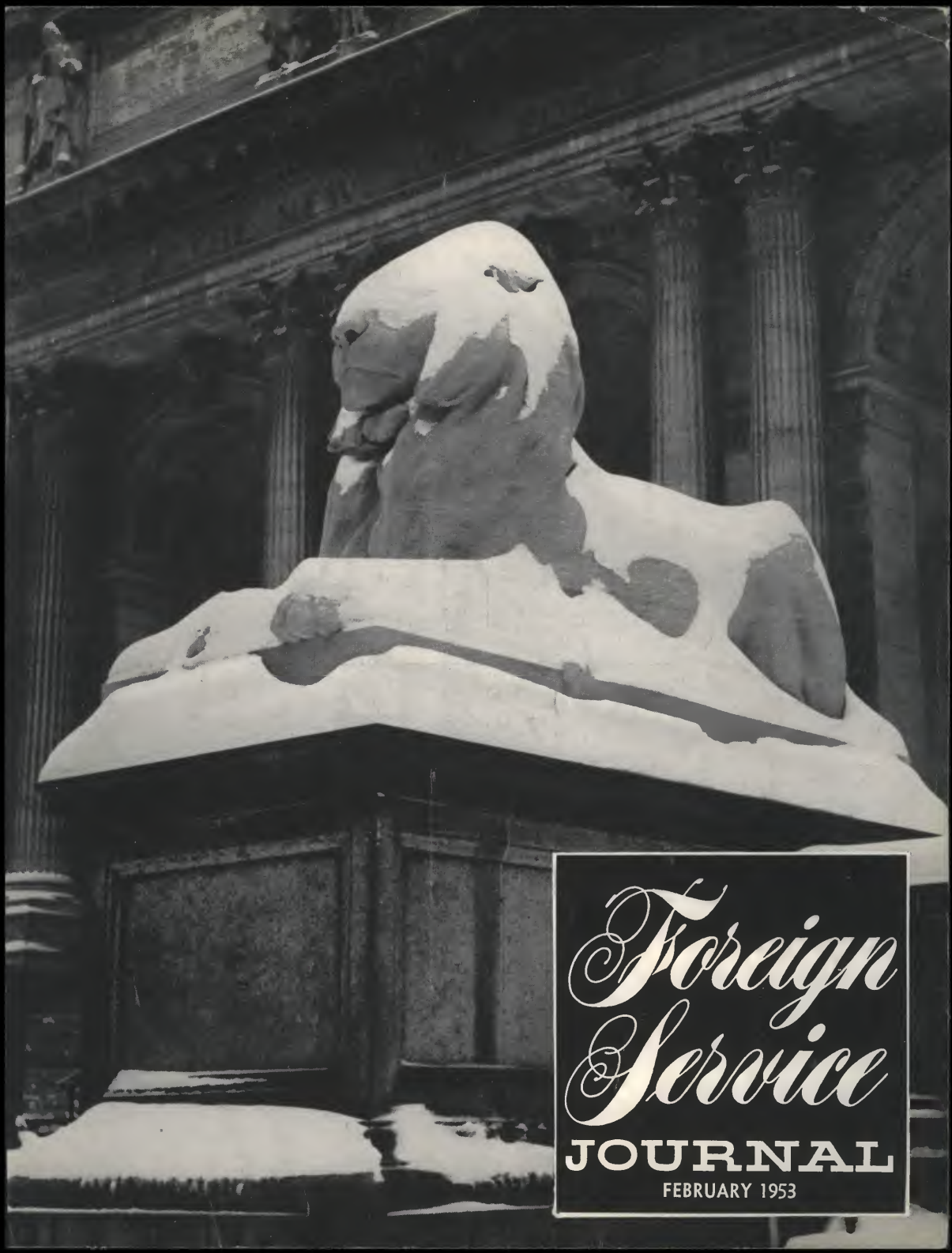

Foreign Service JOURNAL

FEBRUARY 1953

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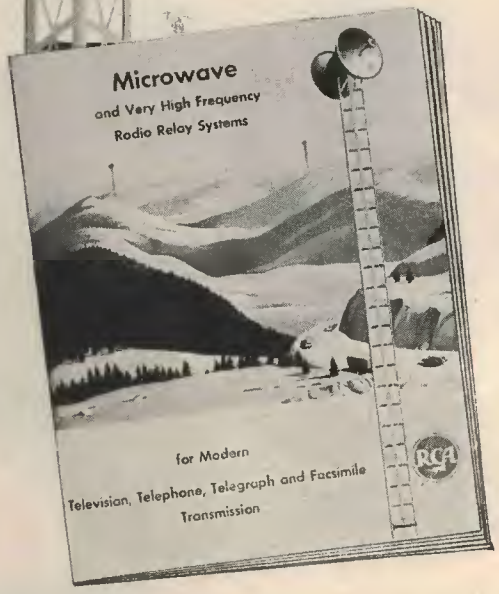

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Foreign Service JOURNAL

published monthly by
THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

FEBRUARY 1953 Volume 30, Number 2

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(*Continued on page 59*)

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

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

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

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COVER PICTURE: A February view of the lion in front of The New York Public Library. Reprinted from "New York and The State It's In" by permission of R. I. Nesmith and Associates.

Letters to the Editors

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

NO MORE TELEGRAPHESE

Department of State
Washington, D. C.
December 15, 1952

To the Editors,
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

The December 1951 issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL carries an editorial captioned "Telegraphese" and calling for the elimination of abbreviations in telegrams. Readers of the JOURNAL, along with readers of telegrams both in Washington and abroad, will be pleased to know that the present abbreviation practice will probably have met its demise by the first of the New Year. The background is this.

Almost all organizations, both private and governmental, that are heavy users of telegraphic facilities have an abbreviation system. The purpose of course is to reduce costs where direct commercial per-word charges are involved. However, that purpose has become increasing invalid in the Department of State since the Department is making extensive use of government and leased telegraph channels.

To gain the financial advantage of abbreviations in messages where direct per-word costs are incurred and yet to free drafters and readers from struggling with abbreviations, an experiment was conducted with six selected posts. At these posts drafting officers were requested to use no abbreviations, with the one exception of abbreviated titles for well known organizations such as NATO, UN, etc. In transmission, communications personnel applied standard abbreviations to the texts if required by the particular circuit used. On the receiving end, however, communications personnel wrote out all abbreviations in the message reproduced and distributed to action and information offices.

The above experiment indicated that in general no difficulties would be encountered in adopting this new plan on a worldwide basis. New regulations describing the revised practice are now in preparation for release in the Department and to all overseas posts.

Although most of the heavy artillery is directed at abbreviations, the last paragraph of the editorial contains two additional suggestions relating to telegraph practices. One is that all personnel should send "think pieces" and other verbose messages of questionable urgency by air pouch rather than by telegram. We certainly agree with this comment and have attempted, through an active campaign, to see that the use of telegrams is reserved for truly urgent matters.

The second suggestion is that additional funds be obtained to expand the telegraphic facilities in order that necessary telegrams can be sent in a somewhat fuller style than terse telegraphese. Telegraph facilities have been considerably expanded and improved in the past three years and are now entirely sufficient to handle any reasonable load of messages which are truly telegrams. If we can keep non-urgent and unnecessarily verbose messages out of telegraph channels.

(*Continued on page 6*)

IT&T *is ready*

for the coming expansion in

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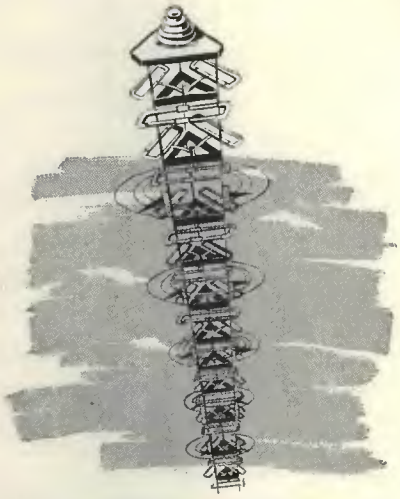

Transmitters, antennas, complete telecasting installations.

Studio equipment, control consoles, monitors.

WITHIN THE NEXT DECADE television will grow beyond all present-day conceptions. International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation is ready to help speed the new industry on its way—ready with new transmitters of advanced design, improved studio equipment, high-gain antennas, microwave links for studio-to-transmitter and mobile pick-up—and ready with the finest instrument for home entertainment, the incomparable Capehart. Look to IT&T, together with its associate companies, for tireless effort in television development.

INTERNATIONAL TEL AND TEL

IT&T

INTERNATIONAL TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH CORPORATION
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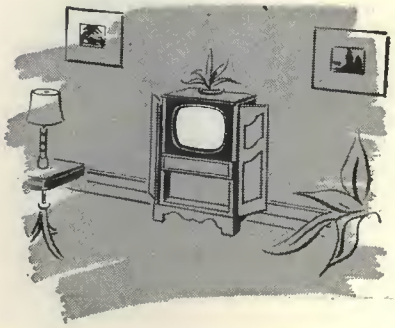
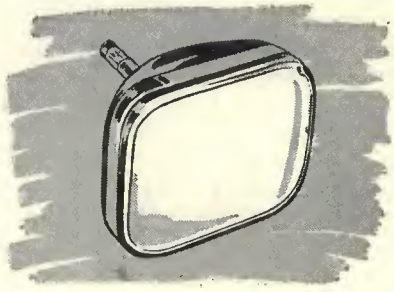
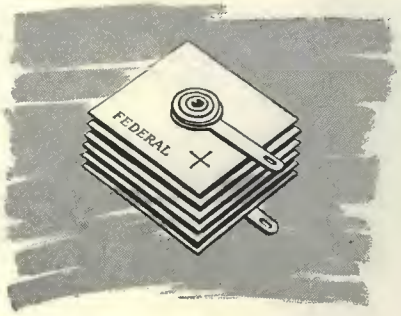


The incomparable Capehart home television receiver.



Television picture-tubes for Capehart and other TV manufacturers.



The Selenium Rectifier, converting AC to DC . . . pioneered by IT&T.

LETERS TO THE EDITOR *(from page 4)*

excellent telegraph service can be provided with no further expansion.

Incidentally, those of us in communications work sincerely appreciate the interest the JOURNAL takes in communications problems. Suggestions from any quarter which may permit us to furnish a better service at a reasonable cost are most welcome and are given careful consideration at all times.

Robert E. Stufflebeam
Chief, Division of
Communications and Records

ON RETIREMENT EVE

American Embassy
Mexico, D. F.
December 12, 1952

To the Editors,
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

Upon the eve of my retirement I wish to use your columns to express my deep appreciation to all of the loyal employees who have helped me attain any success I may have had as a Foreign Service Officer. I would not burden you with the list of those persons who have been close to me during all these years, many of whom include clerks, secretaries, junior officers, senior officers and chiefs. They are, of course, too numerous to mention.

I also wish to take this occasion to thank the JOURNAL for the great services rendered to the FSO's throughout the world. I shall look forward to receiving my copy regularly, even though I am retired. For your information, we will take up residence in our home at 31611 Mar Vista Road, South Laguna, California sometime in February.

In closing I extend to you and to all of my colleagues, friends and acquaintances in the Foreign Service the season's greetings.

Barry T. Benson

A DISCIPLINED SERVICE

Department of State

To the Editors,
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

I attach a copy of a letter, with names and places omitted, which one of our supervisory Consuls General recently addressed to the Principal Officer of one of the posts under his supervision, with reference to the desire of a member of the latter's staff to be transferred or, alternately, to resign.

The thoughts contained in this letter are so appropriate, it occurs to me you may have some interest in publishing it in the JOURNAL.

ROBERT F. WOODWARD

Dear Mr. . . .

I have your letter of . . . with reference to the desires of Miss . . . for a transfer, with indications that she will resign if such is not forthcoming. You inquire as to whether or not a transfer can be arranged.

Without any reflection whatsoever on Miss . . . , and motivated by the best of good will toward her, I view this as a policy question and I shall comment on it in that light. In the first place, the Foreign Service is a disciplined service with mobile personnel, who are expected to serve where they

(*Continued on page* 8)

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR *(from page 6)*

are sent unless they can make out a valid reason for not going or not serving at any particular post. Miss . . . does not allege extreme hardship, jeopardy to health, compassionate reasons, etc., for desiring a transfer. Her desire seems to be based on a clash of personalities and in my opinion this is not enough. I can scarcely think of a person in the Foreign Service who does not have some sort of a thorn in his side, and we are expected to face such things as a personal test of our fitness and aptitude for Foreign Service work. She has only recently arrived at the post and I do not feel that we are unreasonable in expecting her to face up to what may be an unpleasant situation without bringing up the matter of a resignation if her desires are not met.

While I realize that in a small office these matters sometimes assume larger proportions than they do in posts of greater size, this does not alter my fundamental belief that the remedy is not speedy transfers to other posts but it is in the parties concerned making a serious effort to reconcile differences, and to perform in a spirit of comradeship, harmony and teamwork which the Department has a right to expect from all of us.

I shall always give a sympathetic ear to any request for a change of post based on solid and reasonable grounds, especially if it involves circumstances over which the employee has no control, such as cases of serious illness, etc., hitherto cited. No such case is presented here and I believe Miss . . . should make a reappraisal of her situation and resolve to chart a course to find the remedy at her post and not elsewhere. I leave it to you to decide whether a move in this direction is in order on the part of the other person involved in the personality tangle.

I cite for your information the general policy aspects involved with the assurance that I shall give the fullest consideration to any further views you may wish to express in the premises.

Sincerely yours,

Editor's Note: We consider this letter to be a refreshing and accurate reminder of that adaption is part of the Foreign Service and appreciate the fact that Mr. Woodward has made it available to all JOURNAL readers.

SERVICE TAX PROBLEMS

Tintern Farm
Warrenton, Va.
November 26, 1952

To the Editors,
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

Very recently I had the advantage of discussing with an expert on income tax matters those particular problems which puzzled me when I was abroad on active service, particularly as to what may constitute a legally permissible deduction on account of expenses incurred by Foreign Service employees in the discharge of their duties.

From that discussion I learned enough to make me realize that during past years I had unwittingly paid to Uncle Sam many hundreds of dollars more in personal income tax than I was obliged to pay. Nor can I now make amended returns in the hope of recovering some of the overpayments because I do not have the detailed records necessary to substantiate

(*Continued on page* 10)

those expenses which I now believe could have been entered as perfectly legitimate deductions.

I suspect that others in the Foreign Service are not fully aware of how to determine, record, substantiate, and present as deductions those necessary expenses, contributions, and sometimes losses, which may consume such a substantial part of an employee's salary during the course of a year, and for which the government makes no reimbursement whatsoever.

Would it be possible for the JOURNAL to publish something in the way of helpful advice to the field concerning the problem of making out personal income tax returns?

CHARLES F. KNOX, JR.
Foreign Service Officer, Ret.

Editor's Note: We would welcome receiving any suggestions, advice, or typical rulings of the Internal Revenue Bureau that would be of assistance to readers in filing future income tax forms.

ANNUITY TAX EXEMPTIONS

London, England
November 6, 1952

To the Editors,
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

I've recently heard that the withholding tax matter, as applied for a while to British pensioners who had retired from the Foreign Service, has been cleared up. I rejoice not only for their sakes, but also because it was my opinion in the beginning that the tax had been withheld contrary to the provisions of the Double Tax Treaty.

I am sure that friends of the JOURNAL in the Department have worked hard, and certainly worked effectively, to bring about the adjustments.

Just in case you have not seen the actual letter which the Civil Service Commission has sent to those receiving pensions, I enclose a copy which was taken from one loaned to me.

KATHERINE A. H. EGERTON

Editor's Note: The copy enclosed by Mrs. Egerton stated that an article of the income tax convention between the United States and the United Kingdom exempts from U.S. Federal taxation civil service annuities paid by the United States to a non-resident alien who is a resident of England.

COMMENT ON "COFFIN"

Washington 19, D. C.
December 8, 1952

To the Editors,
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

Mr. Robinson's story "The Consul and the Coffin" published in your December issue, may be timely but it will take more than that to scare any Republicans.

Sincerely yours,
CARL M. J. VON ZIELINSKI

Twenty-Five Years Ago

By JAMES B. STEWART

PERSONNEL BOARD INVESTIGATED: Senator Pat Harrison introduced the following resolution in December, 1927:

"*Resolved*, That the Committee on Foreign Relations is authorized and directed (1) to investigate the administration of the act entitled 'An act for the reorganization and improvement of the Foreign Service of the United States, and for other purposes,' approved May 24, 1924, as amended, and particularly the work of the Foreign Service Personnel Board, for the purpose of determining what results have been obtained under the provisions of such act and (2) to report to the Senate, as soon as practicable, the results of its investigation, with such recommendations as it deems advisable."

Hearings were begun in the week of January 23, 1928.

TRANSFERS

Paul J. Reveley, Munich to Kovno
Kennet F. Potter, Piedras Negras to Foreign Service School
Andrew G. Lynch, Liverpool to Foreign Service School
Rufus H. Jane, Jr., Department to Habana
Cornelius Van H. Engert, assigned First Secretary, Caracas
H. Charles Spruks, Habana to Foreign Service School

PEERING EYES: John H. Bruins, Vice Consul, writes an exciting article entitled, "Seductive Singapore"—"where its momentary twilight gives way to a million twinkling lights in its harbor; where Rickshaw coolies disappear into dimly lit smoking dens; where slanting eyes peer out from behind half-closed doors; where the strains of oriental music are heard and where a tropic moon unfolds a lunar rainbow."

IT WAS ALREADY MONDAY: Charles O. Shepard, first American Consul to Yedo (now Tokyo) wrote in the JOURNAL of having taken a train at Omaha in 1869 in the first week of the *Union Pacific's* existence, and of having arrived in San Francisco a week later. There he boarded the *China* for Yokohama. She was wooden, a side-wheeler and carried sails and enough anthracite to make the long trip without stopping at any port.

During the voyage a Sunday was "dropped" somewhere around the 180th Meridian and the Captain promptly dispensed with the eleven o'clock service because, as he told the padre, "it was already Monday." Now I wonder if that padre could have been the one whose seminary colleagues called "Steady Flow?" Once, after preaching for an hour or so on the immortality of the soul, he exclaimed: "I look at the mountains and cannot help thinking, 'Beautiful as you are, you will be destroyed, while my soul will not.' I gazed upon the ocean and cried, 'Mighty as you are, you will eventually dry up, but not I!' "

A son, Donald Read, Jr., born at Berne, January 1, 1928, to Consul and Mrs. Donald R. Heath.

A son, John Howard, born at Naples on October 26, 1927, to Consul and Mrs. Howard K. Travers.

A daughter, Elizabeth, born at Tokyo on November 25, 1927, to Diplomatic Secretary and Mrs. Hugh Millard.

(*Continued on page* 14)

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO *(from page 13)*

A daughter, Rachel Lee, born at Tehran on November 2, 1927, to Diplomatic Secretary and Mrs. David Williamson.

A son, Harry Edwin Reymert, born at Tallinn, on October 21, 1927, to Consul and Mrs. Harry E. Carlson.

A daughter, Muriel Jacqueline, born at Santiago, Chile, on December 22, 1927, to Diplomatic Secretary and Mrs. Winthrop S. Greene.

CONSUL STYLES SAVED A LIFE: A young lady had gone bathing in Scotsman's Pool, Durban, early in the morning before the regular bathers had appeared. She was swept out beyond the ropes and breakers. Consul Francis H. Styles went in after her and, struggling with undertow and current, brought the girl to land.

