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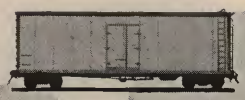

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DECEMBER 1953 Volume 30, Number 12

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The FORAIGN SERVICE JOURNAL is not official and material appearing herein represents only personal opinions, aud is oot 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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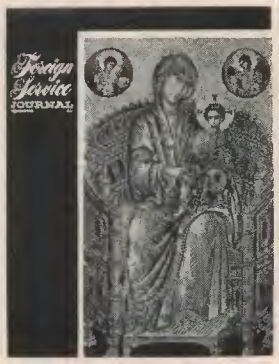

COVER PICTURE: The Byzantine School "Enthroned Madonna and Child," a painting of the Madonna type known as the Hodegetria (Greek for "She Who Guides the Way"), is typical of the Byzantine style. An unknown painter working around 1200 made this ikon, which later found its way to a monastery in Spain, perhaps brought there by some returning crusader. The rich, brilliant colors are painted in tempera, that is pigments mixed with egg and varnish, partly over a gold ground. *The Madonna is in the Mellon Collection at the National Gallery of Art in Washington.*

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Letters to the Editors

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FRINGE BENEFITS UNDERMINED

American Embassy, Rome
October 30, 1953

To the Editors,
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

The Foreign Service has suffered several critical blows during the last several months. From a morale point of view, the most devastating blows have undoubtedly been the RIF's, the SO's (Selection Outs) and the threats of both of these that have hung over all of us.

In addition to these drastic personnel reductions, however, there have been innumerable cases of chipping away at what remains of the Foreign Service, which have fairly effectively removed many of those incentives which encouraged the impecunious to aspire to a career in the Service. This quiet undermining of the fringe benefits which the Foreign Service traditionally offered—in place of an opportunity to save any money—has been done unobtrusively enough and without attracting publicity. The sum total of these reductions or deprivations is, however, impressive. The following are some of the more irritating examples of this trend:

1. The reduction of per diem on shipboard travel;
2. The elimination of 1st-class travel privileges for certain ranks of the Service;
3. The arbitrary cut (approximately 20%) in freight allowances for personal and household effects;
4. The reduction in time limit for the shipment of personal household effects to a new post from one year to six months;
5. The reduction in time limit on return travel and shipment of effects from one year to three months following separation from the Service abroad;
6. The increase in time required at post before becoming eligible for home leave;
7. The cancellation of the previous policy of advancing up to 15 days on home leave to avoid drawing from accumulated leave;
8. The cancellation of authorization to utilize current annual leave on separation from the Service;
9. The arbitrary demotion in grade of certain unriffed FSS personnel;
10. The indefinite postponement of the FSO and FSS promotion lists—both of which were approved by the selection boards in 1952.

But now comes what to many of us is the cruelest cut of all—the arbitrary, forced elimination over a 10-year period of our cherished accumulated leave. The procedure to be

(*Continued on page 6*)

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS *(from page 4)*

followed in said elimination is outlined in the Department's Circular Instruction No. 38 of September 23, 1953, which it is stated is based on Section 6 of Public Law 102, 83rd Congress. Certainly there was no question of legality previously when it was determined that henceforth one could not accumulate more than 60 days leave, at which time the leave formerly accumulated was left untouched. Whether, however, it is legal for one Congress arbitrarily and retroactively to deny us what was granted and affirmed by previous Congresses, I shall leave for my legally trained colleagues to challenge. For my part, I shall mention only two of the more pregnant aspects of this move.

Those of us who early accumulated the maximum amount of leave (by virtue of inability to avail ourselves of annual leave as it became due) and who are now entitled to 26 days' leave per year, find it difficult to understand how it will be feasible to take the required 36 working days of annual leave—particularly in view of the drastic personnel reductions without proportionate reductions in workload. And what happens if at the end of the next leave year it is discovered that the majority of those with "extra" accumulated leave have been unable to avail themselves of even their normal leave—to say nothing of the extra 10 days. This presumably would be cause for strict disciplinary action.

The second and more important result of this arbitrary action is that it completely disintegrates one of the two financial pillars upon which every Foreign Service employee depends. The first, of course, is the pension which he can look forward to after a minimum period of service. The second pillar, and almost equally important, has until now been the maximum of six months' leave at the end of his 30 odd years of service abroad which he could count upon using to wind up his business affairs in Washington, to select his place of retirement, and perhaps even to make a down payment on a house. As far as the average retiring Foreign Service Officer is concened, he is considered fortunate if he has managed to accumulate the furniture to be put in his house—much less the wherewithal to locate and purchase the house itself. This situation differs markedly from that of the average Civil Service employee who has spent his career in the U.S., who has not been required to move his family and residence every two or three years, and who has therefore been able to transform his rental payments into mortgage payments on a house, bank the amounts he would otherwise have had to spend on educating his children abroad, and save what it would have cost him to repair and replace his furniture after each move.

In the absence of a further explanation to the field on this remarkable action, it will appear to many as though something has slipped in our political morals when a potential separation bonus of several thousand dollars, which has been contracted for by the Government and earned by the employee, is arbitrarily and summarily defaulted on without the substitution of comparable benefits or appropriate compensation.

FULTON FREEMAN.

(*Continued on page 8*)

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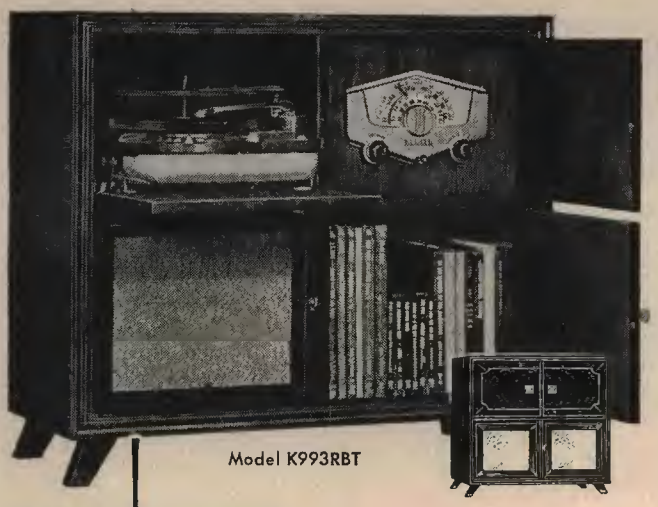

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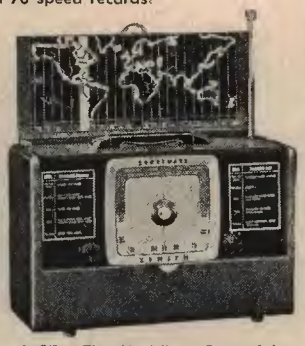

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS *(from page 6)*

STRINGENT REGULATIONS NECESSARY

Washington, D. C.
October 21, 1953

To the Editors,
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

With the "Letters to the Editors" column seething with charges that regulations are being written to "break up families, take food from babies' mouths, etc." I have hoped that someone in the Department with a more agile pen would use it to explain just why the new, and in most cases more stringent, regulations are necessary. Fully cognizant of the fact that seldom do refutations overtake allegations, here is my feeble effort. My views are objective since I am neither in Departmental authority nor in the Foreign Service.

