But for a long period of time these forces of the so-called left of center, the liberal forces, have been ignored. I say this because of personal contact with their representatives. I think this is the forum to use to say what I am saying now, namely, that unless more attention is paid we are going to wake up finding out we are on the wrong side again.

We have had to shift our whole ground in Laos. We are backing the man whom we did not back a while ago, and now we are looking for a political settlement, after having gotten into a political row with the ones we would like to politically settle on.

So I am just a little concerned. Foresight is the way that you got ahead in business, and I am sure in politics, too, and I am confident you have it. I am very pleased with your appointment. I want to wish you well. I know you will do a good job.

Mr. RICE. Thank you, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. The Senator from Ohio.

#### HARMONY OF MR. RICE'S VIEWS WITH THOSE OF THE PRESIDENT

Senator LAUSCHE. Mr. Rice, I take it that you will follow the policies laid down by the President even though they do not agree with your views?

Mr. RICE. I am certainly going over there as a representative of the President of the United States. I would at any time that I felt I could not carry out his views, I could not think that I would be in a position to stay in and represent him. However, I find no serious conflict to date between the views of the President of the United States and my own personal views.

Senator LAUSCHE. That is, viewing yourself as his representative, you recognize that you will be there in his stead and speaking his thoughts as far as the U.S. Government is concerned?

Mr. RICE. That is right, sir.

QUESTION OF THE ADMITTANCE OF COMMUNIST CHINA TO THE U.N.

Senator LAUSCHE. May I ask if you have ever publicly taken a position on the admittance of Red China to the United Nations?

Mr. RICE. No; I have not had any occasion to do that. I have not written any books or any articles. I do not consider myself a specialist on that subject, and I have been rather too much involved in other affairs which I have currently had before me, to get into seriously, get seriously into that.

Senator LAUSCHE. Have you a private view of what you think ought to be done?

Mr. RICE. Yes.

Senator LAUSCHE. May I hear it?

Mr. RICE. I certainly do not feel that Red China, as long as Red China maintains the position which she retains now, and if she continues to maintain that, I do not think, as long as she maintains that position she should be admitted into the United Nations.

QUEMOY AND MATSU

Senator LAUSCHE. What about Quemoy and Matsu?

Mr. RICE. Certainly we are committed to Quemoy and Matsu as well as Formosa, and I do not think the United States is in any position now to go back on its commitments there or any other definite commitments that we have in the rest of the world. We cannot get ourselves in the position of where Russia will not maintain commitments, and we cannot get that same reputation.

Senator LAUSCHE. I am not sure that we have any legal commitment on Quemoy and Matsu. But, based upon all of the talks that have been in progress, it would seem that what happens to Quemoy and Matsu will eventually happen to Formosa. That is all the questioning I have, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Rice. We are very happy to have had you before the committee. Thank you.

Mr. RICE. Thank you, sir.

Nomination of Kenneth Todd Young, To Be Ambassador to Thailand

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness is Mr. Kenneth Todd Young.

Mr. Young, we are very happy to have you this morning. Do you have any statement you care to make to the committee before we ask you some questions?

(The biographical sketch of Mr. Young follows:)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF MR. YOUNG

KENNETH TODD YOUNG

Present position: Formerly associated with Standard Vacuum Oil Co.

Considered for: Ambassador to Thailand.

Born: Canada (of American parents), June 22, 1916.

Education: A.B., Harvard, 1939, M.A., 1942; Lingnan University, Canton, China, 1935-36.

Marital Status: Married.

EXPERIENCE

Nongovernment: 1958, Associated with Standard Vacuum Oil Co., N.Y., as expert on Southeast Asia.

Government: 1942-43, National Resources Planning Board, and War Production Board; 1946, joined Department of State; 1949-52, Far Eastern specialist, Department of Defense; 1952, returned to Department of State as Director of Office of Northeast Asian Affairs; subsequently served as Director, Office of Philippine and Southeast Asian Affairs, and of Office of Southeast Asian Affairs; 1958, retired from Department of State.

Military: 1943-46, U.S. Air Force.

Home: 24 Bonnett Avenue, Larchmont, N.Y.

Office: Standard Vacuum Oil Co., White Plains, N.Y.

Legal residence: New York.

STATEMENT OF KENNETH TODD YOUNG, NOMINEE TO BE  
AMBASSADOR TO THAILAND

Mr. YOUNG. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have no formal remarks. I would like to say that my family and I consider it a great honor to be nominated by this President to serve in Thailand. This has very special meaning for us. If, with the pleasure of this committee and the consent of the Senate, I am confirmed, it will be a privilege to represent the American people in Thailand to the best of our joint ability.