ON HOME LEAVE:

Kenneth S. Patton	Christian Gross
Nelson R. Park	Roy T. Davis
Frederick P. Hibbard	Nathaniel B. Stewart
Hallett Johnson	George A. Gordon
Robert P. Skinner	Jefferson Caffery

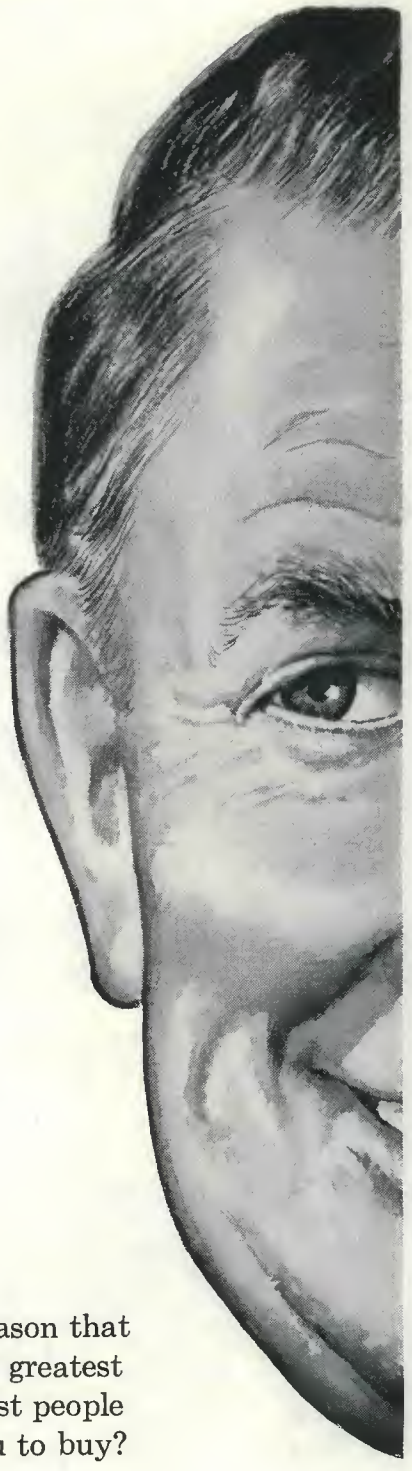
UN PAYSANO MUY BORRACHO: Consul Bartley F. Yost likes to tell about the "borracho" with the fat wallet. "The chief of Police hurried me to a 'paysano muy borracho.' He was lying on the floor of the railroad station. Rolling him over, I opened his bulging wallet and, wide eyed, took from it a $1,000 bank note! Greatly impressed, I hurriedly put it back, stuck the wallet in my pocket and told my 'sick' paysano that I was the Consul, that I would take care of him and would return his valuables when he felt better. While writing a receipt, I stopped to take another fascinated look at that bank note and found myself slowly reading this sentence in faint print: 'The Sunshine Brewery will pay the bearer one thousand smiles on demand'."

UP AND AT 'EM: Discussing the inadequate salaries paid Department of State personnel, Representative Frederick M. Davenport said in a speech in the House of Representatives: "I am reliably informed that a responsible officer of the State Department has long been in the habit of getting up at 5 o'clock Monday morning to do the family washing, and he does not like the job, either. I say, more honor to him for doing it and more shame to the Government of the United States for permitting good minds in the most critical and vital Department of the Government to be harried to such a degree by inadequate provision for ordinary material needs."

P.S. Mondays, even now with washing machines, can be difficult. Consider the poor felow who, upon arriving home by a circuitous route of a Monday evening, was packed off with the washing to the Laundryette. He gazed as in a trance at the swirling and sloshing of the machines and finally brought back the soiled clothes with this observation: "Wife, if you ash me, TV still has a long ways to go."

JOIN DACOR—incorporated November, 1952. A permanent Association of former Foreign Service officers which provides insurance and other benefits for members. Send $5 to: **Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired; 3816 Huntington St., Washington 15, D. C.**

A word to the wise about tires:



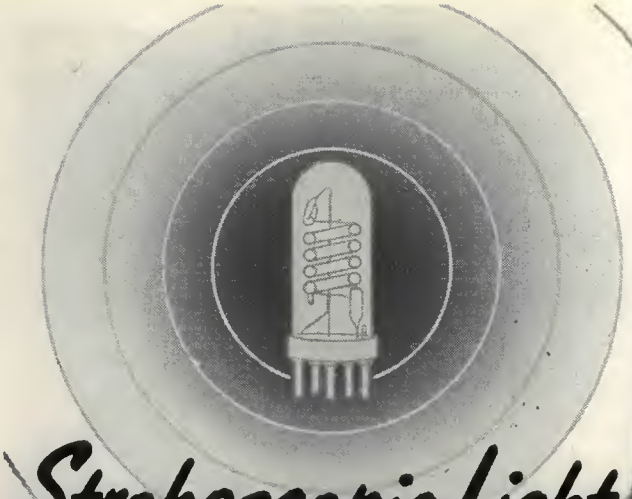
"More people, the world over, ride on Goodyear Tires than on any other make!"

Doesn't it stand to reason that the tire that gives the greatest satisfaction to the most people is the best tire for you to buy?

Next time you need tires, see your GOODYEAR dealer!

Super Cushion by

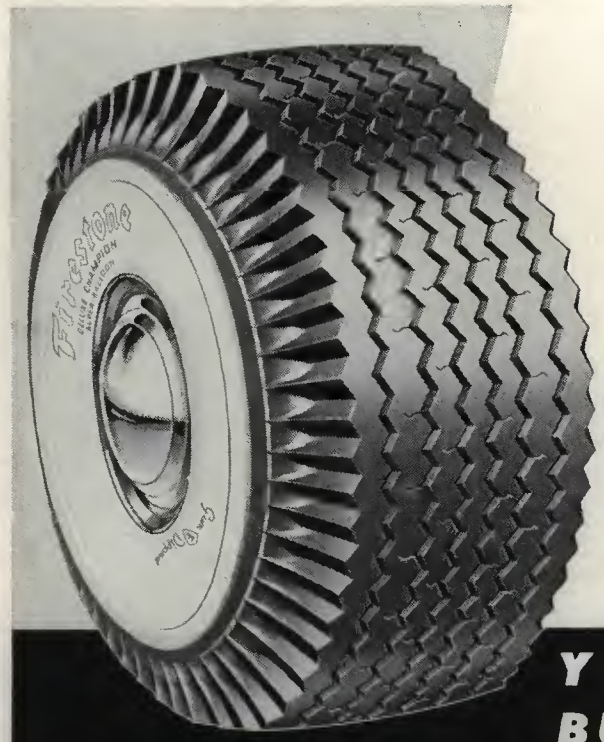
GOODYEAR



Stroboscopic Light Arrests Motion ...and Helps

Firestone TIRES

GIVE YOU LONGER, SAFER SERVICE



ON THIS indoor testing machine at Firestone, a weighted wheel is rotated against the drum at speeds up to 150 miles per hour. The operator, through a Stroboscopic Viewer, can "stop" the motion, and observe the flexing, stress and strain of the tire under these extreme operating conditions.

His findings, under conditions far more severe than you'll ever encounter, are coupled with other Firestone laboratory and test fleet results, to assure you that the Firestone Tires you buy, anywhere in the world, are the safest, longest wearing tires it is possible to make.

And, the greatest test of all—Firestone's unparalleled string of 29 consecutive victories at the Indianapolis speedway, is further proof that, with Firestone, it's always "Best Today—Still Better Tomorrow".

BETTER LIVING Through BETTER ROADS

YOUR SAFETY IS OUR BUSINESS AT FIRESTONE

NEWS from the DEPARTMENT

By Lois Perry Jones

John Carter Vincent

Upon the recommendation of the Secretary of State, the President ordered a review of the JOHN CARTER VINCENT loyalty case by a new board headed by Judge Learned B. Hand.

Stating that "in so delicate a matter, affecting so deeply the integrity of the Foreign Service, I should wish to be advised by persons thoroughly familiar with the problems and procedures of the Department of State and the Foreign Service," the Secretary proposed, and the President approved, that the following serve on the board with Judge Hand:

JOHN J. MCCLOY, former High Commissioner for Germany; JAMES GRAFTON ROGERS, former Assistant Secretary of State under Secretary Stimson; G. HOWLAND SHAW, retired FSO and former Assistant Secretary under Secretary Hull; and EDWIN C. WILSON, retired FSO and former Ambassador.

The Secretary's memorandum to the President, released by the White House, pointed out that the final responsibility of whether or not to discharge Mr. Vincent rested with the Secretary, and that the communication from the Loyalty Review Board recommending dismissal "contains elements which raise serious problems."

Among these elements were the "confusion which has been cast as to the weight which the panel gave to the charges of Mr. Budenz or the findings of the Senate committee" and the Loyalty Board's statement concerning MR. VINCENT'S "studied praise" of Chinese Communists and "equally studied criticism" of the Chiang Kai-shek Government. The Secretary said, "MR. VINCENT'S duty was to report the facts as he saw them. It was not merely to report successes of existing policy but also to report on the aspects in which it was failing and the reasons therefor."

Later in the memorandum the Secretary says, "I find upon examining the documents that the recommendation made by the panel of the Loyalty Review Board was made by a majority of one, two of the members believing that no evidence had been produced which led them to have a doubt as to MR. VINCENT'S loyalty.

"In this situation, I believe that I cannot in good conscience and in the exercise of my own judgment, which is my duty under the law, carry out this recommendation of the Board."

The brief article on the ruling in the Vincent Case publisehd in last month's JOURNAL was made public to the press the day after the White House released the Secretary's memorandum.

Among the clippings which have reached our desk are those reproduced here from the *Washington Post*, the *Evening Star*, the *New York Times*, and the *New York Herald Tribune*.

Press comment made before the issuance of the Secretary's memorandum pointed out the dangers to objective reporting implied by the Loyalty Review Board's letter. Editorials on the subject, and on the validity of having the ruling reviewed by the new commission, appeared in the major newspapers in Washington and New York.

THE WASHINGTON POST
Monday, January 5, 1953

Paper Calls Vincent Case Like R[illegible] Trial

The directors and editorial su[illegible] board of the Foreign Service Journal yesterday likened the Loyalty Review Board's ruling against John Carter Vincent to t[illegible]

NEW YORK TIMES, M[illegible]

VINCENT IS LIKENED TO SOVIET VICTIMS

Foreign Service Journal Cites Kremlin-Type 'Mock Tria[illegible] as Comparable to His

WASHINGTON, Jan. 4 (U[illegible] The Foreign Service Journal compared the Civil Service mission's Loyalty Review B[illegible] handling of John Carter V[illegible] a career diplomat, with a R[illegible] type "mock trial."

The Journal, official pu[illegible] of the Foreign Service tion, also suggested that cent's recommended disc[illegible] loyalty grounds might illusion" that he was a for policy failures in Ch[illegible]

THE EVENING STAR
Washington, D. C.
MONDAY, JANUARY 5, 1953

Envoys Fear Ruling On Vincent May Bar Objective Reporting

By Garnett D. Horner

A group of unofficial spokes[illegible]en for America's career diplo[illegible] declared today that the [illegible]

HERALD TRIBUNE

Foreign Service Group Assails Vincent Ruling

By David McConnell

WASHINGTON, Jan. 4.—The di[illegible]rectors and editorial board mem[illegible] of "The Foreign Service Journal" today likened the Loyalty Review Board's ruling against John Carter Vincent to the "mock trials of wretched men the Kremlin had accused of sabotaging its policies."

First Appointments

A Congressman and a lawyer were named as John Foster Dulles' first appointments to the Department. The Congressman, THRUSTON BALLARD MORTON of Glenview, Ky., will be one of the eight assistant secretaries, presumably in charge of Congressional Relations. The lawyer, HERMAN PHLEGER of San Francisco, will succeed ADRIAN S. FISHER as the Department's legal adviser. MR. MORTON, member for the third district of Kentucky, voted for the last Admnistration's major foreign policy measures. MR. PHLEGER served in Germany for six months after the war as associate director of the legal division in the Office of Military Government.

Chiefs of Missions

AMBASSADOR GEORGE WADSWORTH, who visited in Panama a few days as a house guest of Ambassador Wiley, shot an 80 on the Panama Golf Club November 7.

The November issue of the *Diplomatist*, published in England, remembers that the Tzarist Government of Russia asked for the recall of another KENNAN, great-uncle of the present Ambassador, in 1901. The two KENNANS were both born on February 16, one in 1845, the other in 1904. The earlier KENNAN was recalled because of a book he wrote describing the system of exiling political prisoners to Siberia.

JACOB BEAM, whose last assignment was Chargé d'Affaires

(*Continued on page 49*)

Lest I Forget

By Fred Godsey

Years ago, I promised some friends that, one day, I would write a book. I last made this careless statement to a man in the employ of the Communist secret police in Budapest, Hungary, which for almost five years, 1945-1950, was my post in the Foreign Service of the United States.

As I read these lines, this seems a bit incredible; but, as I remember, there was nothing unusual about it that rainy October evening in 1949 as I sat across a tiny table from Professor Janos Bognar, Hungarian citizen, in a dreary little Budapest coffee house on Erzsebet Korut. It was not unusual to me then because Janos Bognar (which obviously isn't his real name) and his wife had been my friends in Hungary for several years—even before he was forced by threats against the lives of his family to enter the service of the Communist secret police as an informer. At considerable risk to his personal safety, he had told me of these circumstances at the beginning of his service with the Communists and warned me that he was required to make regular reports to the Communist political police of his conversations with me or other Americans in Hungary.

Our meeting that evening was, however, a memorable one, because it was to be our last. I recall the weariness of his face and the somber note in his voice as he cautiously, but calmly, told me that he and his wife had reached the limit which their tortured nerves could bear, and that they had decided to "go out black," a common Hungarian expression meaning that they would try to escape across the Hungarian border to the West without benefit of passports and visas.

Even as we talked over our cups of expresso black coffee, his wife was at their apartment packing the knapsacks for the journey.

So it was he, as we shook hands for the last time, who suggested that "someday, when the change comes" I should write a book and promised, jokingly, that I would have at least one reader, implying with typical Magyar humor that perhaps he would even go so far as to pay for his copy. He desperately wanted the people on the outside to know Hungary's terrible story.

Janos Bognar and his wife left Budapest that night. They never reached their destination in Vienna, and I never saw them again.

As an ex-newspaperman accustomed to dealing only with facts, I know quite well that I shall probably never get around to writing a book—not even "someday when the change comes" to replace Communism in Soviet-controlled Hungary. But as my small tribute to Janos Bognar and to the touching courage and stamina of the thousands of other Janos Bognars trapped and enslaved in the Hungarian "People's Democracy," I feel that at least I should jot down some notes of what I have seen and experienced there.

Accordingly, I place these notes on record against the ravages of new hours and new places—lest I forget.

From Naples to Budapest

The ship which took me into Naples, Italy, that hot, humid day in June 1945 was the *SS Argentina* which was being used to bring home our military personnel from Italy. The Naples docks were nothing but rubble, and even Capri's war scars were clearly visible. I was less impressed by the beauty of the bay when the ship's captain told me that we would be several hours late getting to the dock in order to keep the ship away from floating mines.

My orders were to leave Naples as soon as plane transportation was available to join the United States State Department group which had been flown into Hungary several weeks before. This group was referred to in my orders as

the "Hungarian Team." It was headed by the late United States Minister H. F. Arthur Schoenfeld. General William Key of Oklahoma was the U. S. Representative on the Allied Control Commission for Hungary. General Edgecomb represented Britain.

The flight from Naples to Budapest across Yugoslavia was a matter of a few hours. I wondered about the landing fields in Hungary since I had heard in Naples that the Red Army was occupying all of them. I didn't have long to think about it, as we were soon over the battered city of Budapest.

It was a clear, sunny day, and I shall always remember that first glimpse of post-war Budapest. I could see from the air that the damage had been great. As we approached the Danube I saw the rear section of a plane protruding from the top floor of a large building in Buda. The swastika on its tail was clearly visible. It had crashed headlong into the side of the building. The Danube bridges connecting the ancient city of Pest with mountainous Buda had been destroyed. I saw only one pontoon bridge. There seemed to be thousands of houses in Pest without roofs.

I soon learned that the Budapest airfield was in perfect condition, hut that the Russian occupation forces would not permit their American and British allies to use it—hence, the cow pasture for us.

An American army car met us at the "field," and we drove about five miles to the city over roads and streets pockmarked by shells. Unexploded bombs and grenades were abundant along the roadside, and Russian troops were everywhere on the streets of Budapest.

Post War Budapest

This was July, 1945. Our Mission was known officially as the American Representation on the Allied Control Commission for Hungary. The Russians, whose troops had occupied Hungary, were in control of the Commission from the beginning and the minor roles to which the United States and Britain were relegated on the Commission became apparent later.

My first stop was at the American Mission building on Szabadsag ter (Victory Square) in the heart of Budapest, from where I was taken, together with my duffel bag and footlocker, to an apartment at Number 20, Bathory utca (street) which was to be my home for several exciting months. The four-room apartment was already occupied by three members of the Mission staff, Ernie Sharpe of Texas, Dave Pearsall of New York, and Bob Folsom of Florida. We were later joined by Dick Wood of New York and Lewis Revey of Ohio.

There were several pieces of ornate furniture but not enough beds for all of us; so, being the newcomer, I fell heir to the back of a shell-shocked sofa, which, when placed on the floor and covered with an army blanket, made a fairly comfortable bed. What our one stove lacked in practical utility, it made up in beauty. It was of polished clay slabs, browned by years of use to the color of an old meerschaum.

Some of the shops were open, and there was a small supply of vegetables and fruit. The population of Hungary, even in the city of Budapest, had used every available piece of ground for growing vegetables. On many front lawns in Budapest, corn and cabbages were growing on the new graves of German and Russian soldiers.

Merchants, including those just returned from Nazi concentration camps, were reopening their small textile shops stocked with clothing material which had been buried underground during the siege. Old window curtains and drapes were transformed into dresses by Budapest women. There were, however, shortages of fats and oils, and obtaining meat and flour was very difficult for the average Hungarian in Budapest.

Practically all of the automotive vehicles, as well as the horse and ox-drawn wagons in Hungary in 1945 helonged to the military. As the war approached, a few clever Hungarians had hidden their autos under haystacks in the fields —only to have them discovered when the Russians took the hay for their animals and bedding.

Several bars, night spots and many expressos (coffee houses) were already open in Budapest in July 1945. In fact, one Hungarian friend told me that as soon as the last shell had been fired and he had dared to come out of his air-raid shelter, he had strolled down Vaci utca, the Fifth Avenue of Budapest, and had a black coffee at an expresso. His story is, of course, doubtful; but in most of the expressos which were open when I arrived in Budapest, one could get real coffee.

One enterprising aristocrat set up a bar in one room of his apartment near Vaci utca, moved in a piano and began selling the stock from the family cellar, which had, somehow, been overlooked by the Russian troops.

The GIs, in Hungary as part of the United States Representation on the Allied Control Commission, were billeted in the Hotel Astoria in Budapest. They had their own club

Buda, immediately following a British air raid in 1944.

in the hotel basement called the Pengo Club—so named in honor of the pre-war monetary unit of Hungary.

The plush Park Club, on Stefania Street (now called Voroshilov Street) was reopened after the siege of Budapest as an "Allied Officers' Park Club." It had the pre-war reputation of being the most elite of European aristocratic clubs. Under the terms of the Armistice Agreement with Hungary, no charge was to be made for food, drink and service at the club to its members and their guests. It was supplied and operated by the Hungarian Government. In line with the United States decision not to exact reparations from Hungary, the American members did, however, pay for their food, drink and service at the club through the purchase of chit books.

Upon its reopening, the British and American members attempted to make the Park Club a truly "allied" organization by inviting the Russian officials of the Control Commission to become members and take part in all of the club activities. The Russians always graciously accepted these invitations but never participated, and only their very high ranking officers came as guests on very official occasions.

The reopened Park Club retained every vestige of its past glory. Gypsy bands played there nightly, and Hungary's foremost stars of theater and opera performed there each week. Its red-carpeted halls were often trod by internationally famous personages. Alben Barkley headed one group of congressmen and senators which was entertained there, and it was in the Club's flower-filled garden that Matyas Rakosi, the Communist Dictator of Hungary, Soviet Ambassador Pushkin, Zoltan Tildy, Ferenc Nagy and other Hungarian leaders attended a July 4th celebration given by the American Representative on the Allied Control Commission. This was the only time I ever spoke with Rakosi, who speaks excellent English. I remember wondering, as we exchanged pleasantries, how such a mild little man could be such a vicious enemy of our way of life. Later events were to prove the extent of his hatred for America. I also remember how strangely similar he appeared to old photographs I had seen of Bela Kun, Hungary's bloody Communist dictator who controlled the country for a few months after World War I.