The many changes in regulations which certain members of the Foreign Service are taking personally are a result of serious budget conditions.

Some letters to the Editors (and to the Department) to the contrary the Department has not become a den of childless ogres preying upon members of the Foreign Service. Those responsible for administering this year's budget are cut from the same cloth as those of years past. They *are* capable men with families and they *do* include members of the Foreign Service. The major difference is the seriousness of the problems facing these officers.

Since 1946 when the Department and the Foreign Service were called upon to assimilate five agencies, there has been constant expansion. With such large programs as the Campaign of Truth and Point Four, recruitment of personnel had moved forward at a great rate. In fact, it was necessary for recruitment teams to comb the country. In this highly competitive field with demand exceeding supply promises were made, regulations were written or relaxed to induce competent people to join the Foreign Service. From a total of around 10,000 employees, domestic and foreign service, in 1945 the Department grew to around 27,000 in fiscal 1953.

In a relatively short time a series of events has changed the picture completely. By presidential order USIA and TCA became separate agencies. A budget neighboring $300,000,000 suddenly dropped to $107,356,676 of which $40,255,676 is contributions to international organizations and related projects. The Department, which told Congress it needed $78,600,000 for salaries and expenses, received only $65,600,000. The sums are too large for me to comprehend, but it is obvious that the Ship of State which might have

(Continued on page 10)

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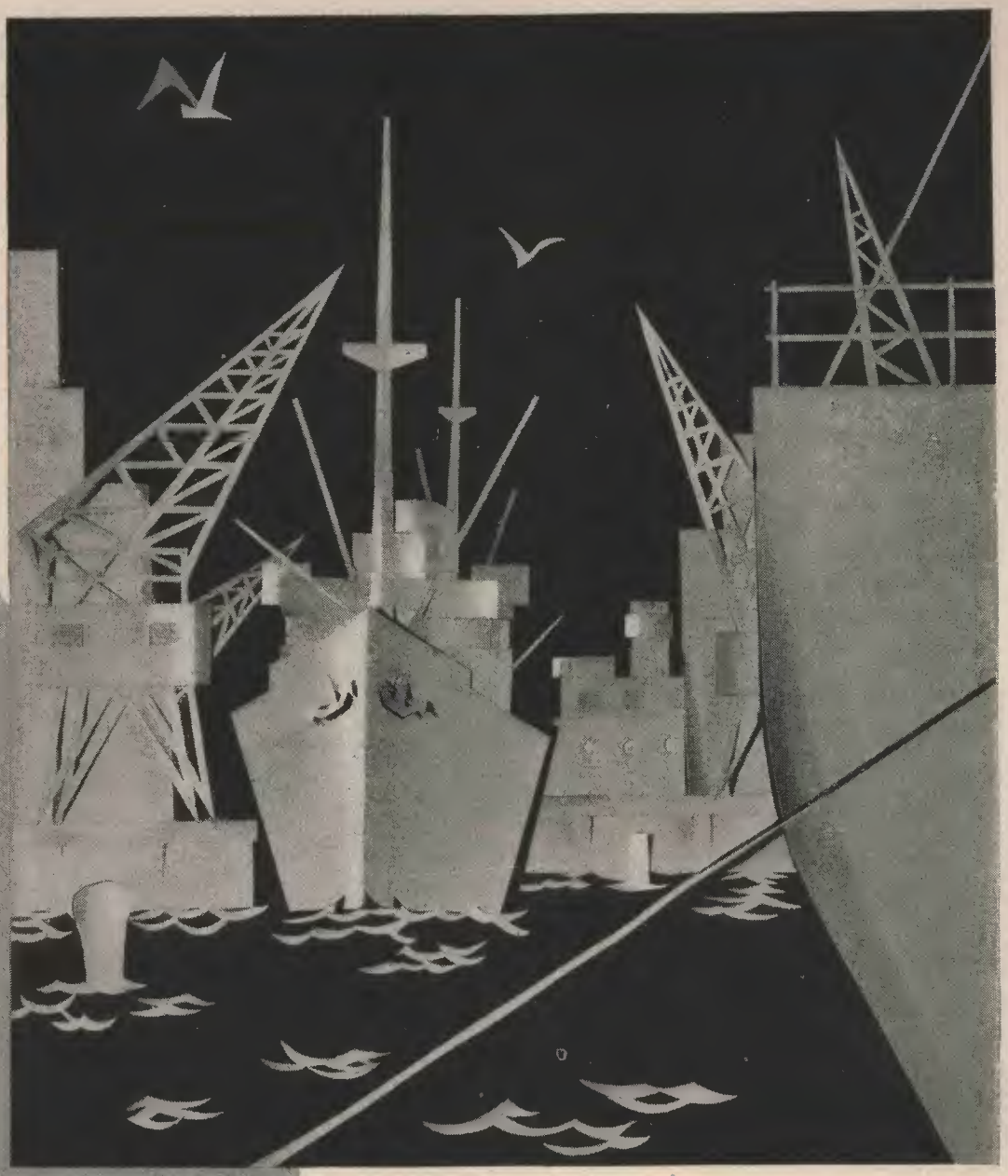

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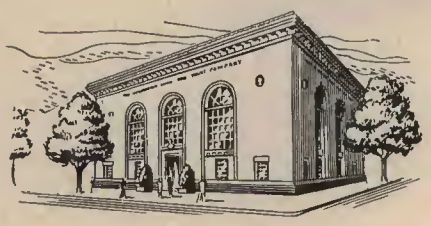

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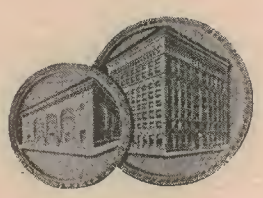

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been something of a Luxury Liner must rapidly evolve into a much smaller ship, more trim and efficient with much less crew.

The positions of those in authority in the Department have taken on new meaning as they search for ways to keep as many employees on the rolls as possible to handle essential jobs. Attempting not to impose undue hardships, regulations are being issued to utilize every appropriated penny to fulfill the barest needs.

For example, while Mr. FSO-5 of the October issue must go cabin class (which incidentally is interchangeable on the ships selected and therefore equal to the quality of first class) that regulation makes available an estimated $104,231, which provides home leave funds for 50 more families. As to his comments reference home leave, an FSO should know that those leave regulations emanated from the Congress and the Civil Service and *not* from the Department.

As to the letter from Wellington, Regulation 3.64 was prepared to make several hundred thousand dollars available for salaries and travel of foreign service personnel. Money which might revert to the Treasury at the end of the fiscal year because it had not been spent becomes available six months earlier. All remarks to the contrary, it makes possible *more* travel of *families* and, more important, it is keeping good people in the Service.

For some the present situation is tough. For all the situation will get tougher, but the esprit de corps which has carried the Foreign Service through earthquake, fire, and flood, united with the best efforts of the Department will make possible the continuance of an able, if more frugal, Foreign Service.