I also would like to add that it would be an honor to succeed Ambassador Johnson, who has been a superb Ambassador in Thailand, and whom I have the honor to count among my friends.

I will also be most honored to be accredited to the gracious and revered King of Thailand, His Majesty Bhumibol; I will be very glad to assume official discussions with the Prime Minister Field Marshal Sarit, and friends on the Council of Ministers.

My wife and I and our children are delighted to go to Thailand, and we will do the best we can to represent what we consider the best traditions of this great country, and the past and what we, as a somewhat younger family, perhaps, than others, will try to represent in this present generation.

I am very glad to be here this morning.

MR. YOUNG'S PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE IN GOVERNMENT

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Young, have you served in the Foreign Service before?

Mr. YOUNG. I have not served in the Foreign Service, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you consider this a political appointment or a career appointment?

Mr. YOUNG. Maybe a little bit of both, sir. I served 12 years for the Government of the United States, 2 years in the Department of Defense.

The CHAIRMAN. In what capacity?

Mr. YOUNG. I spent the last 6 years of my Government service in the Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs in the Department of State. The last 3 years I served as Director of the Office of Southeast Asian Affairs, which included Thailand. Prior to that I was in charge of Japanese and Korean Affairs with the Department of State.

RELATIONSHIP OF MR. YOUNG'S BUSINESS CONNECTIONS WITH HIS  
PROPOSED POSITION

The CHAIRMAN. When did you leave the State Department?

Mr. YOUNG. I resigned in 1958 to enter private industry.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you resign to do?

Mr. YOUNG. I joined the Standard Vacuum Oil Co. in its international headquarters in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. You did?

Mr. YOUNG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they operate in Thailand?

Mr. YOUNG. Yes, they do.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you continue any connection with Standard Vacuum Oil Co. if you are approved for this appointment?

Mr. YOUNG. Indeed not. I have already severed all relations with the company. I have resigned completely and fully without commitment or any mental reservation on my part or as to the future. I realize this is a question, and I would like to allay any doubts as to the future. I have so informed my previous employers, and I will so inform any other member of the industry with which I have been associated, that henceforth, if I am confirmed by the Senate, I will observe the strictest neutrality in matters of concern to my previous company or that industry, and I would hope that those members will also observe the sternest forbearance as far as I am concerned as an official of the U.S. Government.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no interests of any kind, either in that company or any other, which would conflict with your responsibility as our representative in Thailand?

Mr. YOUNG. In good conscience, I do not believe so. I have consulted with counsel as to how I should arrange my personal affairs so that there would be no conflict of interest, and I believe, to the best of my ability, as of today there would be none.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you speak Thai? Or do you speak any foreign language?

Mr. YOUNG. I speak French.

The CHAIRMAN. French. Well, that would be very useful in Thailand.

Mr. YOUNG. Thai would be better, and I will try to learn it.

COMPARISON OF THE ATTRACTIONS OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SERVICE

The CHAIRMAN. I am curious why you left the State Department. Did you leave recently?

Mr. YOUNG. I left January 1958.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the occasion for your leaving?

Mr. YOUNG. It was a personal decision based largely on family considerations, and also on interest in the management of industry, par-

ticularly in the international field. I wanted the experience of American private enterprise. I felt that it would add something to my Government experience, and so after a long deliberation of well over a year, I made the most difficult decision to leave the public service for private industry.

The CHAIRMAN. Could it be that the relative remuneration of the two offices had something to do with it?

Mr. YOUNG. I would not deny that, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I think it is common knowledge that the Government does not pay very well, as compared to big industry, is it not?

Mr. YOUNG. Not in terms of salary, that is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, in any terms? What terms?

Mr. YOUNG. Oh, I believe in terms of satisfaction of doing a job of working for the American people. I think all these gentlemen here in Washington, both in the legislative branch and in the executive, have ideals and purposes to work for, that those of us who are on the outside do not have.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I am glad to have that comment. I wondered myself why there are so many of them who stay around here. But in 1958 those ideals and purposes were not as overpowering as they are now, in your case?

Mr. YOUNG. Correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Senator from Alabama.

#### MR. YOUNG'S PAST STUDY OF CHINESE

Senator SPARKMAN. Do you speak Chinese?

Mr. YOUNG. Unfortunately, I have forgotten. I did study Chinese for several years, but I have not had occasion to practice it since World War II and, consequently, I have forgotten how to speak or read it.

Senator SPARKMAN. I have no further questions. I wish you well in your assignment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Senator from Minnesota.