Russian soldiers in Budapest were looting, robbing, raping and murdering nightly during the winter of 1945. Hungarian families in Budapest as well as in the villages lived in constant terror of roving bands of looting Russian soldiers. A curfew was in force for many months after the "liberation" of Budapest from the Germans; however, this curfew was not necessary to keep Hungarians off the streets after dark. They knew only too well the risks of venturing onto the street at night. There were no street lights in Budapest during the summer of 1945, and only a few were turned on by the end of that year.

Here are some of the members of the post-war team in Budapest. From left to right they are: Fred Godsey, John Black, Miss Ruth Trian, Mrs. Edward Mag, Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Morris, Mr. Mag, and Miss Mary Willis McKenzie.

Russian military police patrols were extremely ineffective at coping with the looting and robberies by their troops. These patrols were more inclined to assist their comrades in their nefarious activities than to arrest them, and it was not uncommon for drunken Russian military police patrols to fight pitched machine gun battles among themselves in Budapest streets.

We occupants of Number 20 Bathory Street were awakened almost nightly during the winter of 1945 by gunfire outside the doorway. Several mornings, as I left for my office, I saw the bodies of Russian soldiers near our doorway where they had been shot during the night.

When Springtime Comes

The Hungarians excel in the arts. The magnificent Budapest opera house and a few variety theaters were reopened in 1945. Performances began early so that both audience and performers could be home before late evening to avoid being robbed on the streets by Russian soldiers.

I recall attending, together with an interpreter, a performance in the winter of 1945 at a small variety theater just around the corner from the Arizona club in Budapest. The leading actress wore an elaborate gown made from an abandoned American parachute, and the leading man had just returned to Budapest from a Nazi concentration camp in Germany. One of the soloists, however, received a deafening ovation for his rendition of a song about "when springtime comes again."

I left the theater that evening with a feeling for the first time of pity for that small audience of average Hungarians who actually believed that they would be able to begin a normal way of life when the springtime came again to their country.

Our American Consulate was reopened in the summer of 1945 at Szabadsag ter (Victory Square) Number 12. The building overlooked a large square in the approximate center of the business district of Budapest on the Pest side of the Danube.

In addition to a huge Russian monument to Russia's war dead, the square contained a figure in bronze of a nude woman with uplifted arms and minus her right breast which was shot away during the battle for Budapest in 1944. In the center of the square was a bronze statue of General Bandholtz, the American General who represented the United States on the Allied Control Commission in Hungary after World War I. Both were removed by the Communists to make more space for the people forced to gather in the square to pay homage to the Soviet Union on Red Army holidays and other Communist festive occasions.

Immediately after its opening, the Consulate was swamped by requests from Americans and Hungarians in the United States for information as to the whereabouts and welfare of long-missing relatives and friends.

Hundreds of American citizens and persons claiming American citizenship flocked to the Consulate every day,

and we were screening these applicants and issuing American passports before the winter of 1945. I soon found all of my time devoted to this work and was placed in charge of the Citizenship, Passport and Repatriation Branch of our Consulate. My job was to interview applicants for American passports, determine their citizenship claims and get them to the United States—or to other countries in cases where they were citizens of a country represented by the United States. We repatriated several citizens of various Latin American countries and the Philippines who had been stranded in Hungary during the war.

The winter of 1945 was one of continued suffering for Hungary. The severe cold caught Budapest and most of the battle-torn villages without proper housing and with practically no fuel. The fuel delivery system of the United States Mission broke down, and the Consulate building was without any form of heat for several months. It was, however, business as usual at the Consulate, and we sat at our desks in heavy overcoats. I supplemented the coat with an army blanket wrapped around my feet until one day when I decided to transfer the Citizenship Section of the Consulate to the apartment at Number 20 Bathory Street. There I interviewed applicants for several days in the luxurious warmth of our beautiful stove. I removed my office to the Consulate building upon the arrival of a truck load of coal.

The majority of our United States citizen applicants for repatriation were loyal Americans who had simply waited too long to heed warnings of the United States Consulate General in Budapest before the outbreak of World War II to quit the country. There were a few, however, who told me frankly that they had remained in Hungary because they had felt certain that the United States and her allies would lose the war. They were American citizens. Many of them, however, were never able to realize their post-war dreams of returning to the United States as it was found that they had committed certain acts causing the loss of their United States nationality.

Several persons appeared at the Consuate with old, mutilated American passports from which the photographs had been removed and falsely represented themselves to be the persons to whom the passports had been issued. These imposters were quickly found out by a check of old dossiers.

Citizens Killed, Deported

A large number of American citizens were killed in Budapest when the Festetich utca camp where they were interned by the Hungarians received a direct bomb hit from an unidentified plane in 1944. Many more were machine gunned by the Nazis on the banks of the Danube. There were also American citizens among the thousands of persons deported to Hitler's death camps from Hungary.

The American Consulate spared no effort to locate any person in Hungary who had a claim to American citizenship. It was one of these efforts which caused John Morgan, another Vice Consul, and me to be arrested by the Russian military in Hungary in 1946. Morgan, subsequently decorated by the U. S. State Department for his work in Russia as a member of the American Consular Staff during the war, was returning to Budapest with me by jeep one summer day after a trip into the country. We had visited several small villages near Miskolc, where we had been searching for details regarding the deportation of an American

A scene during the seige of Budapest showing a German plane which crashed into a building.

The St. Elizabeth bridge, looking from Buda.

citizen from Hungary to Russia. We had obtained some information about the case, and I had a few notes about it in my pocket. We were bouncing happily along in our jeep when, about ten miles from the small village of Szikszo, near Miskolc, I saw a big rabbit run into a nearby wheat field. We stopped on the roadside and, taking our rabbit gun, gave chase. We didn't get the rabbit, and when we returned to our jeep we found it surrounded by twelve Russian soldiers under the command of a colonel. The "allies" had their tommy guns trained on us as the colonel asked us what we were doing there. Morgan, who speaks excellent Russian, answered that we were "hunting rabbits," whereupon the colonel made the surprising statement that we had no right to be there. We replied that we Americans were also members of the Control Commission for Hungary.

The conversation finally ended with the colonel ordering us to follow his jeep to the Russian Kommandatura, or military headquarters in Szikszo. To insure our compliance, another jeep filled with Russians followed us.

The narrow road was very dusty, so while Morgan drove as fast as possible to make a dust screen, I took the notes from my pocket, tore them to bits and scattered them along the roadway. We knew that we would be searched upon arrival at the Kommandatura.

Questioned by Russians

Upon arriving at Szikszo we were made to park our jeep in the courtyard of a large building which served as the Red Army Kommandatura, and were escorted to an upstairs room. There the Russian colonel again began questioning us as to our reasons for being in that area. He invariably received the same reply—"rabbit hunting." We were kept in the Kommandatura for about ten hours, during which time we received some raw bacon, some half-cooked potatoes and straight Hungarian rum.

Our subsequent release was probably aided by a young lieutenant there who had a sister in Cleveland. Our jeep was returned to us and we set out again for Budapest. We didn't look for any more rabbits from Szikszo to Budapest.

My jeep excursions into the Hungarian countryside often brought me in touch with other Red Army Kommandaturas, but fortunately under more friendly circumstances.

The Russians had divided Hungary into military districts headed by Kommandaturas. These were usually in charge of a major or captain, depending on the size or importance of the district. I never saw a Russian soldier in the small villages or the country who was not accompanied by several or at least one other Russian soldier, and I never saw one who was not armed to the teeth. I never quite knew whether they have a great fear of loneliness or of the Hungarian peasants.

I met several Russian army officers in Hungary who were very hospitable—but who never dared accept American hospitality in return. One of these was a Red Army major in command of the Kommandatura at the small village of Paks, on the Danube about forty miles from Budapest. The major and most of his staff had been among the Russian troops who had met the Americans at the Elbe at the finish of the war in Germany. He often boasted to me about the large numbers of pigs, chickens and beef cattle his men had "requisitioned" from the Hungarian countryside. When I suggested that perhaps he was taking more than his men needed, he replied, "the Magyars are too rich—they can spare it." Indeed, this seems to be the philosophy of Moscow even to the present day.

Not all of the items "requisitioned" by the Soviet occupation forces in Hungary were for the immediate use of the troops, and not all of the material taken was for food. I have seen many trains from Hungary en route to the Soviet Union before and after the signing of the Peace Treaty, loaded with such items as bath tubs, commodes, toilet seats and ordinary wooden window frames (without glass). Many trains left for the Soviet Union carrying carloads of sailboats and small rowboats from Lake Balaton. It was common practice for Hungarians to offer their Balaton sailboats to the American or British diplomatic personnel in Hungary to keep the boats from being taken away by the Russians.

There is hardly a village in Hungary that has not had a part of its civilian population abducted for forced labor in Russia. This includes both men and women. Many persons having a claim to American citizenship were forcibly taken from Hungary to Russia by the Red Army, and most of the efforts of American authorities to obtain their release have been in vain.

Abductions began as soon as the Red Army entered Hungary, and Hungarians still live in mortal terror of the knock on the door at night which may mean spending their remaining days laboring in the Soviet Union.

Seek Consulate Sanctuary

On many occasions, Hungarian citizens came into the Consulate in Budapest and requested permission to stay in the building overnight or for several days to avoid arrest and deportation to Russia. The Consulate, of course, was not permitted to grant these requests for sanctuary. One man had a nervous breakdown in my office when informed that our government could not permit him to hide in the Consulate building from the Hungarian-Russian secret police. His crime was that he had refused to become an informer for the Communist police against his friends.

April 30, 1945, is usually regarded as the beginning of the great post-war inflation in Hungary which was to reach such proportions that a briefcase full of Hungarian notes would not buy a sandwich.

A rapid rise in general prices accompanied a heavy expansion of note circulation, and soon gold and dollars became the only real standard in Hungary. Most Hungarian families in Budapest, during the early months of 1946, were living from day to day by exchanging a small piece of

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Fred Godsey, who was in the Foreign Service from 1942 to 1951, was vice-consul and assistant attaché in Budapest from 1945 to 1950. He is now business analyst with the Office of International Trade in the Commerce Department. Photos used to illustrate "Lest I Forget" were taken by Sandor Kvassay.

PROPAGANDISTS IN WORLD AFFAIRS

By ORVILLE C. ANDERSON

Until the Communist ground swell has receded to the walls of the Kremlin, an inescapable propaganda challenge will be inherent in every foreign relations problem of the United States. The challenge will be inescapable because we are engaged in an all-out propaganda war. If this country does not take the initiative at every possible opportunity, the Politburo or one of its many extensions will.

The term propaganda is used here, of course, in its broadest sense. It implies not the mere "selling" of foreign policy, as is too often the concept, but the constant consideration of propaganda as an integral factor in foreign policy determination. Propaganda as practiced by the Kremlin today embraces both strategy and tactics—high-level, purposeful, and ingenious planning on the one hand, combined with the skilled employment of all techniques of modern communications on the other.

Perhaps the gravity of the challenge to this country was best foreshadowed in the prediction of an Italian party-liner: "Even if Russia and the United States reach a military stand off—either through disarmament or through equally matched arms production—the Communists will still win. They will do it with propaganda!"

There are at least two noteworthy reasons why the United States has not as yet mobilized adequately against this menace. And even though one concerns the attitudes of the general public and the other the problems of government officials, both issue from the same root source.

Because we Americans live in an environment permeated with propaganda originating on hundreds of fronts, we have more than any other people developed a casualness and cynicism toward it. Notwithstanding the fact that our lives from cradle to grave are greatly affected by this bombardment, few of us either realize or will admit any such thing.

It is little wonder, then, that few Americans read into Communist propaganda any great threat to the conventional course of history. It is almost inconceivable to them that anything so mundane as propaganda could constitute a force to reckon with. They will of course react instantly to a military challenge, and in given instances register emotion over Communist lies. But it will require more evidence than they presently possess before a relationship between the two becomes apparent, and positive action follows.

Another handicap stems from this plethora of propaganda. Most Americans have heard so much of it, seen so much of it, and lived with so much of it—especially the commercial variety—that virtually everyone is a self-appointed authority. It is an old quip of professionals in advertising that every man claims to be an expert in two businesses—his own, and advertising. And since propaganda is an activity in which instinctual cleverness pays off often enough to perpetuate the delusion, few of us — to use the jargon — hestiate to "make like an expert."

This delusion has had, and will continue to have, far-reaching effect on this nation's activities in international propaganda. The propaganda concepts of everyone directly or indirectly concerned are inevitably as varied as are their multifarious backgrounds. Neither planning nor performance can escape being marked by heterogeneity and experimentation. It may be that instinctual resources are basic attributes of the good propagandist as they are of the good musician. But an orchestra in which each individual musician is working out through trial and error his own theories of harmony is not necessarily prepared for international competition.

That the Communists devoutly believe in the efficacy of propaganda, and that they leave no stone unturned in seeking openings, are facts generally realized by everyone engaged in foreign affairs. Also, the mechanisms by means of which they carry on their nefarious works are fairly well comprehended by all who specialize in international informational and educational activities. But is there adequate appreciation of the extensive and methodical training in propaganda given to big and little Communists? Have we weighed what it means to have both high and low echelons working from the same book, and what a contribution this makes to the orchestra from top to bottom of a mighty instrument?

It is not too important whether the evolution of the charges of genocide or bacteriological warfare, or the "Partisans of Peace" drive, or the uprisings on Koje can be charted from Marx's propaganda interpretations through the writings of Lenin and Stalin—the Politburo—the Central Committee—Agiprop—and so on. What is significant is that behind every action are several decades of intensive scheming and study, meticulous records of success and failure, and many other ingredients for a diabolical, pseudo-science unmatched in history.

Although Hitler had his Goebbels and Mussolini his Gayda, they were rare windfalls of the moment and not the fruits of years of painstaking cultivation and development.

Hitler did enunciate some propaganda gospel in *Mein Kampf* and other publications, but it all provided a short course at best for his disciples, and represents today no more than a monograph alongside the vast Communist encyclopedia. (It is hoped that future historians will find no proportionate relationship in the size of the disturbances created.)

This elaborate propaganda training system, with its attendant technical documents, not only promotes effective coordination of theme and effort in given undertakings, but it provides a world-wide university for turning out propagandists. It is not much of a problem in language translation, for example, to instruct malcontents anywhere on how and when to take advantage of the "revolutionary combativeness of the popular masses."

Whence Our Propagandists

If it is accepted that propaganda is a principal arm in the Communist offensive, and that the United States must take the lead in the Free World's struggle against this force, then "whence our propagandists?" becomes a priority consideration. What can be developed that will cancel out the advantages which accrue to an elaborately trained, strictly disciplined opponent? Can a democracy, with its predilection to rely on the contributions of many instead of the dictates of a few, with its high regard for honest differences of opinion and the principles of free expression, design a propaganda machine which will out-perform a totalitarian invention?

In World War II, the Office of War Information and the various units of Army's psychological warfare branch demonstrated that under shooting-war conditions the answer to the last question can be *yes*. Many who participated in these operations are convinced that similar achievements can be carried out under "cold war" conditions. But by and large this confidence comes more from a belief in the inevitable triumph of freedom than from any clear-cut, agreed-on propaganda procedure for rolling back Communism.

Obviously the scope of these questions extends beyond the jurisdiction of Department of State and Foreign Service staffs, but because foreign affairs are involved these same staffs are presently charged with the lion's share of responsibility for producing the answers. Conscious of their vital role or not, trained for it or not, those officers engaged in foreign affairs represent the shock troops in a critical struggle. To them falls, and to a considerable extent will continue to fall, the herculean task of matching strategy and techniques with a coordinated, world-wide organization trained, conditioned, and directed to wage propaganda offensives anywhere, any time.

Capable as the American shock troops may be in all other departments of their assignments, it is normal that only a few can have the training or experience in propaganda which characterizes either the home-grown or the imported variety of Communist expert practicing his trade in almost every country. With the Communists, propaganda is primary business; with us, it is a side-line.

It is increasingly evident, however, that propaganda can no longer remain a side-line. Policy planning officers, political officers, economic officers, public affairs officers, high-level and low-level officers—all are participating in a venture where the stakes are high and the odds, from the viewpoint at least of preparation and training, are disproportionate.

Unfortunately there is no uncomplicated way in which the Department of State can go much faster in acquiring propaganda competence than it has in the past. Especially trained international propagandists are not easily come by. Excepting genius, there are few guide lines for ferreting them out. Likely candidates may hail from law firms, university staffs, editors' chairs, the diplomatic corps, advertising agencies, or from Hollywood, but as of today at any rate their training and development in this critical work will derive chiefly from experience.

Herein lies the weakness and the strength of what has to be the American approach to the problem. It is weakness because it tends to give everyone the rank of an expert and to make them disinclined to examine painstakingly any organized knowledge which might exist. But it can also be strength since it brings mature and alert minds to a subject which is far from an exact science. If to these minds can be brought information which is basic and self-evidently sound, they have the capacity not only to absorb and apply that which is known, but the creative ability to invent and develop concepts befitting a democracy. This is the accepted genius of America, but it emerges only after the basic information and the findings to date are well in hand.

In no other important division of foreign affairs is there this absence of collected and evaluated information. The Foreign Service Institute and other schools provide organized courses of study in political science, in economics, in international law, in miltiary theory, and in many other fields affecting foreign relations. Only a few of these subjects can be classified under "science," yet those officers responsible for decisions requiring such knowledge are usually especially trained for their work; they are not primarily at the mercy of their personal experience.

Study Programs Worked Out

Little research is required to reveal that worthwhile study programs might be worked out as well for all whose responsibilities have international propaganda implications. The task would be arduous, but the potentials are ample.

Modern psychology would have much to contribute to one part of the curriculum. Selected works on anthropology could make up another. The advances in social research, particularly in ways and means of determining the true state of public opinion, would fill another void. And, although the job of selection would be exacting, the 50-year accumulation of material on commercial propaganda—advertising, publicity, public relations—would yield surprising amounts of constructive and time-saving data. Collateral reading for a course of study of this kind would also be plentiful. *Goebbel's Diary*, *Political Propaganda* by the Englishman Bartlett, *The True Believer* by Eric Hoffer, and some of the post-war books on psychological warfare are indicative of the range available.

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Orville C. Anderson came into the Foreign Service after many years in newspaper work, advertising, and publicity. During the war he was an editor in the Office of War Information. Since entering the Service he has served principally in Rome, and as Director of the Office of International Information.

the AMBASSADOR who moved the GULF STREAM

By WILLIAM A. KRAUSS

It used to be, you remember, that the surest sign of spring was a robin redbreast on Old Aunt Witherspoon's front lawn. Or maybe, second best, a precocious crocus in the lingering snow down in the hollow of Benjamin Franklin Memorial Park. The robin and the crocus got a page-one box in the local *Eagle* and winter was a goner. But no more. Nowadays, as almost everybody has noticed for himself, spring's finest harbinger is the first rash of Gulf Stream stories in the press of the land—stories declaring, each season afresh, that the mightiest ocean current in the world has taken to wandering, like any drunken sailor, erratically off course.

Summed up, the tale is this: The Gulf Stream is bending northwestward, closer aboard the Jersey shore; soon (can you doubt it?) palm trees will grow in Boston, hibiscus in Bridgeport. Among other evidences, the wire services have quoted fishermen who assure us that tropical fish—the snowy grouper and the butterfly—are even now practically aswarm on Atlantic City's piles.

True? Well, not exactly. It's true that the snowy grouper and the butterfly, the black rockfish, the West Indian deep big-eye, and more than a few Brazilian scorpion fish have been taken in Jerseymen's nets these recent years. When, on home leave last fall, I heard that the Portuguese man-of-war, an unattractive beast more properly indigenous to latitudes a long way south, had put in appearance off Atlantic City, I entrained for that metropolis equipped with sun-lotion and topi, to look for myself.

I did not see a Portuguese man-of-war, but I met a man who'd seen one. Who had, in fact, seen plenty, and whose father and grandfather had seen them too. He put me on the trail of what is, in effect, a Gulf Stream success story.

One day a good many years ago a young man with a powerful urge to get ahead came to a decision about the Gulf Stream—he would move it. Not as a whim; not at all for the kind of prideful glory that might be achieved by setting a mountain in motion or causing the sun to stand still. No; in this matter of altering the ocean's major current, the young man preferred to remain anonymous, or at least obscure.