HOWARD E. CHAILLE

THE EDITORS COMPLIMENTED

Berlin, Germany
September 25, 1953

To the Editors,
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

I wish to compliment the Editors of the JOURNAL for the September 1953 issue. The articles by Messrs. Halle, Cochran and Stuart were complementary, each treating a separate but allied part of a problem complex, which is not only a subject of deep concern for Foreign Service Officers but for the Nation and all of its citizens. Obviously, care and thought were exercised by the Editors in making up the September issue of the JOURNAL. It was one of the finest issues I have ever read. It bucked up my morale no end, and I am certain it must have done the same for many of my colleagues. It is to be hoped that it sets a pattern of what we may expect from the JOURNAL in the future, namely, courageous, forthright but at the same time tempered and serious discussion of some basic principles, to which adherence or non-adherence means so much not only to Foreign Service Officers, individually and as a group, but

(Continued on page 12)

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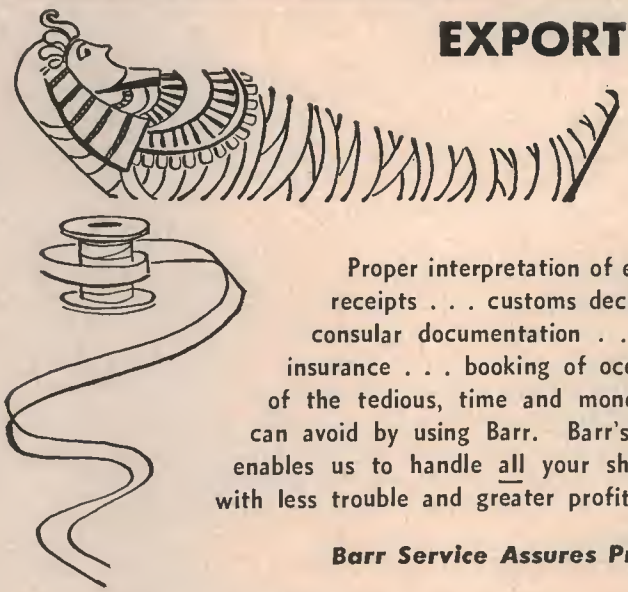

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS *(from page 10)*

to the short and long term national interests of the United States. The Administration and the Foreign Service, together and not separately, are faced with the task of solving serious problems arising out of the challenge of Communism. A satisfactory and healthy solution will never be found, if the basis of departure is one of fear, compromise or appeasement.

It is particularly important, during the period described by Mr. Halle as one of "deep uncertainty," that those of us who remain in the Service take very much to heart the message contained in Mr. Cochran's article on "A Diplomat's Moments of Truth." By exerting extra effort not to give in to the three temptations described by Mr. Cochran, we will be contributing to upholding the honesty, integrity and non-partisanship of the professional career service at a time when these qualities are most needed.

CHARLES E. HULICK, JR.

A SENSE OF TRANSITION

Lima, Peru
September 22, 1953

To the Editors,
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

Since your editorial "Freedom of the Seas" in the September 1952 issue of the JOURNAL, I have read only one letter in agreement with your well-timed case in favor of sea travel over air travel. This letter was Robert C. Abraham's criticism of the "men in motion" study published in the December, 1952, issue.

Mr. Abraham stated that many people when traveling by air arrive three months before their effects and during that period must live in a hotel. I can prove by my papers that I waited over eight months for my effects to arrive!

The following self-explanatory article is quoted from the September 21, 1953, Latin American edition of TIME:

> Richardson, Time correspondent, with his wife and two daughters (Hilary, 4, born in Frankfurt, and Julia, 2, born in London), made the return trip to the United States last month by ship, "because we felt the children should get some sense of transition from country to country." The move from London to Beirut, Richardson explained, "was about an eight-hour plane ride. For nearly a year afterward, Hilary thought we were still in England, and kept asking when we were going to take the bus back to London."

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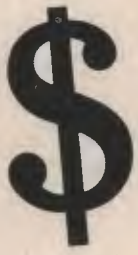

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Twenty Five Years Ago

By James B. Stewart

They talk of Christmas so long, that it comes. Proverb.

THE ELECTION. The final count of electoral votes cast in the election of November 6 shows a total of 444 votes for Herbert Hoover to 87 for Gov. Alfred E. Smith.

Electoral Vote 1904 to 1928

1904	Roosevelt	376	Parker	140
1908	Taft	321	Bryan	162
1912	Wilson	435	Taft	8
			Roosevelt	88
1916	Wilson	277	Hughes	254
1920	Harding	404	Cox	127
1924	Coolidge	382	Davis	136
			La Follette	13

GOOD-WILL TOUR: President-elect Hoover started on a good-will tour of South America on November 19, on the battleship *Maryland*. He is accompanied by Ambassador Henry Fletcher.

WASHINGTON ITEMS: Milton S. Eisenhower, formerly American Vice Consul at Edinburgh, and for the past three years Administrative Assistant and Secretary to the Secretary of Agriculture, has now been appointed Director of Information of the Department of Agriculture.

Dr. Stanley K. Hornbeck, Chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs, was the subject of an article, entitled "Our Far Eastern Pilot," in the *Washington Sunday Star*.

HOME FOR CHRISTMAS: Vice Consul John M. Cabot, Consuls General C. E. Gauss, Paul Knabenshue, Ely E. Palmer, Arthur Garrells, and Frank P. Lockhart, Secretaries of Legation, F. L. Belin, Orme Wilson, LaVerne Baldwin, and David Williamson.

CLASS OF 1928: In the Journal there is a photograph of the members of the class of 1928. They are all young but they do not seem gay. Brows are furrowed and there is hardly a smile in the group which includes Bill Cochran, Edmund Clubb, Eddie Trueblood, Bob Joyce, Walt Butterworth, Carlos Warner, Harry Villard, Bob Coe and Bim Brown. Looking back over the turbulent years, could it be that those young officers were gifted with second sight?

BRIEFS: Probably never before has a Consul been able in a single day to survey his whole district as Consul John E. Kehl did on September 20, when he was a passenger on the *Graf Zeppelin* on a 10 hour trial flight from Friedrichshafen.

Ambassador William Phillips, Ottawa, received a letter which ended: "With the money enclosed, buy yourself a good cigar."

THE LADY FOUGHT BACK: Capt. Thomas Drake, skipper of the *Lone Star Rover*, visited the Consulate General at Amsterdam. Captain Drake is making a world tour alone in his 36-foot boat, and is three years out of Seattle. He expects to complete his tour in four or five years. Asked

(*Continued on page* 16)

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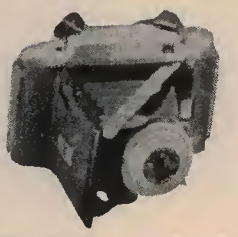

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TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO *(from page 14)*

if he desired to sign on or discharge any of his crew he replied that he had picked up two stowaways at his last port—a lady and a gentleman rat—but that he had gotten rid of them without consular assistance. He said this was done, however, only after a stiff fight, especially on the part of the lady.