#### COMMENDATION OF MR. YOUNG'S NOMINATION

Senator HUMPHREY. Mr. Young, I am delighted to see you here. You worked at the United Nations in 1956, did you not?

Mr. YOUNG. That is correct, Senator.

Senator HUMPHREY. I was privileged and honored to work with you. I think it is a good thing that the President has selected you. I was surprised at first because I knew that you had just gone into private industry, and for good reason, and I was exceedingly well-pleased when I found out that you were willing to take the assignment to come back into the service of the Government.

#### DESIRABILITY OF MAINTAINING CONTACT WITH DIVERSE SOCIAL ELEMENTS

You heard my comments here earlier, Mr. Young. I hope that you understand those were not given in the spirit of sarcasm but rather in the spirit of constructive helpfulness and constructive criticism.



I am not at all familiar with the social organization of the area of the world in which you are going to be assigned, and I shall not try to pretend that I am. But I am hopeful that in your assignment there you will be as aware as anyone could possibly be of the importance of contact with the diverse elements of a rather complicated social structure.

You have been in Thailand, have you not?

Mr. YOUNG. Yes; I have been in Thailand many times.

Senator HUMPHREY. You know the members of government?

Mr. YOUNG. Yes, sir; I do.

Senator HUMPHREY. Who is Sarit, the Prime Minister?

Mr. YOUNG. Field Marshall Sarit.

#### LAOTIAN SITUATION

Senator HUMPHREY. Is Sarit related to Souvanna Phouma of Laos?

Mr. YOUNG. I do not think so. In fact, I am sure he is not related to him in any way.

Senator HUMPHREY. Is there any relationship at all between his family and Souvanna Phouma?

Mr. YOUNG. Not that I know of; no.

Senator HUMPHREY. I should express publicly my thanks for some advice and counsel that you shared with me a few years ago. You will be interested to know that, while at that time it did not seem to make much headway in the little hearing that we had, some of the suggestions that you had made relating to Laos seem to be much more acceptable today in high councils. You were deeply concerned sometime ago with the situation in Laos; is that correct?

Mr. YOUNG. Yes. I have been concerned with Laos for 6 years one way or another, particularly in the last 6 months.

Senator HUMPHREY. You are familiar with that area?

Mr. YOUNG. Yes; I am.

#### DISCUSSION OF SEATO

Senator HUMPHREY. The post of Ambassador to Thailand is very important in its relation to Cambodia and Laos and Vietnam, and our whole SEATO Organization. Are you familiar with the SEATO Organization or the personnel that are assigned to it?

Mr. YOUNG. I am familiar with SEATO because I had the responsibility for 2 years when I was in the State Department in 1955 and 1956 for handling the working day affairs on SEATO. I also attended the first meeting of the Council representatives in Bangkok when Secretary Dulles represented the United States. I also went to the Karachi meeting a year later. I am not familiar with the current personnel except for the Secretary-General of SEATO, who is a Thai, whom I knew here as the distinguished Ambassador from Thailand to the United States.

There are one or two other members from Australia who were in the United States whom I know in Bangkok from previous associations in the Government. So I am generally familiar with the current organization in Bangkok as such, and the purposes of the treaty, what it stands for, and what it should mean to deter Communist aggression

against Thailand and southeast Asia, which are, of course, uppermost in my mind and have been particularly in the last 6 months or a year and a half.

Senator HUMPHREY. Your assignment will be a very critical one because I would hope that in the days ahead SEATO might be strengthened along the lines of NATO and be not a loose alliance, but an alliance with actual power, or a force in being. It, therefore, seems to me that your assignment will be very important.

Have you been able to keep up these contacts with your fine friends in Asia?

Mr. YOUNG. Yes. We exchange New Years or Christmas cards or little notes with a few. I wish I could do more of it.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, I am delighted that you are coming back to the Government of the United States, and the Standard Vacuum Oil Co. has lost a good man. I have no doubt but what you will do a splendid job. I want to wish you the very best and I hope I can pay you a visit.

Mr. YOUNG. Thank you very much, and I wish you would.

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you.

Senator SPARKMAN. Thank you, Mr. Young.

That concludes the hearing for this morning.

(Whereupon, at 12:10 p.m. the committee adjourned.)