So—stealthily, you might say—he parted the waters of the Atlantic and sent the Stream flowing through a new channel. Years later he became Ambassador to France.

His name was Walter Edge. He moved the Gulf Stream because he believed the hotel and boardwalk business of Atlantic City would benefit by having a tropical flow on the doorstep. Since, demonstrably, Atlantic City could not go to the Gulf Stream, 135 watery miles off-shore, young Edge brought the Gulf Stream to Atlantic City. He understood the efficacy of repeated and repeated assertion; say a thing often enough and a lot of people are going to believe it.

It's the measure of his achievement that now—this year, spring or fall—when a week of weather blossoms warmer than you'd expect along the Jersey shore, when a daffodil blushes unseasonably anywhere between Hatteras and Maine, a fair number of earnest folk—some of them holders of scientific degrees—write learned-seeming essays for the papers, saying: "See; merely for a moment consider the evidence; clear as anything the Gulf Stream's swung in closer than it used to be—"

(*Continued on page* 46)

William A. Krauss, Public Affairs Officer at our Embassy at Guatemala, was a reporter, feature writer and editor from 1931 to 1950. He served in the Foreign Service Auxiliary from 1942-44 as junior economic analyst at Port-au-Prince.

REMARKS OF DEAN ACHESON at the Foreign Service Association Luncheon

The JOURNAL *presents, here, excerpts from extemporaneous remarks by Secretary Acheson at the luncheon given in his honor, on January 8, by the Foreign Service Association. These excerpts are based on a partial stenographic transcript supplemented by the fresh recollection of persons who were present. Quotations from Mr. Acheson's remarks appeared in the press and these excerpts are reprinted with his authority.*

It is almost twelve years ago, now, that I first came to the Department. These twelve years of my life, between the ages of forty-eight and sixty, are the years that, we are assured, represent the best a man has to offer. They are "the productive years" of a man's life—though God knows what that means!

I have shared the experience of these years with you of the Foreign Service and of the Department's permanent staff. I am, in fact, the only Secretary of State you have served with, whom you have yourselves trained and brought up to his duties—although you may feel that you already have enough criticism to bear. Let us say that you are responsible for the best I have been able to do, but you could not prevent the persistence of the Old Adam in me.

As I look around this room I see those of you who are older than I—my mentors who, in the twelve years now gone by, gave so much of your time and energy to guiding my footsteps and correcting my errors. I see also those who are my contemporaries and my colleagues, who have been working with me as such. Finally, there are those who are younger than I, who perhaps make up the largest group. I would call them my "activators," those who say, "Let's stir up the old fellow and see what he can do."

It is a moving moment for me to be here, as my years of service draw to a close. At this last meeting with all of you it seems pertinent to mention an old saying of Justice Holmes: "I have," he said, "left much of my fleece upon the hedgerows of life." I have left much of my own fleece in the Department of State and the Foreign Service—and, shall I say, with other extractors of fleece? And now my life has reached a point at which I no longer have far to go before the accomplishment of those years when, the Bible assures me, I should be prepared for a meeting even more serious than this one.

As I look at some of my friends here, approximately my own age, I see they are older than they were twelve years ago, and grayer, and their heads are somewhat more exposed. I recognize that I am similarly changed. I hope we are wiser too. But I place very little confidence in that. Not long ago—three or four weeks ago while in New York—I talked with a distinguished foreign statesman. He seemed distressed at my coming decease (as a minister), and I said, "This recalls to me the tragic story of the fellow who was about to be hanged. As the sheriff adjusted the noose around the gentleman's neck he asked him if there was anything he would like to say to those assembled there, before the sentence was carried out. And the man, taking advantage of the opportunity, said to the audience: 'Ladies and gentlemen, this will be a very good lesson to me'." The foreign statesman considered this carefully. Then he remarked: "Ah, I see! The execution, it came too soon."

One always likes to engage in the contemplation of what might have been. There are many things we might have done differently. But I think if we went back, now, and had them to do over again, we might not do them so differently

Seated at the Speaker's Table with Mr. Acheson (as shown above) were, from left to right: Director General of the Foreign Service Gerald A. Drew, Assistant Secretary John M. Allison, Counselor Charles E. Bohlen, Assistant Secretary John Hickerson, Mr. Acheson, Chairman of the Association Board Tyler Thompson, Deputy Under Secretary H. Freeman Matthews, Deputy Under Secretary Carlisle H. Hummelsine, Assistant Secretary George W. Perkins, and Assistant Secretary Howland H. Sargeant.

after all. For we have always the limitations of human judgment and of the knowledge on which we must act. We were confined within the limits of the possible, and the possibilities were rather narrow. We need feel no abiding regrets. Whatever we might have done, what we have done is the very best that all of us could do together.

We have made mistakes and are quite willing to acknowledge that. Perhaps altogether we might have seen further into the future—hut I do not know where that would have heen. We have done our best within the limits of our knowledge, competence and wisdom, and I think that the knowledge, competence, wisdom, and the personalities of the State Department and the Foreign Service are equal to those of any government anywhere in the world.

Over the period of twelve years it is interesting to see what the verse in the Prayer Book calls "the manifold changes and chances of this mortal life." One thing we see is the tremendous growth of the Foreign Service. When I came to work in the Department there were a few more than nineteen hundred persons in the Foreign Service. Today there are almost nine thousand. That, by itself, is nothing but a numerical fact. I think the growtb in quality, in competence, in security of operations, in wisdom, has kept pace with the growth in numbers. There has been a broadening out into the country, so that the Foreign Service today represents, as never before, all tbe people of the United States, in all its geographical areas, in all walks of life, in all its national origins.

Along with that there has come another series of developments in the last twelve years which are still incomplete but most important. That has to do with the place of the Department of State and the Foreign Service in the Government of the United States and in the making of foreign policy.

Twelve years ago the Department and the Foreign Service faced a very severe crisis. The Department was submerged by the multiplication of problems and proliferation of requirements in the making and execution of foreign policy. Men as old as I am and older will recall the problems that existed in 1941, and how foreign policy was not made in the State Department, but in other areas—which historians may never succeed in fully identifying. It has been a long and difficult struggle to refashion our Department and hring it back into its proper role and its proper relationships within the Government. I think it has been brought back—not completely by any means, but I think today the situation is vastly improved. I think we have been brought closer tban we have ever been in our time to the guidance of the President in the exercise of his unique responsibility for the conduct of our foreign relations—and this is of vital significance. We have also been brought more closely into relationships with the other departments of the Government. Most important is the military establishment, and that has been in large part the result of some very happy coincidences of personalities. We were particularly fortunate in General Marshall, who from heing Chief of Staff in the war became Secretary of State, and then went from there to be Secretary of Defense. And much the same with Mr. Lovett, who came to us from Defense and went back, then to become General Marshall's successor. We have been fortunate in having Mr. Harriman in the ecomonic part of the work. These were all experienced people, people who knew each other well, who had trust and faith in each other. And so, too, we have been brought closer together with the other agencies, including Treasury, which is very important.

We still have grief in dealing with the foreign economic activities of the United States. There are many people—whose judgment differs greatly from mine—who have recommended to me and to President Truman, and will recommend to his successor, the creation of a new Foreign Economics Office to handle our economic affairs separate from the rest, and of a new Cahinet position for Foreign Economic Affairs. In my judgment that would be a vast mistake. It would seriously impair the conduct of the foreign policy of the Unitcd States, in its integrity and in its guiding purpose. These people who would have to administer the programs would have all the money and the responsibility of spending it abroad. Tbey would be the masters of this one way of doing things, while the State Department would be struggling, without effective authority over this means, to carry through United States foreign policy as a whole, and to make it serve its purpose. Our ambassadors abroad would represent, to the foreign governments, that part of our Government which did not have the money to spend; but the foreign authorities could always go from them to the representatives of our other foreign office, this other part of our Government, in the hope of finding, with tbem, some other line of policy and, perhaps, more fruitful dealings. Thus the voice of the United States would be divided, speaking sometimes through military offices abroad, sometimes through economic offices, sometimes through diplomatic missions. There would be no one, clearly identifiable, voice of the United States, but only a lot of people who would speak for it in competition with one another. This means that several United States policies might manifest themselves at any given point, but that tbere would not really be a foreign policy of the United States, or any one authority to speak for it clearly.

We have one constructive development that we can look back on over these years—one that has been very dear to my heart. Today—and nothing like this was ever true before—over two-thirds of our chiefs of mission come from your ranks. I bope this will continue. The day is past when we can afford to be represented abroad by just anyone who has money to contribute to campaign funds. And this has nothing to do with the size or prestige of the country to which we send our representative. He may do us as much harm in some remote capital of a minor country as in one of the major capitals of the world.

Not that you in the Foreign Service bave a monopoly of worldly knowledge and professional skill. You must distinguish a majority—even a sizable one—from a monopoly. There are and have been many excellent non-career diplomats. Two examples come to my mind immediately, two people from outside your ranks who have done a superh job. One is Mrs. Anderson in Denmark. Another is Mr. Bunker, first in the Argentine and now in Rome. It is good that there are these people and that we use them. You must be content not to have the monopoly. But most important of all is to take advantage, as our Government has, of your majority. I hope this will continue.

(*Continued on page* 51)

SER
GLIM

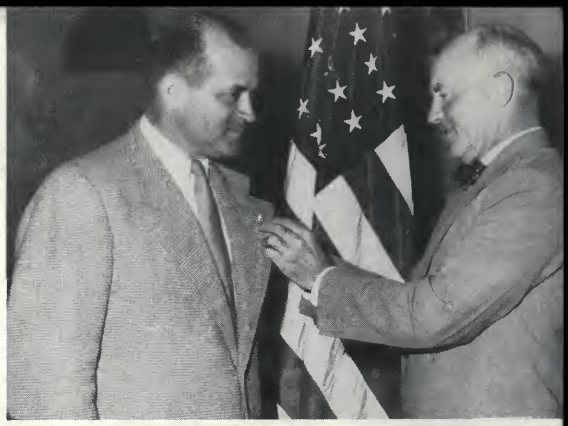
Ambassador William J. Sebald is shown in front of the Arakan Pagoda in Rangoon with three of the Pagoda trustees, U Kyaw, U Ka, and U Sein.

(Below) — Visiting the monument to Consul General Townsend Harris in Shimoda, Japan, are, from left to right, Mr. Canzoneri, Mr. Yamamamoto, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Kikuchi, Mr. Mori. In the front row are Mr. Sato, and Mr. Sawamura. Next year Shimoda will celebrate the 100th Anniversary of the visit of Admiral Perry and the arrival of Consul General Harris.

Consul General Angus Ward (now Ambassador to A
Economic Officer W. Milbourne Neighbors on safa
Northern Frontier District.

Mrs. W. P. O'Neill, Jr., Ambassador Myron M. Cowen at the
Charity Bazaar in Brussels. Theme of the Bazaar was "The A
Stand."

VICE
PSES



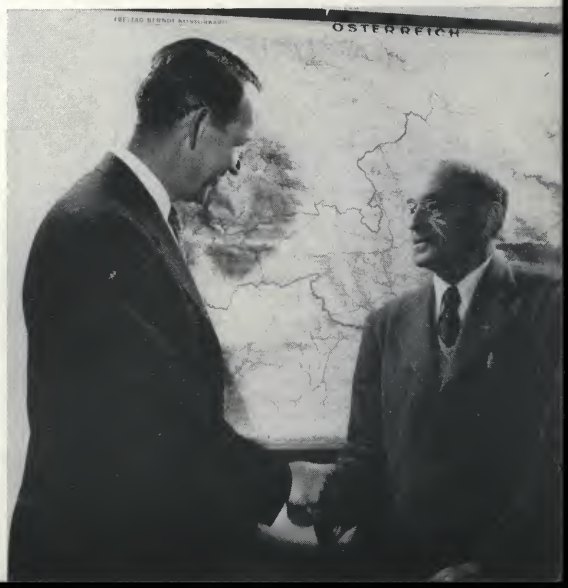
Counselor for Economic Affairs Harold M. Randall presenting Willard L. Beaulac, Ambassador to Cuba, with the gold insignia of 30 years service.

tan) and
e Kenya

Richard C. Desmond and John B. Young of the Embassy in El Salvador with former Vice Consul James Q. Ables, now farming near Zacatecoluca, El Salvador.

Acting Consul General Richard H. Hawkins, Jr., congratulates Claude S. Oliveiro in recognition of 28 years of faithful and conscientious service.

Llewellyn E. Thompson, Jr., Ambassador to Austria, congratulates Vice-Consul Frank C. Niccoll on his honor award.



William H. Burns and the local Air Force Commander preparing to take a helicopter flight from Nagoya to the USS Iowa.

Indiana Incident

By Charles F. Knox, Jr.

From the log schoolhouse in the settlement it was three miles to Pigeon Creek, and even though the boy ran the whole distance it was already dusk when he reached the shallow crossing place. His stomach grew small with fear when he thought about the whipping he would get when he faced his father.

He slid down the steep bank of the creek and tested the water with his foot. Shivering, he took off his buckskin pants and holding them high, floundered across. Safe on the other bank he pulled his pants on over wet legs and started to run, padding silently on the leaf-carpeted trail.

The cabin loomed a dark mass, relieved by a single square of flickering orange light, as he turned into the clearing. He slowed to a walk, stopping for a moment to view with worried face the black bulk of the woodpile that he should have carried into the lean-to that morning.

His father looked up as he entered, the keen eyes in the weathered face asking a silent question. He was a huge, bearded man, worn with toil and poverty, but a good father and gentle—except when disobeyed.

The boy shot a quick glance toward where his mother was cleaning up the supper things.

"Whar you bin?" the man's voice was stern.

The boy licked his dry lips. "To the schoolhouse at the settlement," he said. "I'm tryin' on gettin' me some book-larnin' . . ."

"This mornin' I tole you to git the wood in, an' the corn chopped free o' weeds. Did you do the chore?"

"I'm aimin' to do it . . . I . . ."

"Did you do it?" the man's voice was relentless.

"I . . ." The boy sent a desperate glance at his mother. She stood watching, her face full of sympathy. Up in the loft there was the rustle of corn-husk mattress as the younger children peeped down.

The man got up and took a switch from the corner. "Come hyar."

The boy sent one last imploring look at his father's face, but there was no softness there. He ducked his head and turned sideways, winking back the tears that started to come despite his determination not to cry.

But instead of the pain of the switch he found himself unexpectedly within the circle of his mother's arm as she stepped forward and drew him against her.

"He ain't done nuthin' so bad thet he needs to be whupped."

"Stand aside," said the man, harshly, his face flushing at the interference.

The woman shook her head. "Tom, it ain't right to whup a boy jes' fer goin' to the schoolhouse. "Pears like you ain't anxious fer him to git book-larnin' no-how." Her voice was an accusation.

The man shook his head in angry impatience. "I ain't agin' book-larnin' and you know it. But this boy won't be needin' no fancy book-larnin'. I niver had none, an' I guess I'm takin' ceer o' my family. He needs larnin' on how to do whut he's tole, thet's whut he needs!" He shook the switch significantly.

The woman's voice was quick in protest. "He aint' a bad boy, Tom. You know he ain't."

Her voice was pleading now and the man's face softened.

"I've hearn tell," she went on, quickly, "thet when a boy gits a cravin' for book-larnin' it's worse than hunger gnawin' in his belly. An' a body can't tell. Maybe he'll git to be somethin' more than we'uns. He mought git to be a store-keeper, or sech like. Or mebbe . . ." she paused, breathless at the audacity of her own imagination, ". . . a jedge. He mought even git to be a county jedge. . . ."

The man stared at her in amazement. He started to laugh, the anger leaving his face. "You shore git fancy notions," he said. "A county jedge! Thet's a good 'un. Well," he lowered the switch, "all I'm askin' is thet he mind his pa when he's told to do a chore."

The boy took a deep, quivering breath. "Hones'," he said, his voice squeaky with relief. "Honest', Pa, I'll git the chore done afore sun-up tomorrer."

His father put the switch back in the corner and sat down again by the hearth. "Mind you do, then," he said, mildly.

The boy followed the woman over to the table and stood by her as she sat down and took up her knitting. He plucked at her sleeve timidly.

"The . . . the teacher learnt me how to make writin'," he said.

(*Continued on page* 60)

 Charles F. Knox, Jr., a member of the JOURNAL Editorial Board, was a Foreign Service Officer from 1939 to 1952. He is now retired, lives in Warrenton, Virginia, where he farms and writes.

EDITORIALS

TRUTH AND CONSEQUENCES

> "Can a democracy, with its predilection to rely on the contributions of many instead of the dictates of a few, with its high regard for honest differences of opinion and the principles of free expression, design a propaganda machine that will outperform a totalitarian invention?"

This is the central question posed by Orville Anderson in his provocative article, "Propagandists in Foreign Affairs," which appears elsewhere in this issue. Deeply disturbed by the challenge of Soviet communist propaganda, he recommends that special training courses be inaugurated, presumably by the Department of State, "for all those whose responsibilities have international propaganda implications." Pointing out that "with the communists, propaganda primary business; with us, it is a sideline," he suggests that by giving priority consideration to the training of American propaganda experts, it may eventually be possible to answer his central question affirmatively.

We like Mr. Anderson's question, but we are unhappy about his answer and the reasoning which lies behind it.

In the first place, we deplore the tendency which has become widespread in recent years to over-estimate the importance of propaganda in the general scheme of things. It has become a truism to affirm that words can have little effect if unrelated to deeds, but all too often attempts are made to employ propaganda as a cheap substitute for material strength, for genuine causes, for great leadership, and for positive policy. Let us remember that the enduring things of life are never sold at the bargain counter.

Consider, for a moment, how really effective is the Soviet propaganda machine *per se*. Despite more than thirty years of intensive, internal propaganda about the sancrosanct character of "socialist property," the Soviet dictatorship still feels it necessary to post armed sentries at every railway bridge in the U.S.S.R. And for all the alleged Soviet propaganda successes abroad, the areas in both Europe and Asia over which international communism has extended its sway since 1939 were taken over in the first instance by the Soviet armed forces or by military forces of one kind or another, notably the Chinese communist armies. Korea is only the most recent example of the mailed fist's taking precedence over propaganda in the Soviet book.

Even so, propaganda does have a peculiar importance in the Soviet system, and it is precisely because of this fact that we doubt whether we have much to gain by emulating the Kremlin in this field. Under Soviet theory and practice people are considered as guinea pigs who can be moulded to fit into pre-ordained patterns by the most highly centralized government the world has ever seen. In the eyes of the rulers of such a state "truth" comes to represent nothing more than the accumulation of fictions, distortions, subterfuges, and duplicities which are employed to justify the existence and expansion of an amoral system. The massiveness and shrillness of Soviet propaganda are the inevitable concomitants of a regime which because of the foul deeds it commits must eternally be proclaiming to its own people and to the world its moral pretensions. The magnitude of the Soviet propaganda effort is thus fundamentally a revelation of Soviet weakness.

This is not to conclude that the Free World can afford to dismiss lightly the effects of Soviet propaganda upon millions of discontented and ignorant people. Our own international informational and educational officers have important work to do, and no doubt their technical training can be improved. Our basic reply to the Soviet challenge must, however, take the form of political, economic, and military deeds compatible with, and inspired by our free institutions and traditions. As ex-President Truman said on December 15 last at a ceremony accompanying the placing of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence in the National Archives:

> "For us to embrace the methods and morals of communism to defeat communist aggression would be moral disaster worse than any physical catastrophe. If that should come to pass, then the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence would be utterly dead and what we are doing today would be the gloomiest burial in the history of the world."

We are confident that the moral foundation on which our entire national existence is based, a deep and abiding respect for the integrity of the individual man, will continue to impel us along the path of Truth and its consequences.