NECROLOGY. ROBERT LANSING, Secretary of State from June 23, 1915, to February 13, 1920, died on October 30, 1928, of myocarditis, at his residence in Washington. With the death of Mr. Lansing passed the last of the historic triumvirate, including President Wilson and Secretary Bryan, who guided the affairs of America during the World War, when vigilance was never abated, and when "they could not close their eyes even though others chose to slumber." (Excerpt from a tribute by L. H. Woolsey who was associated with Mr. Lansing as Solicitor for the Department of State and later as his partner in the practice of law in Washington.)

BILL DAWSON ON "CHOMPIPE Y EL GORDO."

In South America Christmas has little more than the date in common with the home holiday. . . . It takes a high degree of patriotism to attempt plum pudding at 100 degrees in the shade and even turkey, under its various Latin American names of *pavo, peru, guajalote,* and *chompipe,* fails to smack of Christmas.

However, even if unlike our northern holiday season the South American Christmas is not lacking in charm. As in the United States, the Christmas and New Year Feasts combine to form the "holiday season."

To many in Spanish-speaking countries Christmas is inseparably connected with the great lotteries and foremost among them the Spanish *Loteria de Navidad* with its *premio major* of six million pesetas. Up to the eve of Christmas hundreds of thousands live in high hope that they will *sacar el gordo,* and even after coming to the sad realization that they have merely *sacado el dinero del bolsillo* find consolation in the thought that they will not have to wait a whole year for another *sorteo.*

MINCE PIES. As many mince pies as you taste at Christmas' so many happy months will you have. Old English Saying.

Enjoying last year's Christmas gift is Charles (Chuckie) Stewart Aid, of Dallas, the grandson of Mr. and Mrs. James B. Stewart.

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NEWS from the DEPARTMENT

By Lois Perry Jones

Ambassadors

ROBERT C. HILL of Littleton, New Hampshire, was appointed Ambassador to Costa Rica succeeding the HONORABLE PHILIP B. FLEMING. Ambassador Hill, prior to his retirement approximately ten years ago, served as a Foreign Service Officer in India, Ceylon, Burma and China.

Robert D. Murphy, now Assistant Secretary of State for United Nations Affairs and formerly Ambassador to Belgium and Japan, is acting Deputy Under Secretary of State succeeding the Honorable H. Freeman Matthews, Ambassador to The Netherlands.

The HONORABLE JOHN E. PEURIFOY was appointed Ambassador to Guatemala succeeding the HONORABLE RUDOLF E. SCHOENFELD, who is being reassigned. Ambassador Peurifoy's most recent assignment was as Ambassador to Greece.

The HONORABLE GEORGE WADSWORTH, formerly Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Turkey and Iraq, was appointed Ambassador to Saudi Arabia and Minister to Yemen, succeeding the HONORABLE RAYMOND A. HARE, Ambassador to Lebanon. Ambassador Wadsworth has been in the Service since 1916.

The HONORABLE GEORGE P. SHAW, Ambassador to Paraguay, retired on October 31 after a career of more than 30 years in the Foreign Service. Previously Ambassador to Nicaragua and El Salvador, Ambassador Shaw was appointed Vice Consul in 1920. Upon his return to this country, he plans to live in San Diego, California.

The HONORABLE JOHN J. MUCCIO, former Ambassador to Korea, spoke of America as the land of opportunity in a Columbus Day address made before the Italian-American Charitable Society in Boston. He recounted how he, the son of Italian immigrants who came to this country when he was five months old, received the best possible education —from primary school right on through University—free, and stated that this fact was "absolute proof of the bountifulness and richness of our country." On his twenty-first year, in 1921, he recalled that three important events occurred to him: he became a United States citizen; he graduated from Brown University; and he received a consular appointment which marked the beginning of his career.

"My own career," he continued, "in which it has been my privilege to serve the United States in so many different capacities and countries for more than thirty years, is absolute proof that our country does not demand influence, nor money, nor established position, nor inherited prestige, from its officers."

The HONORABLE MYRON M. COWEN, former Ambassador to Belgium, championed the cause of the Foreign Service Officer in an address delivered to the Women's National Democratic Club. Ambassador Cowen deplored "the shocking climate of hostility" toward the Department of State and the Foreign Service and called for an increase in Foreign Service pay and allowances, stating, "there are very few Foreign Service Officers who have been serving 10 years or more, who are not in debt. . . ."

The HONORABLE MICHAEL MCDERMOTT, State Department spokesman for 30 years and now Ambassador to El Salvador, is still trying to get used to a silent telephone on weekends, an article by Charles Fernandez in *The Evening Star* stated. Despite the fact the phone calls have fallen off—they used to reach 60 or 70 on some weekends in Washington—Ambassador McDermott manages to stay busy and keeps an average of not one but two social engagements every night.

Appointments to Bureau of Security

DENNIS ALLEN FLINN, Foreign Service Officer, was appointed Director of the Office of Security, and ROBERT F. CARTWRIGHT, formerly Associate Chief, Office of Investigations in the General Accounting Office, was appointed Deputy Administrator to SCOTT MCLEOD. Both men have served with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Mr. Flinn from 1934 to 1946 and Mr. Cartwright from 1941 to 1950.

Mr. Flinn, who entered the Service in 1947, has served in Stockholm, Helsinki, and Canberra.

In October, Dennis A. Flinn was sworn in as Director of the Office of Security. Present at the ceremony with R. W. Scott McLeod, Administrator of the Bureau of Security. Consular Affairs and Personnel were Officers assigned to this Bureau. In the first row, left to right, are: Mr. Flinn, Mr. McLeod, Edward S. Maney, Orray Taft Jr., J. Raymond Ylitalo. 2nd Row: Warren Chase, Rollie H. White, Jr. and Frederick Jandrey.

Besides Mr. Cartwright's FBI and General Accounting Office experience, he has worked on the Hill with the House of Representatives Government Operations Committee and accompanied a subcommittee of that body to Europe in connection with their inquiries into the surplus property field.

Personals

WILLIAM E. DUNN, retired Foreign Service Officer, was appointed director of the Inter-American Schools Service succeeding the HONORABLE ROY TASCO DAVIS, Ambassador

(*Continued on page* 44)

PATTERN FOR PROPAGANDA

By Leslie Snowden Brady

There sometimes happens to basically good words what sometimes happens to basically good people—through nothing inherent in themselves, they acquire a bad reputation. So it is with the otherwise acceptable word "propaganda," which got along well enough until associated with people we did not like. So it is, to a lesser but quite real degree, with the word "information," used, after "propaganda" lost its reputable standing, to replace the earlier term.

Because both these tinged words are to appear often in the paragraphs ahead, I can express myself safely only if I define them from the start. "Propaganda" and "information," used interchangeably below, refer simply to those official programs by which the United States Government has sought since World War II to explain to the outside world its philosophy as a nation of free people, its position as a leading member of the family of free nations, its determined opposition to Soviet aggression threatening the individual rights it cherishes, and its hopes for cooperation with other nations of good will and peaceful intent. Neither word is intended to possess connotations beyond that framework.

No American this side of treason, it seems to me, would approach a problem of national welfare without assuming that the United States is a long-range proposition, here to stay and to stay strong. To assume less than that would be hardly adequate in the face of opposing Soviet efforts.