## SUMMARY INDEX

	Page
Africa, concept of U.S. policy in.....	29
Agricultural development in India, problems involved in.....	35
Attwood, William:	
Biographical sketch.....	25
Knowledge of Guinea and language.....	26
Political affiliation.....	28
Biddle, Anthony J. Drexel:	
Biographical sketch.....	22
Knowledge of Spain and U.S. relations with Spain.....	23
Previous ambassadorial service and background.....	23
Blair, William McCormick, Jr.:	
Background and biographic sketch.....	52-53
Knowledge of Denmark and language.....	53
Brown, Aaron S.: Biographical sketch.....	30
Capehart, Senator Homer E.:	
Examination of witnesses:	
Attwood, William.....	28-29
Brown, Aaron S.....	31
Carlson, Senator Frank:	
Examination of witness: Attwood, William.....	27-28
Central American Common Market, establishment of.....	31
Comments of Japanese newspaper on nomination of Mr. Reischauer.....	18
Communist China:	
Trade with Japan, question of.....	11
Views regarding recognition of.....	7, 16, 39, 42-43, 45-47, 65
Danish Government support of U.N. and NATO.....	55
Denmark and the Soviet Union, relations of.....	55
Denmark trade restriction policies.....	53, 57
Development of India's economy.....	43
Embassy facilities in Copenhagen.....	58
Etawah project in India, evaluation of the.....	36
Ford Foundation, work of in India.....	37
Fulbright, Senator J. W.:	
Examination of witnesses:	
Attwood, William.....	26, 28
Biddle, Anthony J. Drexel.....	23-24
Blair, William McCormick, Jr.....	53-55
Brown, Aaron S.....	30-31
Galbraith, J. Kenneth.....	33-37
Reischauer, Edwin O.....	4-7, 12-15, 16-17
Rice, John S.....	60-63
Young, Kenneth Todd.....	66-68
Galbraith, J. Kenneth:	
Biographical sketch.....	33
Previous associations with India, Ceyon, and Pakistan.....	38
Study of conditions in India.....	34
Guinea, U.S. policy toward.....	27
Humphrey, Senator Hubert H.:	
Examination of witnesses:	
Blair, William McCormick, Jr.....	57-59
Rice, John S.....	63-64
Stockdale, Edward G.....	51
Young, Kenneth Todd.....	68-70
Importance of foreign markets to Japan.....	9
India:	
Agricultural development, problems involved in.....	35
Development of economy.....	37, 43
Etawah project in, evaluation of.....	36
Ford Foundation in, work of.....	37
Industrial development.....	35

	Page
India—Continued	
Per capita incomes	44
Population problem in	36
Private enterprise	44
Indian civilization, diversity of	39
Indian-Pakistani problems	41
Industrial development in India	35
Institute of Pacific Relations	12, 17, 32
Japan and Korea, relations between	6
Japan and the United States, importance of close relationship	11
Japanese contributions toward economic development of southeast Asia	5
Japanese inability to trade with free world, result of	10
Japanese Security Treaty, views on	5
Laos situation, views on	47, 69
Lausche, Senator Frank J.:	
Examination of witnesses:	
Galbraith, J. Kenneth	38, 42-45, 47
Rice, John S.	64-65
Mansfield, Senator Mike:	
Examination of witnesses:	
Attwood, William	27
Biddle, Anthony J. Drexel	24
Reischauer, Edwin O.	10-12, 16, 17
Netherlands, U.S. trade relations with the	61
Nicaragua, information on	30
OECD, participation of Japan in	6
Per capita income in India	44
Population problem in India	36
Private enterprise in India	44
Quemoy and Matsu policy	65
Reischauer, Edwin O.:	
Biographical sketch	2
Foreign affairs article	5, 10
Institute of Pacific Relations, question of membership in	12, 17, 32
Japanese Security Treaty, views on	4
Service in military intelligence and War Department	16
Time spent in Japan	4
Views regarding Communist China	7
Rice, John S.:	
Background and biographical sketch	59-60
Experience in business and the export trade	62
Interest in the Netherlands	60
Knowledge of European languages	60
SEATO, discussion of	69
Southeast Asia, Japanese contributions to economic development of	5
Sparkman, Senator John:	
Examination of witnesses:	
Blair, William McCormick, Jr.	56-57
Galbraith, J. Kenneth	37-39, 45-46
Reischauer, Edwin O.	7-10
Stockdale, Edwin G.	51
Young, Kenneth Todd	68
State Department Conference on the Far East in 1949	13
Stockdale, Edward G.:	
Background and biographical sketch	49-50
Knowledge of Ireland	51
Preparation for post	52
Tokyo riots, discussion of	7
Trade between Japan and Communist China, question of	8, 11
Trade relationship between Japan and the United States	9
Wiley, Senator Alexander.:	
Examination of witness: Galbraith, J. Kenneth	39-42, 46-48
Young, Kenneth Todd:	
Background and biographical sketch	66
Language knowledge	68