SOME SEMBLANCE OF ORDER

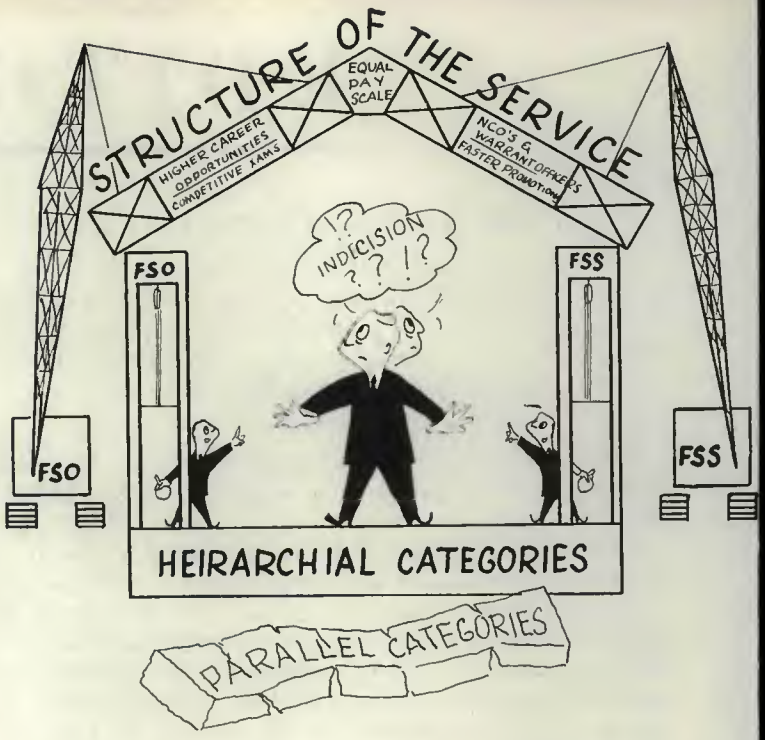
Hard on the heels of Selden Chapin's persuasive letter in last month's JOURNAL, which recommended a reappraisal of the fitness of the Department and Foreign Service for tasks which planners seem to contemplate placing in a brand new, independent Overseas Economic Administration, the recent report of the former Secretary of Commerce following a visit to Western Europe strikes a welcome and responsive note. The Sawyer mission of five officials from agencies other than State concerned in international relations as regards trade, defense production and finance, plus two businessmen (steel and chemicals) undertook a review of European business and economic problems and the effect upon foreign business of our policies and economic relations abroad. In their report to the President there is some timely comment about the scattered elements in our government organization for the conduct of foreign economic affairs. The conclusions, while more pointed than the comments of others, are entirely consistent with the reports and observations of Senators Connally, Wiley and Johnson (S.C.) and Representatives Mansfield and Lanham, who covered similar ground. Some extracts follow:

"There was an almost unanimous opinion that we have too many people and too many agencies in Western Europe . . . efficiency and morale are impaired by the fact that there are too many people doing too many things. Confusion and wasted effort are the result. . . .

(*Continued on page 52*)

STRAY THOUGHTS on the SERVICE

By J. K. Penfield



Although there are some indications that a stable Foreign Service pattern is beginning—but only just beginning—to emerge, we are still suffering acutely from post-war growing pains stemming from tremendously increased demands following upon "arrested development" during the war. One of the immediate problems we face is how to make the collective voice of Service personnel effectively heard in the Department and to ensure that it is given appropriate consideration there. We certainly do not want to form a self-seeking "pressure group" but just as certainly, successful "labor-management" relations cannot be a one-way street. We, the individual members of the Service, have an obligation to do our best to reciprocate the earnest efforts the Department is making to improve the grave deficiencies still existing in the Service's personnel relations.

These deficiencies were vividly brought home to me recently when I had the interesting privilege of sitting for a time as a member of a traveling oral examination panel. All the panel members were struck by the serious misunderstandings and misconceptions regarding the Service voiced by many of the candidates appearing before it. Just as disturbing were the mistaken evaluations of their relative capabilities sincerely held even by some of the most able and intelligent of the candidates. I hope that this side of the panel's work will be discussed in future articles in the JOURNAL; I mention it here only to illustrate the need for more informed thinking about the Service. There is, of course, no easy solution to this difficulty but I very much doubt whether it can be found entirely through official channels and efforts — even informal ones such as the Foreign Service Newsletter.

At the moment the principal non-official tools we have are the Foreign Service Association and the JOURNAL. Both are necessarily run by people assigned to the Department and hence more or less representative of "home office management" viewpoints and pressures (my own assignments to the Department have convinced me of the importance of this point). Nevertheless they do have considerable potential value as unofficial channels for the development and expression of Service views and opinions—a value which is not at present being fully exploited. The Association has only some 2,400 members out of over 10,000 eligible FS personnel. As to the JOURNAL, its readers are undoubtedly considerably and logically, more numerous and certainly it could profitably carry much more constructive discussion of the fundamental problems of the Service. This article is an attempt to practice what I preach by starting—I hope it won't be both start and finish—a discussion of one such problem which is in crying need of full airing, both officially and unofficially.

This problem is the relationship between the FSS and FSO corps, or in general terms, the structure of the Service. In discussing it I am purposely being positive and controversial because I hope thereby to help dispel the fog of bureaucratic double talk which seems to envelop the subject. I hope that the low-boiling-point reader will bear this in mind and direct his fire at the substance rather than the tone of what follows.

In August, 1951, the Department (Office of Personnel) published an admirably complete booklet entitled, "Questions and Answers on Personnel Operations under the Secretary's Personnel Improvement Directive." So far as I am aware this booklet is the latest and most authoritative official statement on the subject. Here is what it says about the Staff and FSO corps.

The Foreign Service Officer corps is to be expanded "to a point where it will more nearly meet the needs for officer personnel" and the Staff Corps is to be contracted in positions "that can be more effectively staffed by Officer personnel" (p. 1). At the same time it is proposed to place "Staff officers under the same pay scale as that for Foreign Service Officers" (p. 2).

"As the Officer Corps expands and, correspondingly, the Staff Corps contracts, certain positions now filled by Staff officers will be filled, when vacancies occur through retirement or otherwise, by Foreign Service Officers. . . . Con-

currently the staff category will be redefined to include technical, technical-administrative, clerical, and other closely related functions." (p. 29). "A study to clarify this distribution of activities is now in process. In general it is probable that some of the higher-grade administrative work in the Service will be assigned to the Officer Corps." (pp. 25-26).

The "experience gained in implementing this limited program should provide a basis for determining at some future date what further steps, if any, it is practical or advisable to take" toward a complete amalgamation of the two services (p. 1).

When someone explains that "a study is in process" and that "further steps, if any," will be determined "at some future date," it is reasonably clear that we are deep in the never-never land of gobbledygook and that no basic decisions have been made. Nevertheless, the "liberalized lateral entry program" is in full swing and is very much within the realm of definite action. Trying to penetrate this verbal thicket further, it seems not unreasonable to draw the following inferences:

1. The FSO corps is to be increased to take over a large but as yet undefined portion of the present Staff Corps' duties and, in fact, the two corps may be completely amalgamated.

2. In the meantime the Staff Corps will be put under the same pay scale as FSOs but, paradoxically, the Staff personnel will be made the NCOs and Warrant Officers of the Service (the booklet continually refers to FSOs as the "Officer Corps" or "Officer personnel") performing an undefined category of "technical, technical-administrative, clerical" etc. duties.

It is a mystery to me how a Staff Officer, on the basis of the above information, can reach any reasoned decision on whether or not he should apply for transfer to the FSO corps or on what criteria he will be judged should he do so.

It is easy to criticize confusion and lack of decision but what is really needed and needed urgently is constructive thinking and general discussion to keep the "study in process" from turning out to be just a processed shape sunk in the bureaucratic swamps.

Analysis of Jobs

This discussion should obviously start with some analysis of the jobs which need to be done in the Foreign Service.

Such analysis is usually confused by unrealistic thinking on the familiar topic of "generalists" versus "specialists." We are all to some extent both, and the distinctions between the two become progressively less distinct as the rank of the individual or his job level rises. For example, a communications supervisor, a visa interviewer, a news bulletin editor, and an economic statistics researcher are normally all "specialists" or "technicians." When, however, they become, respectively, an Administrative Officer, a Consul General, a Public Affairs Officer, and an Economic Counselor, each must have knowledge of several "specialties" and must display a breadth of experience, judgment, and ability which beyond all doubt warrant the appellation "generalist." Once the validity of this fundamental concept is realized, it becomes clear that the basic Service framework must be one of heirarchical rather than parallel categories. That is, a person's category (FSS or FSO) should depend more on his job level than on the nature of his duties.

This is not to say that determination of the most effective Service structure is a simple matter. There are, of course, a few highly paid people such as radio engineers who are and must remain strictly "specialists." On the other hand there are very junior persons, those engaged in certain types of economic and political reporting and negotiation for instance, whose duties demand a "generalist's" breadth and "higher category" rank and status. But these and the other numerous problems of Service structure can easily be taken care of under the heirarchiacal concept. The increasing tendency toward a parallelism in the FS structure seems to be no more than a dodge to persuade Staff personnel that the FSS corps offers them a career fully equal to that offered in the FSO corps. This is just not true—at least I know of no FSS officer who has yet been translated directly into a Career Minister, a Chief of Mission, or for that matter, a Consul General.

Objections to Parallel Service

One of the most serious objections to a parallel Service structure is that it would in practice prove almost impossible to maintain reasonably comparable rates of promotion in the two categories. Even if steps were taken to prevent officers shifting back and forth between categories to their financial advantage, the inevitably unequal rates of promotion would have such a serious effect upon the morale of those in the category which happened to be getting slower promotions that the efficiency of the Service would certainly he prejudiced. In recent years the promotion situation has been much more favorahle in the Staff than in the FSO corps, both in terms of promotions available and quality of personnel competing for them. This circumstance is even now responsible for a serious problem in connection with the lateral entry program. Many Staff officers who, by reason of this fortuitous situation have risen to salary levels well above those of FSO colleagues of greater age and experience and at least equal abilities, understandably feel that they are being unjustifiably robbed of legitimately earned status if they are asked to take a salary cut, in some cases a substantial one, in order to enter the FSO corps. On the other hand it would be manifestly unfair to put such officers in over the heads of those who have followed the "hard way" of taking the exacting FSO written exams and fighting for advancement under the much more severe and competitive FSO promotion system.

A parallel system is analagous to and just as ridiculous as setting up in the armed services a pay scale for enlisted men going up to the Major General level and telling the enlisted man that although he is called something else, he really has the same status as an officer. Why don't we stop insulting the intelligence of the "technical-administrative" officer and face the obvious fact that duties of this type have to be performed but that while an officer is performing them, he does not need the same ability, prestige, or representational qualifications as most of those performing at higher levels?

(*Continued on page* 54)

J. K. Penfield was appointed a Foreign Service Officer in 1930 and has since served—among other places—at Ciudad Juarez, Canton, Mukden, Godhaab, Chungking, Prague, the Department, and London.

THE BOOKSHELF

Francis C. deWolf, Review Editor

NEW AND INTERESTING

by FRANCIS COLT DE WOLF

1. **Always The Young Strangers;** Carl Sandburg; Harcourt Brace & Co., New York $5.00
An outstanding autobiography covering Sandburg's first 21 years. Honestly written, this book goes beyond mere self portrait to sympathetic account of the late 19th Century as seen through the eyes of an exceptionally keen observer.
2. **A House in Bryanston Square;** Algernan Cecil; Harcourt Brace & Co., New York $5.00
Beyond personal memoirs here are memories of British culture, tradition, and civilization recalled by a first rate mind that has witnessed the disaster and tragedy of the 20th Century. This book may well become a classic.
3. **The Selective Traveller in Portugal;** Ann Bridge and Susan Lowndes; Alfred A. Knopf, New York $5.75
Good reading for the armchair traveller who will appreciate the author's quick eye for detail. As a guide for those about to visit Portugal, the book should be equally rewarding.
4. **In the Nazi Era;** Lewis Namier; St. Martin's Press, New York $2.25
A penetrating and scholarly analysis of the apologia of those who served Hitler but survived Nuremberg.

The American Record in the Far East, by Kenneth Scott Latourette. *The MacMillan Company, N. Y., 208 pages.*

Reviewed by LEONARD C. MEEKER

Here in brief compass is a review of American Far Eastern policy since V-J day, by one of America's foremost scholars of the Far East. In a day when so much that is written on this subject is frankly partisan, it is refreshing to find an objective account set down by an author of deep and wide qualifications in the field.

After an introduction disclosing the purpose and plan of the book, Professor Latourette has reviewed the background of American involvement in the Far East, analyzed the problems of the region as of 1945, and inquired whether the United States had a consistent and comprehensive policy. His answer is generally affirmative. There follow a series of chapters running over the Far East country by country. The successes of American policy in Indonesia and Japan is contrasted with "China: The Great American Defeat."

Fundamentally, this is a book of information for the general reader, and only secondarily essays interpretation of the recent past in Asia. Where Professor Latourette has offered interpretations, they are worth careful pondering. He places the economic factor, the problem of livelihood for the millions of Asia, in the forefront here. Another point made is "the limited and doubtful value of armed force unless it was accompained by a wide, political, cultural and economic policies and made the instrument for the support and protection of these policies."

Professor Latourette finds the Communist victory in China to have resulted not from things done or left undone by American policy after World War II, but from deeper-lying causes. His chapter on China concludes: "Communism was by no means the final stage in China's revolution. There would be others, although no one could know what these would be. It was certain that, when China moved into them, that for which Americans had labored would not be entirely lost, but would presist in one way or another. It would be in altered forms, for it would be assimilated into a living, growing China. But it would be there."

American Foreign Policy and the Separation of Powers, by Daniel S. Cheever and H. Field Haviland, Jr., *pp. XII plus 244, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1952.*

Reviewed by STANLEY D. METZGER

This book discusses the headaches and heartaches experienced since the founding of the Republic in dealing with the foreign relations of the United States under a system in which both the Executive and Legislative branches have power and responsibility.

Messrs. Cheever and Haviland have provided a running review of the constitutional disputes over the years concerning the question of power, which is interesting and informative, but short on analysis; and specific but brief case studies of the manner in which the Executive and Legislative branches have locked horns over the Treaty of Versailles, the United Nations Charter, the Marshall Plan, and the North Atlantic Treaty, showing those accommodations which were made where positive results were achieved and those antagonisms which caused negative results. In general, the authors find that the Executive has power (which has never been challenged successfully) to carry on foreign relations, but that he cannot finish much that calls for significant action in terms of men or money without bringing the Legislative branch along with him; that bipartisanship is a necessary and a good thing; that institutional reforms, particularly in the Congress, are highly desirable in order that consultation and interchange of ideas may take place on other than a sporadic basis; that the constitutional requirement of two-thirds majority for approval of treaties by the Senate should be changed to a simple majority; and that certain other structural reforms might also be salutary.

The proposal to change the two-thirds rule is recognized by the authors to be impractical, at least for the near future, and this reviewer received the impression that the authors were not sanguine regarding the results which would ensue from any of the other more minor structural reforms.

Moreover, the book tends to obscure, although it does not overlook, the fact that where stalemates have occurred in the past, it has been overwhelmingly because there have been wide differences between the Excutive and Legislative branches concerning the wisdom of particular foreign policies, differences which neither consultation, exhortation, nor structural tinkering could have materially reduced. Perhaps that is inevitable in a book whose main purpose is to suggest structural changes and proper methods for maintaining liaison within a system of relatively independent branches of government, but a more substantive approach to the history of the Versailles Treaty, the Marshall Plan,

(Continued on page 45)

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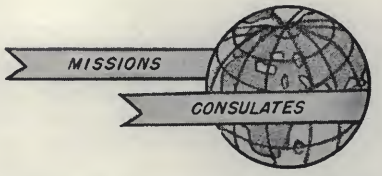

SHEEPHERDERS AND THE CONSUL

By MILTON O. REWINKEL

An assignment to the Consulate at Bilbao, Spain, is likely to guarantee a visa officer's learning about sheep and sheepherding, unless he has the good fortune to be already prepared in that rather specialized field. First it was Public Law 587, 81st Congress, which in 1950 authorized issuance of up to 250 special quota immigrant visas to intending alien sheepherder immigrants. This law having run out at the end of 1951, and the United States still faced with a grave shortage of herders for our domestic flocks, Congress passed and the President approved on April 9, 1952, a similar bill authorizing another 500 "sheepherder" visas to be issued within the next 12 months (known as Public Law 307, 82nd Congress).

For a number of reasons, but mainly because farm boys from the Basque and other Spanish mountain areas where sheep ownership is extensive have been found to be about the best suited for the business, nearly all the foreign sheepherders have been "imported" under these two special bills from the provinces of Vizcaya and Navarra, with a sprinkling from other regions of Spain. In practice, therefore, the Consulate at Bilbao has virtually carried out by itself these special sheepherder importation programs.

By the end of November, 1952, for instance, under P. L. 307, Bilbao had issued over 350 visas, thus enabling the bulk of the badly-needed herders to get to their destinations in the U. S. in time to help out for the fall season.

Both P. L. 587 and 307 specify that the immigrant must

Consul Julian P. Fromer interviewing an alien sheepherder immigrant. Do you know how many teeth a normal three-year-old sheep should have?

A typical group of Basque sheepherders, awaiting their turn at the Consulate in Bilboa.

It was strictly "assembly line" procedure on October 30, when the Consulate turned out 38 special "sheepherder" visas.

be a "skilled sheepherder." Such determination must be made by the consular officer, based on the applicant's knowledge and ability to prove past experience. Consul Julian P. Fromer has personally interviewed and determined the technical qualifications of more than 400 of these intending sheepherder immigrants.

The Consulate set a high mark on the day of October 30, 1952, when it issued 38 P. L. 307 visas. That was the day the attached photographs were taken.

OSLO

Vice Consul Ragnhild Dunker or "Ronnie," as she is called by her co-workers, celebrated her thirtieth anniversary in the Foreign Service on November 1, 1952. The occasion, naturally, called for champagne, for this was no ordinary event, particularly since Miss Dunker had spent all but four of those thirty years right here in Oslo. Ambassador and Mrs. Bay gave a gala reception in her honor on that day, and presented Ronnie, on behalf of the entire Embassy staff, with a silver bowl and candelabra set. The Embassy residence staff, not to be outdone, presented her with an antique copper tea kettle. Both gifts symbolized the admiration and affection with which Ronnie is regarded by all who have worked with her.

From left to right, Ambassador Bay, Miss Dunker, Mrs. Bay.

Ronnie first came to work for the American Consulate General in Oslo, November 1, 1922. (She must have been very young at the time.) Her service in this city was interrupted only by the war, although she spent fifteen months here after the Occupation began, awaiting evacuation. Shortly after V-E Day, in May 1945, Ronnie helped open the Embassy. She has been a Vice Consul and General Services Officer since May 1948.

Among those helping Ronnie out on the cake and ice cream were five other "old-timers" at Oslo, all of whom were serving here before the war and who are all still on the payroll today. This post may hold the record in this respect, although this has never been substantiated. However, Oslo confidently challenges other Foreign Service posts, large or small, to top this record: four regular staff members with a combined length of service of 121 years!

Michel F. Smith

RANGOON

Arriving in Rangoon on November 8 for a second tour of duty was FSO R. Austin Acly, accompanied by his family. Mr. Acly is the new deputy chief of mission, succeeding FSO Sidney H. Browne, who, with Mrs. Browne, is homeward bound after 25 years in the foreign service.

Scheduled to leave (in November and December) after completing their tours of duty in Rangoon are: Gerard A. Donohue, Janet Barker, Webster E. Ballance and Adelin C. Rosenfeld, all FSS.

Recent arrivals: Virginia Geiger (Department), new USIS cultural officer; Virginia Waltenspiel (Oslo), assistant disbursing officer; Louise Ellis (Paris), communications supervisor; Oscar Blain (Sydney), general services clerk, all FSS.

Denver Dickerson

SYDNEY

Warm praise for the role of USIS in building friendly relationships and exchange between Australia and America was expressed by representatives of the Australian Commonwealth Government, the Government of New South Wales and the Opposition, during ceremonies attendant to the opening of new USIS headquarters in Sydney in late November.

Both the Ambassador and the Consul General spoke on behalf of the United States. Official speakers included Henry Jefferson Bate, Federal Parliament member attending as the designated representative of Prime Minister R. G. Menzies; J. J. Cahill, Premier of New South Wales, and Dr. H. V. Evatt, leader of the Federal Opposition. More than 200 guests, including government officials, cultural, business and educational leaders, attended.

The opening ceremony was tied to U. S. observance of Thanksgiving Day; an Open House for the general public was held two days later.