If the United States is indeed to be considered a long-range proposition, then it is to be presumed that it would live through any World War III now projected against it, or that might be projected against it. What may *follow* World War III is therefore a reasonable part of wise current planning.

It is further assumed that in order to meet the threat of war, and maybe war itself, the United States will need allies. Even with this country's might, the world task is too big to tackle alone. Nor can peace, either, be won without friends abroad, without nations believing enough in us to want to deal with us and to cooperate with us for the common good.

Built in Permanence

In this context, national propaganda designed to encourage or convince peoples abroad—our real and potential friends, first of all, and maybe eventually those now unfriendly—must carry with it, even in its short-range output, overtones which reveal this belief in the permanence of America and in its worthwhile role in the years ahead. It must also include the picture of a future broad enough to offer room for faith on the part of others than just Americans, room for the faith of the very people we seek to convince.

The study of a purposeful American propaganda for our time therefore properly concerns a program for the current postwar, the future until war (if it comes), the new war period (if it must be), and the new peace after the war. Any consideration short of this represents less than we may expect our opponents to be doing. For there is every indication that the Russians have learned well one of the highly revealing tenets of Lenin: that "the soundest strategy in war . . . is to postpone operations until the moral disintegration of the enemy renders the delivery of the mortal blow both possible and easy." What this Soviet strategy carries with it, of course, is a projection of one of the instruments used in waging the war into "waging" the peace after war—a people already propagandized before and during the war is considered to be that much easier to control when the

"pride in the past faith in the future progress together"

war is over. We Americans—we Westerners in general—have not yet grasped the full implications of this truth.

All this dictates a new psychological approach to our task. This new approach involves, among other things, a re-evaluation of accomplishment in point of time. A wise American observer has correctly understood that "one of our greatest difficulties as a people is our impatience to get vexing problems solved and out of the way." If the task ahead is as long-range as it now appears, then no short-range propaganda program, with no broader basis than expediency in each new situation as it arises, can help much in accomplishing it. But that is something that we should be telling ourselves and our compatriots at every step of the way, else disappointment and disillusionment, just in terms of time, will repeatedly complicate at home the propaganda job to be done abroad.

It seems probable that the time is indeed here for encouraging our propaganda to grow up to the task at hand. For on one side, our leaders have now had more than a decade in which to experiment with propaganda possibilities; and on the other side, there is a growing realization among Americans, at last, that the problems facing America are not to be solved within five years, or within ten years, or within a generation—world leadership simply does not exist in a framework of that size.

Concrete Goals

The history of American overseas information, as "information" is generally understood today, begins with World War II. In those relatively uncomplicated early days, the program had two concrete and clearly defined goals: (1) to help prosecute the war, by whatever methods appropriate to the program's nature and statute; and (2) to reveal America to the friendly curious and the objectively doubtful, cut off for six long years from any open contact with the United States. The aims were thus simple, the program relatively down-to-earth. Most of the operating personnel, top to bottom, felt they knew where they were going.

The end of the war left American propagandists a bit perplexed. Born of emergency and nurtured by expediency, the Office of War Information had thought ahead to the peace only to the extent that it sensed that America would be better loved by foreign peoples if it were better understood by them. There is certainly nothing wrong with that point of view. It is valid enough to demand the best possible efforts on the part of those seeking a worthwhile information program.

The important element involved, however, was to determine in what direction the right answers lie. And it is here, in my estimation, that the United States information services have continued to make their most costly errors.

For when we transferred from wartime information to peacetime information, the tendency was much more toward solving our propaganda problems through organization than through philosophy, and this emphasis, based upon erroneous notions in the beginning, has plagued the information services ever since. The almost incredible series of reorganizations within these services, since 1945, has prevented both the emergence of a consistent program and the solid thinking that might conceivably have led to one.

It is obviously easy to exaggerate the negative effects due to this over-preoccupation with reorganization. In our propaganda work abroad, the work has gone on, most of the time, without being unduly affected by bureaucratic changes in Washington, just because the public relations side of the effort has been relatively clear, and executed, under whatever organization. But in Washington, these reorganizations not only have betrayed a search for something not yet attained, not yet understood, but also have kept those responsible for the program too busy justifying positions repeatedly being set up ever to permit the right solution to come to light.

Lack of National Program

In this situation, our propagandists abroad and those at home preparing material for distribution abroad have continued to obtain better results, I think, than would automatically have been provoked or engendered by the program itself. The lack of any effective beam to guide them was the fault, let me hasten to say, of no particular individual or group of individuals. Least of all to be blamed, perhaps, were the much-maligned few designated as "responsible for policy and/or administration." On the contrary, the difficulty grew largely out of the very fact that a small group had been pointed at and told: "Get on with whatever line you can work out. Think up a philosophy." Nothing was set up as a *national* program, designed to express the *national* will, the *national* aspiration, the *national* faith. In other words, what success the information program had came *in spite of* the lack of a directing, guiding program, with a central, forward-looking philosophy, just because the job, however vaguely defined, was there to be done and there were imaginative, circumspect people, by and large, to do it.

A detailed study of the program in operation since the war would reveal some highly worthwhile accomplishments. I think its real value could be measured if one were to point

out all the many situations in assorted sections of the world that would beyond doubt be much worse had not the information forces focussed their attention on these situations. I think the exchange of persons program alone has already built up credits for America on which this nation, if it handles correctly its future dealings with these exchangees, will be able to draw for many years to come. But, once more, these positive accomplishments, solid enough in themselves to justify what has gone into them, represent less than the American public in general, and the information directors in particular, seriously believed would result from the effort expended.

What then is *really* wrong? Why do not reorganizations, the answer to so many of America's domestic ills, help here? Why will they never help much, even if we reorganize from now until the crack of doom?

I think it is simply that, since the end of the war, the message of our information service has not been worthy of either the people whose story it seeks to tell or even, more narrowly, of those who try so earnestly to pass it out to the foreign audience. That is why no mechanism yet devised has ever been felt to be satisfactory. That is partly why none of the many systems set up has been given time enough to prove itself, or to improve its product. We are so preoccupied with efficiency that we forget that efficiency alone is hollow. It takes *time* to think through an information program, even with the very best minds at it. It also takes a minimum of tranquility. And both have been denied to those charged with the "propaganda output," largely because of this constant obsession with reorganization.

No Consistent Story

The inevitable result is a basic information philosophy so shifting and disconnected as to be without force when translated into the story we give out. In fact, it turns out to be no consistently recognizable story at all. All the drama that has been, and still is, America, is too often drowned in complacency and boastfulness or, worse still, in a kind of saccharine false modesty. A product so shallow is relatively easy to prepare, and may be all that one can expect from a group constantly interrupted for reorganization and/or justification. All that America wants to bring to the world—wants sincerely to bring to the world—is clouded bacause no clear hope for a better future is presented, no program that will offer room to anyone except bigger and better Americans. What has proven good for America is taken to be good for the rest of the world, and it is assumed that abroad only the obstinate and the stupid will fail to recognize the fact immediately.

