

To the French perfection of the art of diplomacy, Sir Harold justly pays tribute. This perfection brought a centralization and certainty to diplomatic methods which they had lacked before and which they have never enjoyed since. American practice, on the other hand, invites Sir Harold's criticism. He feels it has brought a good deal of confusion to the art. We have no centralization of diplomatic authority; and our "belief" that it is "possible to apply to the conduct of *external* affairs, the ideas and practices which, in the conduct of *internal* affairs, had for generations been regarded as the essentials of liberal democracy" has opened a veritable Pandora's box. Finally, "although the Americans in recent years have been in process of creating an admirable service of professional diplomatists, these experts do not yet possess the necessary influence with their own government or public."

To some of this one can say "amen," but there will be many to feel that Sir Harold makes too much of Wilsonian ideas or even of American peculiarities. He attempts to explain too much of the present evolutionary stage of diplomacy in such terms. Other factors have been more basic, such as the spread of education throughout the world; inventions in communications, giving rise to a widespread press, wire services, instantaneous printing, radio, and television; along with a variety of economic and social phenomena including what Ortega y Gasset calls "the fact of agglomeration." One might add also the emergence of the USSR as a world power and, for modern times anyway, the somewhat unique problems which it has introduced in the normal intercourse of nations. All of these things explain why the masses have advanced from the background of the international stage and jostled others—including the diplomats—from the footlights. This would have occurred whether Woodrow Wilson or America had existed.

Sir Harold believes that diplomacy should be left to the diplomatists. But what is diplomacy today? Decisions as to the conduct of foreign affairs now affect the whole political, economic, and social life of the peoples of the world. It is inconceiv-

able that peoples will permit such decisions to be made without the fullest discussion, in which they themselves participate.

Is it less inconceivable that many will question whether the implementation of these varied decisions can be left to professional diplomatic services? The answer obviously will lie in the composition and management of these services. Many skills, many talents, many experiences are involved in the conduct of international relations these days. The cultural and economic life of the world is rich and vast. To deal effectively with it, as well as with political questions, requires something more than the diplomatic methods and services of Louis XIV.

Sir Harold has done well to remind the twentieth century that it still has a good way to go before it can claim to have acquired a polished mastery of diplomatic methods under modern conditions. The sooner it approximates that mastery the easier we shall all be—including those of us engaged in the service of diplomacy.

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ARTHUR W. MACMAHON (Ed.). *Federalism: Mature and Emergent*. Pp. xi, 557. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1955. \$7.50.

*Federalism: Mature and Emergent* is a symposium-type publication, but one which fortunately avoids most of the shortcomings which too frequently plague publications of this kind. The book is, in fact, the edited report of a carefully planned and well-conducted symposium. Twenty-three (including the editor) recognized scholars prepared chapters on selected aspects of the general topic. The chapters were circulated in advance among sixty-odd persons who attended a three-day conference "for a quiet meeting of minds." Thereafter each essay was revised by the original author. A stenographic record of the conference was available to the editor. This masterful planning and close coordination of efforts are obvious throughout the book. Much of the unity, continuity,

and perspective may be attributed, however, to the skillful editing and the series of analytical and interpretive chapters (four of twenty-six) contributed by Professor Macmahon. The study is presented in four parts: Part I, Federalism: Its Nature and Role; Part II, Basic Controls in a Maturing System (The Political Process, the Courts and the Law, and Legislative and Executive Responsibilities in Managing a Federal System); Part III, Functional Channels of Relationship (Illustrative Studies of Functional Fields, and Over-all Aspects of Functional Relationships); Part IV, Supranational Union in Western Europe (The Economic Background and Functional Developments and The Project of a Political Community).

The purpose and direction of the study may be read from the organizational pattern. The primary objective is a re-examination and re-evaluation of federalism in its legal, political, and functional aspects to determine its political usefulness in the rebuilding of a war-shattered world. Although several of the chapters are directed to an examination of historical aspects and theoretical concepts, the principal areas explored are those from which practical applications of the federal principle can be evaluated. The specimens examined are drawn mostly but not exclusively from North American experiences. The evaluations follow largely the traditional pattern: federalism may be a hybrid, even unstable system, yet on the whole it has served a useful purpose in providing political stability among diverse elements, in preserving a functional balance of interests, and in discouraging concentrations of power—both political and economic. There are, however, dissenters.

Professor Franz L. Neumann in a short but caustic chapter is sharply critical of the advantages usually accredited to federalism.

Neumann's doubts concerning the inherent qualities of federalism are not widely shared, but doubts of the general applicability of the principle are raised by those who examined the possibility of its extension to some geographical areas—say Western Europe. Professor Kenneth C.

Wheare asserts almost unequivocally "that no successful federation has been formed from states that have existed as independent nations for a considerable period of time." Among the other essays are several which explore "emergent federalism" in the European community. In the concluding chapter, Professor Carl J. Friedrich sounds a warning and injects an optimistic note in suggesting European unity along federal lines, provided the architects of that unity will cleanse their thinking of static concepts and regard federalism as a "process" rather than a "form."

The symposium was one of a series of five conferences sponsored by Columbia University during 1954 as a part of the Bicentennial celebration. Many of the chapters are well documented. In some cases the notes, collected at the end of each chapter, carry explanatory excerpts from the stenographic record. There is an adequate index. The book also carries brief biographies of the conference participants. All in all, this is a significant contribution to the literature of federalism.

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MERLE CURTI and KENDALL BIRR. *Prelude to Point Four: American Technical Missions Overseas 1838-1938*. Pp. xi, 284. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1954. \$5.00.

The period 1838 to 1938 is a necessary "prelude" to contemporary technical missions overseas—"necessary," no doubt, as seed ground for today's complex activities and as "briefing" for the thousands of persons involved in this kind of work.

By numerous case studies, with broad sweep and fascinating details of this underworked field of American transitional history, ten chapters cover such topics as "Missions to Japan," "Cuban Experiments," "Missions Multiply" (the era of 1912-29), "Public Health and Education," and, courageously, "The Meaning of the Missions." One may see how Americans carry and modify their assumptions (usually middle-class) when operating abroad, for example, the American influence working toward