As prineipal speaker, Mr. Cahill declared that by interchange of information between Australia and the United States "we will understand each other, respect each other, encourage each other and be true-blue partners as we warmly clasp our hands across the Pacific."

As he formally opened the new USIS offices on the third and fourth floors of the four-story downtown building recently remodeled by the Hartford Fire Insurance Company, Premier Cahill said:

"May it function for our enlightenment in the long years ahead as the Aussies and the Yanks march along the road to peace and prosperity."

The American Ambassador, The Honorable Pete Jarman, reviewed communist attempts to split the U. S., Australia and other nations of the Free World and communist efforts to wreck every attempt—from the Marshall Plan to the ANZUS treaty—to become strong enough to defend themselves against the threat of aggression.

The Ambassador stressed the importance of the free flow of information between Australia and the U. S. and contrasted this with the communist countries which do not permit either Australia or the U. S. to operate information services.

"They know that they cannot afford to let their people compare conditions in Australia and in the United States with conditions in Russia and in those other unfortunate countries," the Ambassador said.

Supervising Consul General Donald W. Smith described the operations of USIS in Australia, paid tribute to the Australian design and construction of the new offices, and said that "the USIS program here is a joint Australian-

American venture designed to bring our peoples more closely together."

Mr. Bate, representing the Commonwealth Government, said:

"Here on the bookshelves near where I have been sitting I see copies on works of art, the theater, literature and the wonderful culture and history of democratic America. All these things can remind us of our powerful friends. Last, but not least, are books written on peace which show that in all our cooperations through ANZUS and UNO and in our previous alliances, we are devoted to the wonderful thing in an American—his ardent desire for peace, the pursuit of happiness and a wonderful future."

American Consul General Donald W. Smith making the introductory remarks at the opening of new headquarters for USIS Australia in Sydney on November 25. Seated (left to right) are New South Wales Premier J. J. Cahill, Dr. H. V. Evatt, American Ambassador Pete Jarman and Henry Jefferson Bate, member of parliament who represented Prime Minister Robert Gordon Menzies.

Dr. Evatt also stressed the importance of the information service to the understanding and friendship of Australia and the U. S. He said the Fulbright program—part of the USIS exchange of persons activities—was guarantee of future cooperation between Australia and the U. S. Fulbright travel grants make possible the exchange of more than 50 Australian and American students, scholars and professors this year.

On "Open House" day following the formal ceremony, more than 3,000 persons were welcomed and conducted through the various operations. They saw on the third floor the USIS library and the film section which boasts a 29-seat theaterette. On the fourth floor, PAO GILLESPIE S. EVANS, INFORMATION OFFICER W. E. PHIPPS and staff members greeted visitors and explained information, exchange of persons, production and despatch activities carried on on this floor.

The entire Hartford building, remodelled under the direction of Sydney archiect DOUGLAS SNELLING, features functional architecture, modern furnishings and a striking use of color. Contrasting panels of light and dark Australian hardwoods are also used extensively. Snelling has worked in the U. S. under Frank Lloyd Wright and Richard Neutra.

The move put USIS under one roof in Australia's largest city for the first time. The library had been housed in one room of the Public Library of New South Wales while the remainder of USIS was crammed into the only two available rooms on the sixth floor of the head office of the Bank of New South Wales with the Consulate General.

North Clive Burn

SINGAPORE

The arrival of the Duchess of Kent and her 16-year old son, the Duke, was the biggest social event in years for Singapore and Malaya. Members of the Consulate staff were invited to many of the affairs including a huge garden party at Government House.

REAR ADMIRAL (ret.) PAUL L. MATHER, who has the personal rank of minister, arrived as Regional Director of Defense Materials Procurement Agency. The region extends from Afghanistan to the South Pacific and will have headquarters in Singapore.

Consulate staff members and wives gathered at the home of CONSUL GENERAL and MRS. CHARLES F. BALDWIN to bid farewell to them and to meet PHILIP W. BONSAL who is making a tour of Southeast Asia. The Consul General is leaving for Washington to serve on a promotion board. During his absence DEPUTY CONSUL GENERAL RICHARD H. HAWKINS, JR., will be in charge.

One of the most popular couples in the American community left by Comet for the States after three and one-half years in Malaya. COMMANDER GORDON CORNELL and his wife HELEN were honored by a series of parties. GORDON was Assistant Naval Attaché.

VICE CONSUL STANLEY R. KIDDER's wife LUCIA was one of the artists exhibiting in the Y.M.C.A. show.

CONSUL JOSEPH H. ROGATNICK, chief of the Economic and Trade section, has organized a most successful series of tours to industrial sites in the Singapore area. So far staff members and wives have visited a rubber plantation, a glass factory, an engineering company, and a coconut oil processing plant. The visit to one of the Singapore breweries is a coming feature.

A series of parties climaxed by a dinner and dance was held in honor of departing FSS JOSEPHINE WHARTEN, Disbursing Officer, who left for the States. Her next assignment will give Jo an opportunity to use her Spanish. It's Mexico City.

TINA HAWKINS, wife of DEPUTY CONSUL GENERAL RICHARD H. HAWKINS, JR., has ridden in many point to point races but recently had her first experience in a flat race at the Kuala Lumpur course. She finished fifth in a large field of women riders.

FSO LINDSEY GRANT and his attractive wife, BURWELL, both formerly with the Consulate General in Hong Kong, arrived recently. Grant has been assigned to USIS as Chinese language officer.

PEGGY REILLY, secretary to CONSUL GENERAL BALDWIN, has just broken 100 on the Island Club golf course.

The Consulate General and the American Association cooperated in presenting a non-denominational Thanksgiving Day Church Service. ACTING CONSUL GENERAL RICHARD H. HAWKINS, JR., read the President's Tranksgiving Day proclamation; PAUL BERDWELL, president of the American Association, read a selection from the scriptures; FSS JANET HERB sang a solo and CONSUL ROBERT J. BOYLAN and VICE-CONSUL STANLEY R. KIDDER served as ushers. REV. TRACEY JONES of the Wesley Methodist Church delivered the sermon.

Robert J. Boylan

broken gold or jewelry for food and clothing. I had one Hungarian friend who was living at that time from a gold watch chain—he sold one link of the chain every four days.

These were also the days of the *ado pengo* or "tax money," introduced on January 1, 1946. The *ado pengo* was a special paper currency designed for paying taxes—necessitated by the fact that tax payments lost practically all of their real value during the period between assessment and payment. The value of this tax currency was fixed from day to day by the government. It was also used in credit transactions, and the Central Bank of Hungary only discounted bills of exchange drawn in the *ado pengo*. Since the *ado pengo* was a little slower to lose its value than the regular currency, there was a daily rush by everyone to exchange the regular currency for the tax money. Finally, however, the tax money became almost as worthless as the pengo notes.

Hungary's new currency, the florin, or forint, was introduced on August 1, 1946 and was linked with gold in the ratio of 1 kilogram of fine gold equaled 13,210 forints. One forint was equal to 400,000 quadrillion pengos or 200,000 million *ado pengos*.

It is a time-honored function of American Consulates to attempt to obtain protection for United States citizens. The Consulate in Budapest was able to obtain a reasonable degree of cooperation in this respect from the Hungarian Government until 1947. The Hungarian police were very cooperative with the consular officials in aiding American citizens for the first year and a half after the war, and the various precinct stations were always alert in those days to aid an American citizen in distress. This alertness on their part involved me in the case of the "American Girl-Soldier."

American Girl Soldier

One spring day in 1946 I received a frantic telephone call from a precinct police captain in Buda. He told me politely that he was indeed very sorry, but it had been necessary for one of his men to arrest "an American Girl-Soldier" on charges of theft, drunkenness and disorderly conduct, and would I kindly send someone out to his police station to take her away. I most assuredly would. I knew that an "American Girl-Soldier" could mean only one thing: A WAC—and I knew that we had no WACs in Hungary. The mystery grew deeper as one of the Hungarian employees of the Consulate and I sped to Buda in our jeep.

We entered the police station, and I asked the captain where the "girl-soldier" had come from and how he knew that she was an American. He replied that she had come into Budapest from Germany, that she spoke English (which the captain didn't speak) and was dressed in an American army uniform with the American flag on her sleeve. He added that she also spoke Rumanian, which he understood.

Without further delay he brought out the prisoner—a plump young lady dressed partly in the uniform of an American WAC and obviously in the last stages of a tremendous binge.

"Do you speak English?" I asked.

Her reply may never appear in the history books along with expressions like "Remember the Alamo" or "Lafayette, we are here," but it will be there just the same in the memory of every American GI who ever set foot on European soil. She turned to me with a broad smile.

"Me spik English," she said. "Allo, Baby! You gottee cigaret?"

The severe winter of 1945 and the shortage of fuel and clothing in Hungary gave rise to an unusual form of robbery known to the police as "stripping." Roving stick-up men would attack persons on the streets at night and strip them of every article of clothing which they were wearing.

One such attempted robbery resulted in the murder of an American citizen who had returned to Budapest shortly after the war to visit relatives. He was accosted one evening on Stefania Street in Budapest by several persons in Russian army uniforms and speaking Russian. When he refused to take off his overcoat, he was killed by a burst of tommy-gun fire. Before he died, he described his attackers as Russian soldiers.

The Hungarian criminal police, which at that time were not completely dominated by Communists, were powerless in their efforts to trace the murderer because none of the Russian army officials in Hungary would give them any information or assistance.

American Student

There were several American students at Hungarian universities who were trapped there by the war. Most of them were medical students at Pecs. When the Consulate began functioning, arrangements were made to repatriate them to the United States, and I repeatedly urged each of them to return to the United States as soon as possible. One of them, however, had only a few months' work to do before receiving his degree, and he decided to remain in Hungary for a few months for this purpose. Soon one of his colleagues came to the Consulate with news that he had been abducted by Russian soldiers.

Through reliable sources, I learned that he was being held prisoner in the basement of a Russian Kommandatura at Debrecen, Hungary, and accompanied by Colonel Peter Kopcsak of the American Army (Colonel Kopcsak was later expelled from Hungary by the Communists), I proceeded to Debrecen to attempt to have him released. Thinking that it would be easier to secure his release through the Hungarian police, we went first to the Hungarian police chief in Debrecen. I soon found that he was a fanatical Communist who was reluctant to answer any questions. Nevertheless, I gave him the last name of the student and asked him whether the Hungarians were holding him prisoner.

"How do you expect us to know whether we have this man as a prisoner without giving us his first name," was his reply.

He was obviously embarrassed when I expressed amazement to learn that the Hungarians were holding so many persons with that name in their prison in Debrecen.

We then went to see the Russian major in charge of the Kommandatura where we knew the prisoner was being held. He blandly denied having the boy there and refused to permit us to go through the Kommandatura building.

All of our extended efforts to obtain the release of this student were in vain, and insofar as I know, his present whereabouts is unknown to the American authorities and his family in the United States.

It has been written that the peasants are the backbone of Hungary. During my years in Hungary, I became very well acquainted with these peasant farmers. I found them to be resourceful, shrewd, honest, religious, superstitious and very industrious.

(*Continued on page 42*)

LEST I FORGET ***(from page 40)***

The Hungarian peasant has become accustomed, through the centuries, to tyranny of one form or another, but his taste of communism, coming so soon after his plunder by the Red Army, has left him extremely bitter toward everything Russian. Many peasant families have told me that they would welcome the Nazis again in preference to the Communists. This is, perhaps, because the Communists have come closer than any of the tyrants to taking away the implements of their existence.

A great number of peasant families had sons or fathers murdered by the Russians and the Communists, and even greater numbers had daughters or mothers violated by Russian troops. I have had more than several peasant boys tell me, while out on a hunt, how they would deal with the Communists and the Russians if the opportunity should come. These are the same peasant youths who now are being forced to serve in the Russian-controlled Hungarian Army.

Post War Elections

Hungary went to the polls in 1945 to vote in the only fair, honest elections which have been held in the country since the war. As the world soon learned, the decisive victory in those elections for the anti-Communist Smallholders Party (so called because it represented primarily the small land farmers) did not loosen the tightening grip of Russia. The anti-Communist parties were forced by Soviet pressure to give the most important governmental posts, including the Ministry of Interior, to Communists. This, to a large extent, nullified the Smallholders victory at the polls.

I shall always remember one event in particular which took place in Budapest during the election campaign. Early one afternoon, I was startled by a roar of voices outside the Consulate windows. Together with the other consular employees, I ran to a large window facing the Szabadsag Square. The square was literally packed with shouting, singing people. Some of them carried huge signs reading "Long Live Truman." Others read "We do not want Communism." The crowd lacked the terrifying, monotonous order of a Communist demonstration, and small groups were singing "God Bless America" and waving to the employees peering from Consulate windows.

It was ironic that within a year and a few months crowds were again marching past the American Consulate in Budapest—only this time they carried red flags and banners reading "Down with America," "Down with Truman" and "Long Live Stalin." It was small consolation to think that some of these dejected Red marchers had several months before sung "God Bless America" under our windows.

Sometime later, crowds of Communist marchers could he seen marching through Budapest carrying placards reading "Death to Bela Kovacs" (a leader of the Smallholders Party) and other persons who were in disfavor with the Communist Party. When I first saw these death placards, I didn't attach great significance to them. It was only when Bela Kovacs was actually taken by the political police and presumably summarily executed that I began to notice that the placards foretold with terrible accuracy the fate of those Hungarians who dared to openly oppose the Communists.

I saw conditions in Hungary grow progressively worse from 1945 to 1950. It seemed that each year the Communists grew bolder in their campaign of terror to isolate the

(*Continued on page* 44)

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LEST I FORGET *(from page 42)*

country from the West and stamp out every spark of potential resistance.

American and other foreign citizens were arrested on charges which were not only false but actually ludicrous. Consular officers were not permitted to see or communicate with their imprisoned citizens. Finally, realizing that it was not in a position to protect its citizens, the United States Government prohibited their travel in Hungary. The atrocities of the Red Army had been replaced by the brutal terror of the Hungarian Communist Security Police.

One day a young Hungarian messenger at the Consulate was inducted into the army. We learned a few weeks later that he had been executed because he had tried to teach English to some of his friends in the barracks. He was charged with being a "spy" for the Americans.

The huge concentration camps, of which there are many in Hungary, were already filled with "enemies of the People's Democracy" in 1948. By the following year it was necessary to put the camp inmates to work enlarging their prisons.

Imprisoned Friends

Many of my friends are in these prisons at Kistarcsa, South-Buda and Vac—placed there without any trials or hearings whatsoever. One of my acquaintances was taken from his home in Budapest one evening in 1948. The two plainclothesmen who called for him told his wife and little daughter that he was needed to sign some real estate documents and would be back within the hour. He has not been seen nor heard from since.

Communism has made no distinction as to the racial and religious background of its enemies. Jews, Catholics and Protestants alike make up the population of the Communist concentration camps in Hungary. Several of my Jewish acquaintances returned to Budapest from Nazi concentration camps in Germany and were last known to be imprisoned by the Communists at Kistarcsa.

My last two years in Hungary were, to say the least, not pleasant. The personnel of the "Western" legations and consulates in Budapest found themselves ostracised by the majority of the local population. This was understandable because those Hungarians who were known to be on friendly terms with the Americans and British soon found themselves in the hands of the Communist Security Police.

Old Hungarian friends whom I had known for years could not risk being seen with me in public. Many times when I met them strolling down crowded Vaci street, they would turn and look into a shop window. I understood.

During my last year in Hungary I rented a house in Buda. The house was almost constantly under surveillance by plainclothesmen of the security police. I returned home many nights at 12:00 or 1:00 o'clock and found a man standing under a street lamp near by the house pretending to read a newspaper. The police were extremely interested in knowing which Hungarians visited me or spoke with me.

I do not wish to give the impression that I was the only "Westerner" under the prying eyes of the Communist police. The foreign personnel of all of the Western legations and consulates were continually shadowed—even when going out for an evening at a night club or theater.

Watching for and guarding against Communist traps eventually becomes second nature to our Legation and Consular personnel in the Iron Curtain countries. During recent years the Communist governments have been looking for every possible opportunity to brand a "Westerner" as an Imperialist Spy or Saboteur. It was common practice for them to "plant" incriminating documents or other phoney evidence so that it could be "discovered" by their Security Police in possession of a western diplomat or consular employee—who, if he was a foreigner, was expelled from the country amid the loud rejoicing of the local press and the Moscow propaganda machine. I never entered my automobile to drive downtown before having carefully inspected every possible place where such "documents" could have been hidden.

These attempted Communist traps reached such fantastic proportions in 1950 that one of them attempted to involve me in the tragic Mindszenty affair. One afternoon a shabbily dressed individual called at my office at the Consulate and requested to speak with me urgently and privately. He sat down in my office and showed me a small card identifying him as the driver of the police truck used in the transport of prisoners from the infamous Andrassy ut 60 Communist prison in Budapest to a concentration camp in the country. When I expressed surprise that he should come to see me, he whispered:

"Yes, I have risked my life coming here. But I was sent by Mrs. ———, who is a close friend of yours, and who is now a Communist prisoner at Andrassy 60. I am actually a devout Catholic. Mrs. ——— entrusted me with your plans to liberate Cardinal Mindszenty from prison and told me to see you, and that you would let me know how I could be of assistance."

After informing him that I knew neither the lady whose name he mentioned nor anything about his scheme, I ushered him out of my office so quickly that he forgot his hat.

The Communists in Hungary made life miserable for Americans there in many other small ways. It soon became impossible to spend a weekend at Lake Lillafured, one of the most beautiful spots in Hungary, because the local hotel was invariably taken over by Communist groups. In previous years it had been customary for villagers in Lillafured to rent rooms to tourists when the hotel was filled. However, when I applied for rooms at several houses in the village, I was told that none was available. One villager told me quite frankly that he wouldn't dare risk renting a room to an American.

Austro-Hungarian Border

In order that this record may be reasonably complete, I must also jot down some notes about the Austro-Hungarian border and the Hungarian Communist police who guard it. The Hungarians, of course, do not guard it against a potential Austrian invasion, since the Austrian territory along the Hungarian border is in the Russian zone of occupation. It is guarded against escaping Hungarians fleeing to the western zones of Austria and Germany.

As early as 1947 the Hungarians began to strengthen this border guard. Today a person viewing for the first time the border area at any of the principal roadways gets the immediate impression that he is entering or leaving a huge state prison—depending upon which way he is travelling.

I drove to Vienna from Budapest several times each month, usually crossing the border at Hegyeshalom. I was always stopped at least three or four times by policemen on the highway even before I neared the border. These policemen, who were changed frequently, usually wore the uni-

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or the United Nations Charter would have been better history. For it would have placed structural reforms, liaison and administrative management in proper perspective—of some but minor importance as compared with the views of men concerning the wisdom of particular foreign policies.

Protection of International Personnel, by Carol McCormick Crosswell. *Oceana Publications, New York, 1952, pp. vii, 198.*
Reviewed by MARCIA M. FLEMING

As Judge Hackworth remarks in the Foreword, Dr. Crosswell has performed a distinct service in preparing this compilation of material on privileges and immunities of international organizations and of the personnel associated with these organizations. This is a comparatively new phase of international law but one of as much practical importance as the parallel but separate body of rules pertaining to diplomatic privileges and immunities.

This compilation contains the basic documents on this subject, including pertinent international conventions and agreements, legislation and summaries of actual cases. The organizations covered include the United Nations and the various specialized agencies affiliated with the United Nations such as the International Bank, the International Fund, the International Civil Aviation Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, and others.

In addition to a general review of the basic provisions such as those conferring juridical personality upon international organizations and various immunities and exemptions such as inviolability of premises, archives and communications, special treatment is given such important topics as taxation of officials and immunity from arrest. The author quite properly gives special attention to the Convention on Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations to which some thirty-eight states are Members of the United Nations. From the standpoint of one interested primarily in American law, however, it is necessary to keep in mind—and the author does so caution—that the United States is not yet a party to this convention. So far as this government is concerned, therefore, the basic law applicable to the United Nations is contained in the United Nations Headquarters Agreement of 1947 and the International Organizations Immunities Act of 1945, both of which are set forth in full in this book.