The program of the Office of War Information contributed to the winning of the war because, whatever its weaknesses (organizational or otherwise), it could not possibly fail to be of some assistance in a mission so specifically indicated. It succeeded less well as it phased into its postwar task because (better organized or not) it did not get in harmony with over-all national strategy. Once more, the fault was not entirely its own, for the possibilities it offered were frequently not recognized, and were often blocked by those who preferred to believe that the United States had no more explaining to do in the postwar than in the prewar. As a program, it came to be the weak product of compromise between its critics and its advocates.

I think we came to be dissatisfied with the "full and fair" picture of America, the earliest manifestation of the postwar program, largely because we felt a little dishonest about it. At best, we could really do what we said we were doing through one medium only—exchange of persons—and that was but a small part of the over-all activity; nothing else was allowed time enough to do the job. The picture was in reality neither "full" *nor* "fair."

When we said that that was not enough and sought to broaden the scope of our work, in the Campaign of Truth and the anti-Communist drive, we swung hard away from the "full and fair," thus exaggerating its weaknesses (which certainly did not add up to failure), left locked up in our files the positive aspects it offered (for the example of America, even when inadequately presented, did serve as a partial guide and some encouragement to those wanting hard enough to profit by its lesson), and became merely negative. The Campaign of Truth was based too frequently upon variations of "what-has-been-said-by-the-willfully-untruthful-is-not-so" and not frequently enough upon any program looking to a better future.

In fact, we have not yet talked much in the future tense. The hope we seem to present to our audience abroad is for maintenance of the *status quo,* our *status quo.* To many foreigners, we seem to want to keep what we have and to show no very real way they can come in on it with us. Material aid of itself is not enough, because it offers nothing permanent to believe in. Even under the best of circumstances, it has convinced few who did not want to be convinced already. Those to whom we try to explain it cannot quite believe the aid is genuine. Their sophistication and general experience tell them that the whole story is certainly not being presented. And I suspect it *is* true that we have too strongly underlined the altruism behind American aid (a very genuine altruism, nonetheless, but not the only element involved), without admitting openly enough its realistic side—that we are naturally seeking to help ourselves materially as we help others materially. Just calling it "Mutual Aid" or "Mutual Security" has not carried enough of the message. Consciously or unconsciously, the foreign audience feels that the part left out is purposely hidden.

Aspects of Soviet Propaganda

It is probably no answer to seek a solution to our problems in the enemy camp. But Soviet propaganda has in it two aspects that lend it, I think, distinct advantages over our own. One is the broad central stream in its output, so broad and central that it can serve not only as the constantly recurring theme of the Soviet point of view, but also as the carrying force for any tributary themes they may wish, out of expediency, to introduce. The struggle of the "masses" against the "bourgeoisie" permits of interpretations so wide and varied that any detail-theme, based or not on current happenings, may be made to fit into it. The "stream" flows on forever.

The second advantageous aspect is that the stream is said to be rolling toward a better future for all who follow its current. Its swell is strong enough to lead the whole world to brighter days, no matter what the hardships along the way. Since there is no schedule for reaching the ultimate sea, there are no disappointments when problems are not solved promptly. The stream thus represents a religion, and

the faithful who navigate it participate themselves in the creation of the Promised Land reserved sooner or later to the triumphant masses.

Now all sorts of valid criticisms can of course be levelled against Soviet propaganda. It is an understatement to say that it is even more negative than our own—not as a tactic (since it does make telling use of the future), but because its initial tenets are completely false. But I submit that until we define our broad themes—the ones we live and stand by in any situation, simply because they transcend situations—and until we can present a better future than the better future of the Russian Communists, for more peoples than just Americans, the winning of the Cold War is going to be hard indeed and the avoidance of World War III even harder. And the toilers in the field of our propaganda will continue to feel the lack of something vitally necessary to the complete success of their efforts.

Good Interpreters Needed

The cleverest of themes can be ruined by the wrong interpreters—as the Russians themselves have often enough demonstrated. In whatever we try to compound as a message to the world we seek to lead, there should be given more careful attention to the messengers used to carry it. For certain well-meaning but misguided interpreters have had the doubly harmful role of failing properly to translate America's hopes, and of influencing adversely the decisions involved in establishing central, over-all propaganda themes.

Our experience thus far ought to warn us particularly against two types of such propangandists. They represent, in a sense, the extremes among those engaged in the information effort. One type is the professional American publicist. He is the one who considers any available surface abroad as suitable billboard space for advertising the American way of life and its beneficence. It is he who would proclaim the bounties of the Marshall Plan from the Eiffel Tower, since the Eiffel Tower was obviously being used to advertise nothing else! Now there is no doubt that the techniques of American advertising can be profitably adapted in part and certain cases to the dissemination of the American propaganda theme, whatever it may be. But in practice the professional publicist charged with carrying the information message has followed all the cardinal rules of his trade except the most important one—that of analysing his "market," his public, his audience. Too often he has had little background in the life and aspiration of people abroad. In a big hurry to get results, he has talked to these people as though to fellow-Americans. No one *with* the foreign background he lacked could fail to predict the result of such unintelligent propaganda. It just inevitably boomerangs.

We have had unfortunate experience with the other type of undesirable propangandist, too. He is what might be termed the common-denominatorist. He bases the American message he tries to transmit upon his belief that nothing can be really carried out unless it is part of the pattern of thinking and living of both the United States and the country he is addressing. He feels that the goal cannot be reached unless we are loved by all peoples abroad. He shuns elements of policy that may be unpleasant. In general, he is either an expatriate in spirit (more nearly allied in his thinking with the audience than with real Americans), or else he is the professional do-gooder. In either case, he lacks judgment and strength, and so does the program he directs.

It seems to me obvious that neither of these types must again be permitted to influence our propaganda program abroad. The one is too aggressive in his ignorance, the other too uncircumspect in his knowledge. The publicist should be asked to ponder the wisdom of the fourth point of President Eisenhower's inaugural address:

> "Honoring the identity and the special heritage of each nation in the world, we shall never use our strength to try to impress upon another people our own cherished political and economic institutions."

As for the well-meaning partisan of the common denominator, he needs to be told that he has no place in a meaningful propaganda program until he can add substance and direction to his sentimental idealism; at the very least, he needs the common denominator . . . *plus*.

Yet certain elements in these two points of view are indeed valid. Just as there are adaptations to be made, under favorable and appropriate circumstances, of American publicity methods, so there *are* common factors to be considered, between ourselves and our audiences abroad, as a basis for understanding on the part of the propagandist and as a basis on which to build whatever information program is determined upon in any given area. Such a basis will of course vary from country to country, depending upon all sorts of factors that compare these countries to or contrast them with the United States. Out of this variety comes the relief which lends depth and meaning to what would otherwise be an uninteresting, ineffective propaganda. Through this variety, the receiving audience in the individual country recognizes nuances meaningful to it alone because designed for it alone.

Floating in Space

But such nusances become possible only in the context of time, so to speak. To many of our friends abroad, our information program seems to be floating in space, without any markers to indicate position or movement. They feel that too much of it is dictated by the present. Too little of it appears to them to be based on anything in the past; too little of it reveals anything definite planned for the future.

Too little of it considers the past. Yet the one donominator common to *all* countries to whose people we try to speak is pride in their own past. If that past has been glorious, there is pride in accomplishment; if it has been mediocre or bankrupt, there is pride in suffering. We have not yet made enough of these truths. Our propaganda effort began with helping to win World War II and bringing the outside world up-to-date on what had been happening to us since 1940. Even our own past, before 1940, has been relatively neglected, save for a certain amount of material on general American history. There is of course good reason for this, when we want to be honest about it—the 'thirties represent no very strong selling points in the face of certain opposition propaganda continually citing those years as proof of a particularly distasteful economic thesis. I am surely not

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Leslie Snowden Brady, now assigned to Paris, wrote "Patterns for Propaganda" following work in this field at the National War College last year. After working with the Office of War Information, he entered the Department in 1945 and has since served in Paris and Saigon.

Under the Bridal Veil

By Elizabeth Scott

THE cadaverous rickshaw wallah pedalled through the Bengal sun. A broken spring of the seat pinched and jabbed her whenever they hit a rut in the muddy Dacca lanes. As a distraction from the heat and traffic hazards, Betty rehearsed the names of jewelry she would be expected to know at this party. A *Tikka* is a forehead ornament, a *Karanphul* is an ear flower or fairly complex ear ring, a *Guluband* is a heavily studded collar, and a *Kara* is a circular ring for wrist or ankle. A *Pazeb* is a most ornate ankle bracelet and what they called the nostril jewel she couldn't remember.

Betty was very grateful to Mrs. Dalal, who had introduced her to the secrets of the sari. One morning Mrs. Dalal had brought seven saris and matching blouses to Hildreth McKaye's house in Nawabpur. All of the guests were westeners and beside Betty the Consulate was represented by Ruby Nell Garrett. The snug fitting little blouse was no mystery to the foreigners, but the six yards of straight cloth of the sari was. Starting at the waist, with several flicks of her graceful fingers, Mrs. Dalal wound the cloth around the body several times, achieving a lovely central pleating effect under the right arm, across the body to the left shoulder and allowed to fall down the back. To acquire the gracious flowing lines of the sari without benefit of stitch or pin left the foreigners speechless. As simple as it had seemed, none of them was able to "fold" a sari alone. Mrs. Dalal tactfully encouraged them with the reminder that Pakistani ladies learn the art very young and practice it several times a day.

Betty was relieved to arrive finally at the bridal reception. Once up the wide white stairs, the coolness of the verandah was extremely welcome, as she glanced around for some sort of path through the sandal-strewn porch. To honor the bride, she had worn nylon stockings and had been regretting it for the last humid hour. She knew the other guests would be wearing ankle bracelets and even toe rings, and she felt that bare unadorned feet would be too casual for this party. Her linen pumps clung irritatingly to the nylon but finally she freed them and dropped the shoes noisily to the red floor. Against the far wall of the porch, she noticed four tea stall chairs—a very plebian touch. These apparently were for the hooded cloaks, called *burkahs*, of the few ladies who observed purdah. A doorway was next to the chairs so that the *burkah* could be slipped off and the guest step inside the building without being seen by any passing men. The grey-green and black *burkahs* were thrown in a sombre heap with the same casualness as the chaos of gold and silver sandals at her feet.

Behind the Blue Curtain

A slender bearer with scarlet and gold turban salammed and held aside a vivid blue door curtain for her. After the premonsoon glare, Betty was partially blinded and hesitated to walk further into the strange house until her eyes had adjusted themselves. Standing quietly, she noticed the subtle fragrance that well-bred Pakistani ladies use. Their vivid color schemes and exotic cosmetics probably prompt them to underplay their use of perfume, and they usually impress the foreigner with a fresh clean unsophisticated scent. Directly across the football-field size hall, Betty could see five doorways with the same blue curtains. A breeze blew one of them aside and she had a glimpse of a sun-swept tropical garden. It was a quiet room and she was beginning to wonder where the party was when she looked away from the garden and saw it at her feet. About one-hundred Pakistani ladies wearing saris of every color were looking up at her with both friendliness and curiosity. At last Betty saw the *Tikka*, *Guluband*, *Pazeb* and other delicate jewelry in a perfect environment, modelled by lovely ladies of the Moslem orient. The graceful silk billows and pleats framed each seated figure. Their eyes were enhanced by the bold black of surma outline and their hands and feet hennaed to a brick red. The plain white walls and simple blue curtains made a perfect background for these exquisite figures on the dark blue carpets.

Betty hurried across the rug to find a place on the fringe of the guests. As are most westerners, she was acutely conscious of her legs in this group. Her skirt length may have Dior's blessing, but Paris and Pakistan are separated by centuries of clothing tradition. Once she was seated, the silence of the room was broken by soft sweet Bengali, as all of the guests resumed talking.

Then she noticed her hostess, Begum Khan, standing in a doorway leading to one of the dining rooms. Bearers, the only men at the party, were arranging cups and saucers and the dishes of curry, trays of *chappatis* and platters of small cup cakes which would be served later. A very graceful girl in a crimson sari with the old-fashioned wide border stepped up to the Begum and pointed over to where Betty was sitting. Thanking her, the older woman immediately came through the seated figures to Betty, who stood to shake hands with her. Begum Khan was well educated and patriotic in her enthusiasm for Pakistan. At Government House Tea parties and Girl Guide rallies, she had often helped Betty by suggesting books to read, people to meet and local places to visit. The American was grateful for her kindness and respected her intelligence.

This reception was to welcome to Dacca Begum Khan's Bihar daughter-in-law. Betty asked about the wedding trip to India, conditions above Calcutta and the health of all concerned. Begum Khan answered and then led her over to the side wall and a large black leather couch, as uncompromising to sit on as it was to look at. It was evident it had been left in the room because an American guest was