Costa Rica: A Study in Economic Development, by May, Foaland, Koch, Persons, Senior. *Twentieth Century Fund. 374 pages. $3.00.*
Reviewed by J. L. OHMANS

Anyone seeking an overall professional description of the Costa Rican economy should read this book. It contains the findings of a group of able economists sent to Costa Rica to survey the nation's economy. Though the report relates to developments in 1950, it is nonetheless timely and useful as a summary of economic conditions in this small democratic country in Central America. Special reference is made to the degree of development that has taken place in the nation and specific measures for improvement are suggested, especially with technical and financial assistance from foreign and international agencies.

The authors have ably described Costa Rica's economic problems and they have suggested some of the measures to be taken for their solution. Point IV aid is indicated but it is not the complete answer. Costa Rica itself and foreign capital have equally important roles to play in the development of the country.

Costa Rica is not a sterile book. Some of the objectives listed by the authors have been achieved already by the present administration in Costa Rica and there is every expectation of further advancement of living standards in the country.

Seven Britons in Imperial Russia, 1698-1812; Edited by Peter Putnam; Volume 7 of the Princeton Studies in History; *Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J. 1952. 424 pages, including Bibliography and Index.*
Reviewed by P. H. CULLEY

In this interesting, informative and scholarly volume, Editor Putnam has included the opinions, comments and observations of a number of prominent English travelers in Czarist Russia during the epoch years 1698 to 1812. Out of a welter of material published by other Britons who visited Russia during this time, Putnam has chosen the reports of only seven, who by virtue of their varied social backgrounds, training, interests or professional bent, looked upon Russia and her slaves and Princes from widely divergent points of view. Thus we have chronicled in one volume, impressions of a diplomatist, tutor, humanist scholar, artist, businessman, General and engineer.

Aside from the quoted Journals of the Voyagers themselves, Mr. Putnam's introductions and biographical notes are thorough and to a layman, most helpful in putting the narrative in proper perspective. In each case, the editor outlines his reasons for selecting one traveler over others who may have visited Russia during the same period. And he does not fail to point out the flaws or weaknesses in the reporting ability of the chosen narrators, or bias in their approach to the Russian political or cultural scene.

All told, to a reader who is no expert in the field of Soviet affairs, this work offered a series of entertaining but sometimes disturbing visits to the Russia, and the Russians of another age—a Russia which, no less than her peoples, would not appear to have changed much since July 1769, when William Richardson wrote: ". . . The spies are busy: the suspected great men are closely watched. For 'Not a Thane of them, but in his house she has a servant fee'd.' Happy King of England! who may go about with as much security after a defeat, as after a victory; who has no occasion for a hoard of spies against his own subjects; and who may allow his people to speak, write and think as they please."

Of God, the Devil and the Jews. By Dagobert D. Runes, *Philosophical Library, New York, 1952. 186 p. $3.00.*
Reviewed by N. A. PELCOVITS.

In this collection of impassioned, homiletical essays, Dr. Runes, editor and publisher of several fine works in philosophy and aesthetics, preaches that "in this aimlessly drifting world of evil and illness" the road to divine cognition lies through man's inner longing for "love and eternal peace." He reserves his sharpest barbs for professing Christians and professional churchmen who tolerate and even sanction race hatred, antisemitism and other forms of man's inhumanity

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THE AMBASSADOR *(from page 25)*

Walter Evans Edge, born in 1873 in Philadelphia, was taken at the age of three to Pleasantville, five miles from Atlantic City. His first job was printer's devil on the *Atlantic Review*, Atlantic City's first newspaper; and then, still a boy, he transferred his talents across the street to the Dorland Advertising Agency, a small concern that handled accounts of local hotels. At 17 he bought the agency with $600 of borrowed money. Within a decade it grew to national, then international, stature, with offices in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, London, Paris, Berlin, and Buenos Aires.

Hotel men of Atlantic City have acknowledged Walter Edge as the publicity agent who made the resort world famous. And in the process he took long strides toward becoming, a little later, world famous himself—as Governor of New Jersey, United States Senator, Ambassador to France.

In 1948 Princeon University Press published Mr. Edge's *A Jerseyman's Journal: Fifty Years of American Business and Politics*. Here, for any student of Gulf Stream vagaries to read, Mr. Edge declared:

"The principal preoccupation of the Dorland Agency . . . was to make Atlantic City, already known as a summer playground, an all-year-round resort. . . . Despite liberal advertising, however, it was difficult to convince pleasure-seekers that the city could offer winter amenities equal to those of Florida. Our publicity was aimed at convincing the public that Atlantic City had a milder winter because the warm Gulf Stream, coursing its way northward, made a 'deliberate' and considerably westerly turn around Cape May and swept within a few miles of that stretch of the Jersey coast where Atlantic City is located. . . .

"In order that the competing resorts like Long Branch and Asbury Park might not receive the benefits of this very advantageous phenomenon," said Mr. Edge, "the obliging Gulf Stream then turned out to sea on its way to the frozen reaches of Newfoundland. So, during blizzards or just plain snowstorms, we plastered the metropolitan dailies with 'No Snow on the Boardwalk'—even though sometimes we had to sweep it off before placing the copy."

Now, in 1953, there's every reason to believe the Gulf Stream hoax is here to stay; it seems as firmly rooted as any other prime article of American folklore. Hardly a season has passed in the last twenty years without some spokesman for the U. S. Navy's Hydrographic Office or the Woods Hole Institute of Oceanography coming forward to deny flatly in print that the Stream has jumped the rails.

But the legend refuses to be killed.

to man. "There is a far greater need to curb the lust for the suppression and humiliation of man," he tells us, "than the thirst of the senses for their trifling satiations."

The author's plea for "conscience and compassion" in human relations will be applauded by all men of good will. But his homilies on the eternal verities, though stated in a snappy modern syntax, add little to the sum of religious inspiration and even less to our enlightenment on how to go about correcting the evils he castigates. He says nothing that has not already been better said in any random sampling of Isaiah or the fifth chapter of Matthew. And how useful a contribution to human improvement is contained in the suggestion that educators and clergy could wipe out race hatred in one year if they were "to stand up and speak earnestly of the great evil?"

Those looking for fresh notes for a Sabbath sermon may profitably browse through these essays in search of such aphorisms as "Will the white man ever learn that cars and radios and frigidaires do not make a civilization?" or "It is never too late to start on the path of righteousness, and the road to evil will always be one step away," or the concluding note "You can't pull rank on God and no man walks past Saint Peter's gate with a monocle in his face." But the rest of us will find this thin fare for weekdays.

Mitre and Argentina. By Wiliam H. Jeffery. *New York, Library Publishers, 1952, pp. 290, $3.75.*
Reviewed by JOSEPH R. BARAGER

Bartolomé Mitre crowded into his fourscore and five years (1821-1906) enough accomplishments to grace the records of a half dozen men. An itinerate artillery officer who rose to generalship; a newspaperman whose biographies of San Martín and Belgrano earned him a claim to the title of founder of Argentine historical studies; a political exile who returned to occupy the highest positions in his native land as governor, president, senator, diplomat and elder statesman—these are activities in Mitre's career which testify to his versatility and justify the honored place he holds in the Argentine past.

They may also explain Mitre's captivation of his biographers. Few students of Argentina's troubled 19th Century will quibble over professor Jeffrey's praise for Mitre's achievements. They will question, however, some of the rather arbitrary disparagements of Mitre's contemporaries and rivals. Neither will they be satisfied with the presentation of Mitre's role in such incidents as the Paraguayan War, the revolt of 1874, and the events which led to the formation of the Unión Cívica Radical in the early 1890's.

Within the scope of the limitations imposed by his dependence upon secondary and some published primary sources, Professor Jeffrey has written a useful study. The principal weakness of this approach is the paucity of satisfactory published works on Mitre and post-1862 Argentina history in any language. The author who would produce definitive work in this period needs to exploit thoroughly the source materials available in Latin American archives, museums and libraries. If Professor Jeffrey had been able to do such basic research, his portrait of Mitre would probably have been less one-sided and his Argentine historical framework would have had more depth. Even with these weaknesses, *Mitre and Argentina* is a welcome addition to the literature in English on 19th-century Argentina.

BASEBALLESE

Many of us who have returned to the Department in the past year or two have been struck by the number of baseball terms which have stolen into Washington bureaucratese since we were last home. We find, for instance, the expression "to touch base with" someone. This somewhat esoteric phrase means, as far as we've been able to determine, to let another interested bureaucrat know about a course of action you plan to take anyway in such a manner that he thinks he has been consulted, the object being to keep him from complaining after the fact. The verb "to backstop" is used to convey the impression of mighty Departmental behind-the-scenes support for some effort in the field, although we think this a rather unfortunate phrase, as we have always thought of a backstop as an inert object on the baseball field. We hear also of "batting averages," "foul balls," "home grounds," "to field the ball," "to be caught out" and "to get the pitch" (or is that music?).

Once you get into the swing of the thing, other possibilities pop up—er, crop up. "In the field," of course, is a term we have been using for years, but might we not consider those serving in Iron Curtain countries to be "in left field"? And couldn't the person who writes *ad nauseum* without saying anything be considered to use a "bull-pen"? At which point I think I'll put mine down.

R. A. POOLE

BIRTHS

CARLSON. A daughter, Andrea Kathleen, was born to Mr. and Mrs. Ted Carlson, in Washington, D. C., November 28, 1952. Andrea is the granddaughter of Mrs. Maggie I. Carlson who is presently assigned to Ankara.

CHASE. A son, Donald Porteus, was born to Consul and Mrs. Wilbur P. Chase, in Haifa, Israel, December 5, 1952.

DORR. A son, Alan James, was born to Mr. and Mrs. Robert J. Dorr in Washington, D. C., December 18. Mr. Dorr is assigned to the Department.

HOPKINS. A son, Arthur Hadden III, was born to Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Hopkins in Benghazi, Libya, on November 18, 1952. Arthur Hadden Hopkins III is the first American child to be born in Benghazi.

HOYLEN. A son, Paul Joseph, Jr., was born to Vice-Consul and Mrs. Paul J. Hoylen in Vienna, Austria, on November 20, 1952.

LEST I FORGET *(from page 44)*

form of the Security Police, which was brown khaki, very similar to a Russian officer's uniform. They always demanded to see my documents and looked into the car to see if there was anyone hiding there. They patrolled the highway in pairs, and while one examined the car and the documents, the other stood in front of the car with his rifle or tommy-gun at the ready.

Upon arriving at the customs house at the border, one is usually greeted by several security policemen, some of whom are deployed on both sides of the highway with their tommy-guns trained on the automobile. Under this guard, the car's occupants are shown into the new concrete building housing the passport and customs inspectors.

After the passport is stamped, the customs man usually asks to see the spare tire, using this as a pretext to see if anyone is hiding in the trunk of the car.

Near the customs house is a tower, resembling an oil well derrick, with a huge searchlight on top. There is also a man on top of the tower scanning the area with field glasses. Similar towers have been set up at regular intervals all along the Austro-Hungarian border, and all trees and underbrush have been cleared for a width of a quarter of a mile on the Hungarian side of the border. In addition, two rows of barbed wire are stretched along the Hungarian side, and land mines have been planted between these rows of wire entanglements. As if this were not enough to discourage those fleeing from Communism, the entire border is patrolled by Hungarian border policemen accompanied by trained dogs which look like bloodhounds.

Even with all of these barriers, many Hungarians still manage to slip across to the western zones of Austria. Many more fail to get across and are either killed or sent back to prison.

Silent Drama

Near the end of my sojourn in Hungary, I was the accidental witness to a silent drama near Hegyeshalom which I shall note here. One morning in early 1950, I had just had my passport stamped and driven past the Hungarian customs building toward Vienna, when I noticed a strange procession coming across a field from the direction of the Austrian custom house. I drove as slowly as possible, without stopping, in order to see what was happening.

An old man, an old lady, a youth of about 20 and a young girl not more than 12 year old, with knapsacks strapped to their backs were being marched toward the highway by four husky Hungarian Security Policeman and a Russian soldier, all armed with tommy-guns. When the old man's steps faltered, he was jabbed in the back with the muzzle of the gun in the policeman's hands. The old lady and the young girl were crying. Then, as they neared the highway, a thrilling and amazing thing happened. Whether the old man recognized my car as an American car or whether he saw the small American flag on the windshield, I will never know. But he stopped—looked directly at the car and raised his right hand with his first two fingers extended in the V-sign. V for Victory.

But it is really not necessary that I record events such as these. I defy time and its accomplices to erase them from memory. I shall not forget.

in Belgrade, arrived in Moscow to take charge of the U. S. Embassy. He holds the personal rank of Minister.

WARREN AUSTIN's valedictory address as permanent U. S. representative to the U. N., lauded in a *New York Times* editorial, spoke of "the extraordinary progress which the United Nations has made in facilitating better living conditions for the great majority of the world's people." He spoke of how it has shown "people from Haiti to Thailand how to suppress malaria; how to grow more and better corn; how to read and write; how to build dams and irrigation systems."

STANTON GRIFFIS, former Ambassador, at the annual convention of the NAM, recommended the appointment of four Secretaries of State instead of one. He also stated that the State Department personnel could be cut in half without decreasing the Department's efficiency, and that he favored the appointment of men from industry as Ambassadors instead of career officials in the Foreign Service.

In Washington to confer with both JOHN FOSTER DULLES and DEAN ACHESON was AMBASSADOR GEORGE V. ALLEN.

Senator McCarthy

Turning up regularly in the news was the name of Senator Joseph McCarthy, of Wisconsin. In chronological order, these are some of the news items in which his name appeared:

At a luncheon given in his honor by the Joint Committee Against Communism in New York, he was awarded a plaque praising his "historic and sacrificial battle against subversion." At the luncheon Senator McCarthy stated that the real enemy is not so much "the man who looks like a Communist, with long hair," but the "Communist thinker," whom he described as the "suave, intellectual individual," such as would be found at "Washington cocktail parties."

In the middle of December a United Press report stated that Senator McCarthy expected General Eisenhower as President to give to Congress the executive files on suspected "crooks or communists" in Government.

Towards the beginning of the year the volume of McCarthy news was stepped up. For flying 30 missions in the Solomons in late 1943 and early 1944 Senator McCarthy received the Distinguished Flying Cross, the Air Medal and four Gold Stars. News accounts of the awards stated Senator McCarthy himself applied for the awards. This he later denied.

In an interview published in *U. S. News and World Report,* Senator McCarthy stated that one of the first things he will do in the new Congress will be to investigate colleges in search of subversive influences. He stated his belief that it is of pressing interest to root out "Communist thinkers" from the nation's colleges.

A few days before the new Congress convened, the Senate Elections Subcommittee made public its report of the charges former SENATOR WILLIAM BENTON of Connecticut and Senator McCarthy made against each other. In making the report public, Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., announced that it was being made available to the Justice Department and the Bureau of Internal Revenue. From the subcommittee that prepared the report, the document goes to the Senate Rules Committee, headed by Senator William Jenner.

Among the major questions asked by the report were: "Why should Senator McCarthy speculate with funds advanced to him for his anti-Communist drive, or lend them to a friend for speculation?"

"Did McCarthy use associates and relatives to hide papers relating to finances for ulterior motives?"

"Did McCarthy's financial dealings violate Federal and State Corrupt Practices Acts?"

Following publication of the report there was public speculation as to whether Senator McCarthy's right to his seat in the Senate would be challenged when Congress convened. His swearing in and his signing of the official register, however, was accomplished uneventfully.

Following the convening of Congress, Senator McCarthy affirmed his intention, as the new chairman of the Senate's permanent investigating committee, of "going into the educational system."

William S. White, summing up the round of investigations planned by Congress, stated in the *New York Times* that: "Every present indication, however, is that on balance Senator McCarthy will dominate this whole scene. His group . . . has a mandate and jurisdiction that, for all ordinary purposes, are limitless."

Here and There

Tehran—Premier Mossadegh issued a decree which would limit the members of all foreign diplomatic and other official missions to one term in Iran. Personnel may have a second term, a spokesman explained, if they have worked for the improvement of relations between their country and Iran and obtain special consent from the Iranian Parliament's Foreign Affairs committee.

Cairo—The Embassy closed its lunch bar after discovering that the entire staff handling food had amoebic dysentery. Replacing the staff, said a *New York Times* report, might prove difficult since a Rockefeller Foundation's four year study of village health conditions indicated that in villages investigated the incidence of amoebic dysentery was 100%.

Nicaragua—The American Library was ceded to the Nicaraguan Government as a gift of the U. S. Government. The Library was first founded 10 years ago by U. S. citizens resident in Nicaragua with the assistance of the U. S. Government.

Tangier—The first piracy case ever handled by an American Consular Court resulted in the sentencing of a nylon panty manufacturer from Jersey City to 3 years in a high seas piracy case—the hijacking of $100,000 worth of American cigarettes from a Dutch vessel. The mastermind behind the piracy stated he hated the sight of the sea and is frightened by guns of any sort.

Tangier—The American colony turned out practically en masse, reports the *New York Times,* for a farewell party in honor of MR. and MRS. JOHN VINCENT CARTER. "Although the VINCENTS have been here less than two years," said the *Times,* "they have become extremely popular in the American community."

People

John and James Pitts, six and eight year old sons of MR. and MRS. HENRY L. PITTS, JR., found on home leave from Venice that while American schools compared favorably with the Venetian variety, American spaghetti did not. Their statement regarding these matters appeared in the Bremerton, Washington, newspaper.

NEWS FROM THE DEPARTMENT *(from page 49)*

Appearing on a television program concerned with problems of child rearing, JAMES W. SWIHART of RA firmly upheld the negative in a debate on "Should Parents Spend More Time With Their Children?"

JAMES SOMERVILLE, retired FSO, is now foreign representative of Burns and Roe, Inc., engineers and constructors.

RICHARD R. BROWN, former General Manager of Public Affairs in the Office of the U. S. High Commissioner for Germany, has been appointed Chief of the Field Coordinating Office in Frankfort of the President's Escapee Program.

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, who resigned as U. S. Delegate to the U. N., announced her plans to work with the American Association of United Nations. She plans to spend three days a week in the Association's New York City headquarters.

JOHN L. STUART, Ambassador to China, resigned effective December 31.

J. RIVES CHILDS, Ambassador to Ethiopia, resigned and retired from the Foreign Service. His long career in the Service has principally been spent in the Near and Middle East.

The Voice of the Hill

Senators and Congressmen, both stay-at-homes and travellers, aired their views on what should be done to help improve our conduct of foreign affairs.

An Associated Press survey indicated that a reduction in U. S. Foreign Aid funds is favored by nine out of every ten incoming congressmen willing to take a stand on the problem. Thirty-two senators called for foreign aid cuts, only 16 representatives indicated support for anything like the present program.

Senator Johnston, returning with a group from an inspection tour of U. S. installations in Europe and North Africa, urged a 50% cut in the next 12 months among the 250,000 Americans and foreigners employed by the United States abroad. "What shocked the committee members the most," stated an *Evening Star* report, "was the high salaries and luxurious living of Federal workers overseas. Committee members said most employees live in expensive apartments and houses and have their own servants. . . . Even stenographers have their own personal maids. . . . The employees can afford the best foods and wines, and they entertain lavishly, the investigators say."

Senator Wiley of Wisconsin, slated to head the Foreign Relations Committee, warned publicly against using diplomatic assignments as political plums. He enumerated several harmful tendencies in making diplomatic appointments, including the practice of shuttling diplomats in and out of the same post every few months, and of insufficiently briefing new appointees.

Speaking at a press conference at the United Nations after arrival from Europe, Senator Tobey predicted that Eisenhower's attitude toward the USSR will be "stiffer" and "more realistic." The Senator called UNESCO the "hope of the world today," and says he does not understand how "anyone can be cynical about it."

Senator Monroney challenged the new Republican-controlled Congress to renew the Reciprocal Trade Act or risk throwing the European economy into a "tailspin." He says that Marshall Plan countries need "more trade, less aid."

We have had during these years the new Act of 1946, the amendments to that Act, and other administrative steps taken which alone are not enough, but which I think have strengthened and improved the position of the Foreign Service.

I want to say again that I believe and shall continue to say, as long as I am able to say anything, that within the Department and within the Foreign Service there exists that body of professional knowledge, unequaled anywhere, without which the United States could make the most terrible mistakes. But when that knowledge is given an expression and a guiding force in the making and maintenance of our policies then we can avoid grave mistakes. We have moved out of the era when good intentions were enough, when we could expect to come out all right by blundering through the problems somehow. There are going to be very few second chances given to the world now. All the knowledge and the skills we have must be channelled through a Department of State and through a Secretary who has the confidence of his colleagues.

The matters with which you deal are not readily understood by many of our people who have not seen and dealt with them in their stark reality. Day after day—you read it in the newspapers—fathers write in asking, "Why are our sons being killed in Korea?" Nobody wants their sons to be killed in Korea. This is a tragic, desperate thing. Many people don't understand why it has to be at all. Other nations have seen their sons going out to be killed in foreign places for five hundred years—not because anybody wanted it, but because there was no escape from paying the price, bitter and agonizing as it was—and as it is. It does not depend upon how glorious the cause may be, but upon the requirements of the national safety.

And there are those who go out and promote all this misunderstanding and feed on it. For their own purposes they beguile the people into believing that these sacrifices have been a waste and that they need not be made at all, that they are being made, in fact, only because of the stupidity or worse of their Government and its officers. These men live by sowing fear among the people and mutual mistrust everywhere. No one can say that what they have done is not a source of great grief and injury, that it has not harmed our nation and the structure of our national life. It has brought a deep distrust throughout the country, not only of our Government's officers, but of the whole functioning of government. It has created a fear that has shaken belief in the exercise of our liberties. It has led good men astray with fear and falsehood. It has deeply disturbed the confidence that the people must feel in their government if the chances of our time are to be met, and if very great dangers to the nation are to be averted. This has been and is a wicked operation.

How can we face this development among us? There is no easy way and no short way. Once a real evil has got its start in the world it cannot be overcome without great striving, great travail and suffering. There will be much grief. The evil will continue until the price of its defeat has been paid, at last, in devoted effort, in pain and anguish. This is the only way evil has ever been dealt with in the world, and it should cause us no bitterness.

One of the things I found on my last trip to Europe was utter amazement at what is going on here. Men I have known

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REMARKS OF ACHESON *(from page 51)*

and you have known ask: "What are the American people thinking of? You are the fellows"—they say—"who hung up one lantern if by land, two if by sea. You were the pioneers who took your muskets down from the wall at the first rumour of tyranny."

Perhaps the people will rise up, at last, and say, we have had enough. Meanwhile, you who are here are the targets. You must carry on with your jobs, at home and in far places, giving your best, doing your duty in silence, not looking for understanding or appreciation, bearing much blame but no credit. And you must keep on anyway, without bitterness. I believe that all this will change at last. It has got to change. This nation cannot be guided by timorous people or by wicked people. It must be true to itself.

Perhaps that is not a bright picture of what we have with us today. I do not intend to paint a bright picture. You have chosen a career of service. It involves a hard life with very little glamour but much care. You live where most Americans would not wish to live; and have many sufferings and inconveniences for yourselves and your families, and you get little recompense for all this. Yet there are the deeper satisfactions of effort and accomplishment, which should keep you above bitterness.

I have now spent my best years in this life. As I come to the end of my period of service I know that, beyond this last official meeting with you, I shall continue to feel the same devotion to you—to what you are and what you represent. Whatever I have in skill or ability, it will be at your disposal, it will always belong to you men who have given your lives to a career of service to the Government and the nation.

EDITORIALS *(from page 31)*

"The solution to this problem is the abolishment of emergency agencies whose task is either completed or can be absorbed by the regular departments. . . .

"Nor is the solution the creation of one new over-all permanent department whose only assignment would be to give away Uncle Sam's money or to handle purely foreign economic affairs. . . . All matters which involve the relationship of the United States with other countries should be handled by the existing permanent departments and agencies of the government. The State Department should either specifically handle or should coordinate all of our foreign political and economic activities with due allowance for practices and activities authorized by law or long standing practice being carried on by other permanent agencies. For too long the State Department has suffered under the handicap of trying to administer foreign policy with its hands tied behind it. With another agency such as ECA or MSA acting as the generous and helpful friend, the State Department is the unwelcome doctor called in for solemn diagnosis or to administer a needle or an emetic.

". . . obviously there should be some place where differences can be reconciled. That place is the office of the President.

". . . all of our activities in any foreign country should be under the direct and effective control of the Ambassador. If his personnel are not qualified to handle economic matters he can replace them or call for help from the Departments. . . ."

These are forthright and pragmatic conclusions, but they are *not* cause for complacency on the part of the Department and Foreign Service, nor should they permit us merely to contemplate how fine everything will be when wayward elements in our foreign affairs are brought into some semblance of order and placed under unified policy and direction. For the point is, as Ambassador Chapin expressed it, that ". . . if the premise be accepted that our whole future economic policy and our future information policy will require techniques and methods of operations different from the past . . . and continuous in character rather than to meet an emergency . . .," a reappraisal of our functions and organization is required.

In considering remedial measures, two circumstances, in our opinion, are fundamental. In the first place it should be recognized that foreign affairs today, as never before, involve nearly every department of domestic government and that within these departments there is available a wealth of special competence, talent and technical skills which the Department of State can not and should not attempt to match. Consistent with the requirement for single leadership and undiluted responsibility for decision in foreign relations, let us strive to obtain the valuable expert contribution which special competence can give to our diplomacy in the wide range and complexity of our problems.

In the second place, let us heed the lesson, learned by bitter experience since the advent of World War II, when it was thought that the prewar Service would largely suffice if *policy* were set by the Department and *operations* carried out by such independent agencies as the Foreign Economic Administration and the Office of War Information. Experience showed that while certain operations did require their own

(*Continued on page* 55)

Psychologists have in recent years probed more and more into areas relating to propaganda problems. The havoc sparked by Hitler and Mussolini and other contemporary despots has stimulated interesting and often revealing investigations into mass formations and mass movements. The anxieties, insecurities, and hostilities which prompt multitudes to place their destines in the hands of so-called *leaders* have been searchingly dissected and analyzed, with some illuminating conclusions forthcoming. Considerable agreement is found, for instance, on the nature of the appeals employed consciously or unconsciously by demogagues to make people blind to the absurdities of an enterprise for which they swear to die. These and other serious works would seem to be requisites for any Twentieth Century approach to propaganda.

The new interest of many anthropologists in this field likewise yields noteworthy material. Ritualized and ceremonialized attitudes and beliefs of various peoples are weighed against the objectives of the Free World. Studies of the declining or static authority of older generations can be useful to anyone thinking in terms of influencing youth. Or the traditional control held by the male line of the family in given countries may justify investigation by those whose objectives depend on the emancipation of women. Religions, fraternal patterns, social customs and habits, "covert cultures," tabus—all these and more are of significance to anthropologists and aspiring propagandists alike.

Although designed primarily for the field operator, the recent publication—*Are We Hitting The Target?*—produced for the Department's International Information Administration—is a good example not only of what social research has to offer propagandists in foreign affairs, but an indication that material can be collected and evaluated and put in usable form. The objective of this work is to equip officers with techniques for correcting the false or verifying the true opinions they hold of the attitudes and views of foreign peoples with whom they work. A glance at the bibliography cited in the book's footnotes suggests that research and study in this pertinent area should not be the province of field operators alone.

Perhaps the most difficult assignment in building a practical training program would be that of extracting the best from the compilations on commercial propaganda. Comparisons between commercial and political propaganda must be made with considerable insight, but any student of the American advertising scene knows that the successful practitioner today draws heavily on his extensive library. In an activity in which at best there will always be too much guesswork, he uses every possible means to eliminate unnecessary experimentation. He does not have to learn from experience, for example, that truth without verisimilitude is a sure path to failure. Or he may read discussions explaining why he can neither plead a case in a news item, nor give advice, nor argue. Yet he can determine how to *use* news in order to achieve these objectives. He can also find thoughtful treatises on "maximum authority" requirements—on why one audience will accept one source as authoritative, and why the same source will be the kiss of death for a different audience. And he can refer to some of this nation's best practitioners in finding out how to finesse for insuring interest—on how, as a case in point, to develop interest in

(*Continued on page* 55)

STRAY THOUGHTS *(from page 32)*

A frankly heirarchical structure would not misrepresent the FSS corps to the junior as the FSO corps in slightly different dress, nor to the administrative officer as a bar sinister which keeps him out of the "club." Instead it can be made to provide evident and ample opportunity to the *individual* to be promoted up through the *same* category with the possibility of reaching the *same* level as any other officer in the Service. Furthermore it can be made to offer clearly and definitely the opportunity for a secure, self-respecting and honorable career to those who don't have the inclination, ability, education, or ambition to assume responsibilities above a certain level.

The worse difficulty in devising such a system is fixing this "certain level." There is really no dispute in principle. Even under the present concept of equal FSS and FSO grades and salaries there is a joining of the two streams at the very top—at least the planners have not so far proposed an FSS rank of Career Minister. I realize, of course, that there is the very limited problem of the high ranking specialists who must be taken care of, such as the radio engineers mentioned above, but I fail to see why they should be exiled to a category most of whose members are performing clerical or semi-clerical duties (this is apparently what would result from the presently planned "contraction" of the FSS corps). For the permanent officer of this type (if he is temporary the FS Reserve is appropriate) it would seem logical to have a small category of "special service" FSOs. Navy doctors carry the designation "USN(MC)" without feeling it an invidious distinction and there is no good reason why the FS radio engineer should not similarly be designated an "FSO(SS)." Or, should some sensitive soul object to initials recalling the late Hitlerian organization, it would not be hard to find other letters.

We thus come back to fixing the "certain level" at which the Staff Corps should be cut off. Assuming that the plan of equalizing FSS and FSO salaries is put into effect, I would suggest that the top FSS grade should be FSS 4. This in effect would mean that FSO 3s and above would be drawn from principally (assuming, as we should, a negligible intake by lateral entry) FSS 4s and FSO 4s, both of whom would be obligated to pass an examination generally similar to the present lateral entry examination before being eligible for promotion to FSO 3.

Many knotty problems will remain even after the necessarily arbitrary decision of the FSS cut-off level is made. Some of these problems are of a basic and continuing nature. Others, such as what is to be done about the higher ranking FSS officers who do not go into the FSO corps under the current liberalized lateral entry program, are of a one-time-operation nature. But all can be solved much more easily and effectively if there is a logical framework upon which to build.

Before decisions on them are made, however, they should be subjected to wide and general Service discussion. One to which this comment is particularly applicable is that of job level classification. Many officers feel that since the war some of the new administrative jobs necessitated by the expansion of the Service have been set at unjustifiably high levels while some of the old established consular jobs have remained at unjustifiably low levels. It may well be, for instance, that there are administrative FSS 3 jobs and consular FSO 5 jobs which might both more properly be classi-

STRAY THOUGHTS *(from page 54)*

fied at FSS 4. This situation is no indictment against the administrative officers who have set the job levels, but it would be asking too much of human nature to expect them to put a low comparative value on the functions of their own department. Neither administrative or any other functions can be properly evaluated unless there is some general, as distinguished from "Expert," consideration and discussion of their relative levels of responsibility.

While the old-line officer who fancies himself as a "generalist" is inclined to be contemptuous of the current proliferation and exaggerated authority of the "expert" and the "specialist," there can be no doubt that the duties which the present day Service is called upon to perform are so numerous and varied that no one officer can expect to be able as in the past to handle all or almost all of them effectively. This situation raises a host of other questions revolving around the degree of "generalist" and "specialist" qualifications which the FSO of the future must have. These questions, too, are among those which must be subjected to general discussion and debate rather than left to the "specialists" for settlement.

It is basic that any system, unless it is made so inflexible that its operation is seriously prejudiced, is subject to abuse. This, however, is a danger which must be faced, and it can much more effectively met if the system itself is fundamentally sound and practical. Let us hope that we may soon see evidence of the development of such a system in the FS. In the meantime let us not be backward nor pussyfooting in putting forward new ideas and arguing them frankly and vigorously.

PROPAGANDISTS *(from page 53)*

soap by first drawing attention to the evils of dirt. All common sense, no doubt, but didn't someone define science as *organized common sense?*

Instead of being a deterrent, the mass of published works on commercial propaganda should be a compelling invitation for research and analysis. There is no other field in which so much thought and study have been given to ways and means for influencing attitudes and actions of people. And that is one of the principal problems facing the United States abroad today.

As previously implied, there is no easy way out for the United States or for the Department of State. Communist strategists, abetted by technological advances in all fields of information, are setting a heady but professional pace. If we are to meet their challenge, we shall have to recognize that propaganda is a vocation, not an avocation; that propagandists are made, not born.

EDITORIALS *(from page 52)*

technicians, policy-making and the execution of policy were and are inseparable.

Let us, therefore, utilize our resources of special competence at home and unify our operations abroad, recognizing that our foreign relations activities must be sparked by a single mechanism controlled, under authority of the President, by the Secretary of State.

CHANGE OF STATION FOR DECEMBER

NAME	POST FROM	POST TO	TITLE
Adams, Charles C.	Paris	Bordeaux	FSO
Anderson, W. Stratton	Dept.	Rangoon	FSO
Andrews, Richard B.	Valletta	Haifa	FSS
Armstrong, Oscar V.	Singapore	Kuala Lumpur	FSO
Beam, Jacob D.	Dept.	Moscow	FSO
Blue, William L.	Dept.	New Delhi	FSO
Bowen, Barbara A.	Valparaiso	Tel Aviv	FSS
Calhoun, John A.	Dept.	Seoul	FSO
Chadbourn, Philip H.	Lyon	Paris	FSO
Chau, Sham Taio	Hong Kong	Dept.	FSS
Christensen, Keld	Stockholm	Dept.	FSO
Corcoran, Thomas J.	Saigon	Fortaleza	FSO
Cunningham, Francis H.	Frankfurt	Dept.	FSO
Davit, Alexander J.	Tangier	Dept.	FSO
Deimel, Henry L., Jr.	New Delhi	Paris	FSO
Dickson, Thomas I., Jr.	Dept.	Habana	FSO
Ernst, Philip	Barbados	Victoria	FSS
Gantenbein, James W.	Bucharest	Copenhagen	FSO
Geerken, Forrest K.	Sao Paulo	Rome	FSO
Graves, William P. F.	Munich	Tokyo	FSO
Hall, Pierson M.	Frankfurt	Bangkok	FSO
Hamlin, John N.	Quito	Kingston	FSO
Henderson, Gregory	Berlin	Pusan	FSO
Heuheck, Charlotta	Frankfurt	Warsaw	FSS
Hinke, Frederick W.	Victoria, B. C.	Paris	FSO
Horsey, Outerbridge	Rome	Dept.	FSO
Johnson, Hartwell	Dept.	Nassau	FSO
Jones, S. Shepard	New Appt.	Karachi	FSR
Jones, William C., III	Monterrey	Dept.	FSS
Kapy, Erkki I.	Stockholm	Dept.	FSS
Lane, Rufus H., Jr.	Paris	Victoria	FSO
Lehfeldt, William W.	Dept.	Kabul	FSO
Linehan, John A., Jr.	Dept.	Paris	FSO
Makepeace, LeRoy	New Delhi	Bonn	FSO
Mathews, Elbert G.	Istanbul	London	FSO
McCarthy, John R.	Paris	Lyon	FSS
McClelland, Roswell D.	Dept.	Madrid	FSO
McClelland, Walter M.	Liverpool	London	FSO
McIlhenny, Samuel A., Jr.	La Paz	San Jose	FSS
Mirick, Susannah	Belgrade	Brussels	FSO
Modesti, Gordon E.	Isfahan	Bonn	FSS
Moran, Lawrence J.	Dublin	Djakarta	FSS
Mulcahy, Edward W.	Asmara	Dept.	FSO
Mullin, Harry J., Jr.	Dept.	Sydney	FSO
Newlin, Michael H.	Dept.	Bonn	FSS
Pagan, Raymond	Berlin	Cairo	FSO
Pangburn, Harry B.	Managua	Dept.	FSO
Sellin, Theodore	Dept.	Copenhagen	FSO
Seward, Robert W.	Buenos Aires	Bahia	FSO
Singer, Richard T.	Madrid	Pusan	FSS
Sommerlarte, Karl E.	Dept.	Moscow	FSO
Southerland, John H.	Barcelona	San Jose	FSS
Stanturf, Margaret A.	Dakar	The Hague	FSS
Sullivan, William H.	Tokyo	Rome	FSO
Thompson, Paul D.	Montreal	Tijuana	FSS
Townsend, Lewis R.	Dept.	Bonn	FSO
Wallner, Woodruff	Paris	Belgrade	FSO
Wilson, Earl J.	Manila	Paris	FSS
Wilson, J. Robert	Frankfurt	Nagoya	FSO
Wright, Thomas K.	Manila	Brussels	
Woodhouse, Franklin W.	Wellington	Cairo	FSS
Woollons, Sidney L.	Frankfort	Winnepeg	FSS

AMENDMENTS AND CANCELLATIONS

Ackerson, Garrett	Tel Aviv cancelled, now transferred to Dept. as FSO-2
Benson, Roger N.	Tokyo cancelled, now transferred to Toronto as FSO-6
Christie, Harold T.	Canberra cancelled, now transferred to Copenhagen as FSS-9
Clock, Charles P.	Tehran cancelled, now transferred to Singapore as FSO-4
Dopico, Aurora	Madrid cancelled, to remain in Seville as FSS-10
Foulon, Robert C.	Port Said cancelled, now transferred to Manila as FSO-5
Hunter, Doris A.	Panama cancelled, now transferred to Tangier as FSS-12
Kent, Robt. W., Jr.	Assigned to Frankfurt instead of Bonn as FSO-6
Stevenson, Robt. A.	Ankara cancelled, now transferred to Dusseldorf as FSO-4
Burke, Thomas E.	Cherbourg cancelled, now transferred to Paris as FSS.
Degenhardt, Joseph	Stockholm cancelled, returning to Paris as FSS.
Henderson, Douglas	Rome cancelled, to remain in Bern as FSO.
Jones, Curtis F.	Khartoum cancelled, now transferred to Port Said as FSO.
Roberts, Randolph	Lisbon cancelled, now transferred to Dublin as FSO.
Rood, Leslie	Colombo cancelled, now transferred to Dept. as FSO.
Snidow, William B.	Assigned to Hamburg instead of Munich as FSS.

OFFICER RETIREMENTS AND RESIGNATIONS

Richardson, Lowell (Military Furlough) (FSO)
Burrows, Florence A. (FSS)
Cummings, F. Ramsdell (FSS)
Edmands, Frank R. (FSSO)
Jenkins, Lorena L. (FSS)
McGeary, Stanley A. (FSS)
Moseley, Harold (FSS)
Core, Jesse R. III (FSR)
Aguirre, Stephen (FSO)
Gamson, Arthur (FSO)

INDIANA INCIDENT *(from page 30)*

She glanced nervously toward the man. He was deep in the task of mending a trap.

"Thet shore is fine," she whispered.

The boy slipped away from her and brought back a small, clean-whittled slab of pine, and a stick of charcoal.

"Ma," he whispered, "I . . . I think I kin write my own name."

Now she looked at him, her eyes wide. "Show me," she said.

He rested the little slab of wood on her knee and inclined his shaggy head to the task. Laboriously, with compressed lips and occasional squirmings, he scratched at the smooth surface.

When he had finished, he handed the piece of wood to her, hopefully.

She nodded with delight. "My, ain't thet fine!"

She held the wood up to catch the glow of the fire, so that the charcoal letters showed strongly against the white: Abraham Lincoln.

MARRIAGES

DODSON-BARNES. Miss Julie Maynard Barnes, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Maynard Bertram Barnes, was married to Derek S. L. Dodson, son of Dr. and Mrs. Charles S. Dodson of Leadenham, Lincolnshire, England, on November 29 in the British Embassy Church in Paris. Mr. Dodson is First Secretary of British Embassy in Madrid.

NORLAND-BAMMAN. Miss Patricia Woodruff Bamman, daughter of Mrs. August H. Bamman of Virginia Beach, Virginia, and the late Mr. Bamman, was married to Donald Richard Norland, son of Mrs. Norman E. Norland of Mason City, Iowa, and the late Mr. Norland on December 13 in the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church in Washington. Mr. Norland is assigned to Rabat, French Morocco.

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