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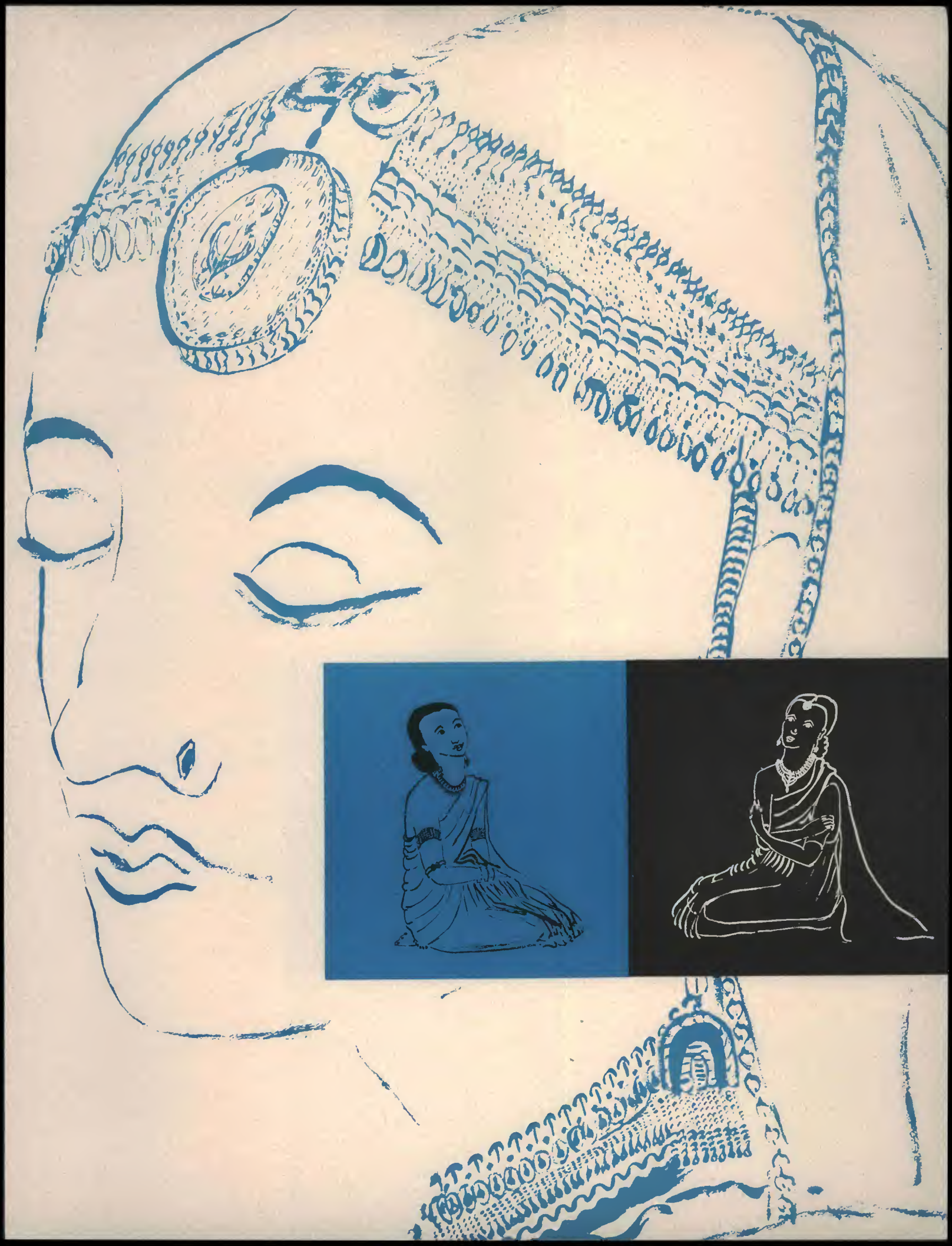


RECENT

By Philip F. Dur

excavations at st. peters

Saint Peter's Church in the Vatican, originally constructed by Constantine, and rebuilt in the XVIth century, is the largest and in many ways the most significant of all Christian shrines. Tradition has long held that the church was erected over the grave of the Apostle Peter, who had been put to death in the adjacent Circus of Nero about the year 64 A.D. The excavations conducted under the crypt of the basilica during the past ten years at the direction of the present Pope have shed new light on this old tradition.

The excavations at Saint Peter's, first announced to the world during the jubilee of 1950, are not yet open to the public. It is nonetheless possible to visit them with special permission. Several prominent archeologists of different faiths have already had access to the underground monument. The writer of this article had the good fortune, although in every sense a layman and uninitiate, to be conducted through the excavations at the end of May of this year by one of the archeologists in charge of the digging, Father Kirschbaum of the Society of Jesus. This learned German Jesuit, attached to the Gregorian University in Rome, has been largely responsible for unearthing the foundations of Michelangelo's great basilica. He conducted us with courteous attention through his findings, answering questions and giving explanations with the enthusiasm of a scholar in love with his work. These notes are based on a layman's observations and recollection of the archeological revelations to which he introduced us.

The entrance to the excavations lies through the crypt in the southern arm of the transept of the basilica. From thence a flight of stairs leads down about ten feet to a door in the foundation wall of Constantine's basilica. This door was built by the masons who worked on the original structure in order to bring in bricks and mortar. The wall is several feet thick. The foundations of Saint Peter's go down very deep at this point, because of the configuration of the soil. Viewed from the Piazza San Pietro, the basilica seems to stand on a slight elevation, but nonetheless on level ground. This impression is illusory as a visit underground at once reveals. The Vatican hill slopes steeply from north to south and more gently from west to east. In order to build his church Constantine therefore cut into the hill on the north and west, while he had to fill in the depression on the south and east.

The excavations beneath the crypt have unearthed a Roman cemetery and at the same time revealed the engineering trick by which Constantine balanced his church on the flank of the Vatican hill. The Roman cemetery on the Vatican like many other cemeteries in Latin countries even today was occupied chiefly by little family mausoleums, small houses of the dead, in whose walls sarcophagi and funeral urns were ranged. The floor of the crypt of Saint Peter's rests directly on the walls of these little mausoleums. By knocking out their roofs and filling them up with rubble Constantine provided a honeycomb foundation for the floor of his church. The excavations have cleared that part of the cemetery which lies under the crypt of Saint Peter's. The digging has, however, stopped there for the time being, since the engineering difficulties in the way of clearing the area immediately under the floor of the nave are enough to give even an archeologist pause. It must not be forgotten that the hill slopes away to the east and that consequently the filled-in space becomes deeper and deeper the farther one proceeds down the nave towards the entrance.

Circus of Nero

One of the first revelations of these diggings was that Constantine's church is not superimposed on the Circus of Nero, as some earlier scholars had surmised. The location of that circus from which Sixtus V's obelisk on the Piazza San Pietro may have come is still undetermined, although it is definitely known to have been in the vicinity. By a lucky accident the last masoleum unearthed at the eastern limit of the digging carries an inscription quoting the last will and testament of the owner who had requested burial in the Vatican "next to the Circus of Nero." Another discovery is that the Via Cornelia which, on some maps, is represented as running under Saint Peter's is not to be found here. Presumably it lies farther to the north on Vatican hill.

The mausoleums under Saint Peter's are aligned in two parallel rows running from east to west. The first or downhill row is spaced so as to allow for passage between the buildings. The second row lies farther uphill. It is continuous. Some of the structures in this second row have stairs leading up to the hill behind. There was presumably no third row. The houses in the first row were reached directly from the Via Aurelia below, while those in the second row were accessible either by passing through the first row or by descending from the hill above. The alignment of the two

(*Continued on page* 60)

WASHINGTON
THE WHITE HOUSE

Christmas, 1953

To All Members of the Foreign Service:

The Christmas Season brings into sharp focus our purpose to achieve an international order in which nations, guided by the principles of brotherhood, shall live in peace.

To you, whose daily labors contribute so much to the security and well-being of our people and to the peaceful resolution of international tensions, I express my sincere appreciation. The very real progress our nation has made in the cause of peace is traceable, in no small measure, to your able and conscientious discharge of your duties.

The spirit of Christmas is indeed the spirit of peace. I can offer no better wish than that it be with you every day of the coming year.

Dwight D. Eisenhower

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
Washington

Christmas, 1953

To my Fellow Workers in the Department and the Foreign Service:

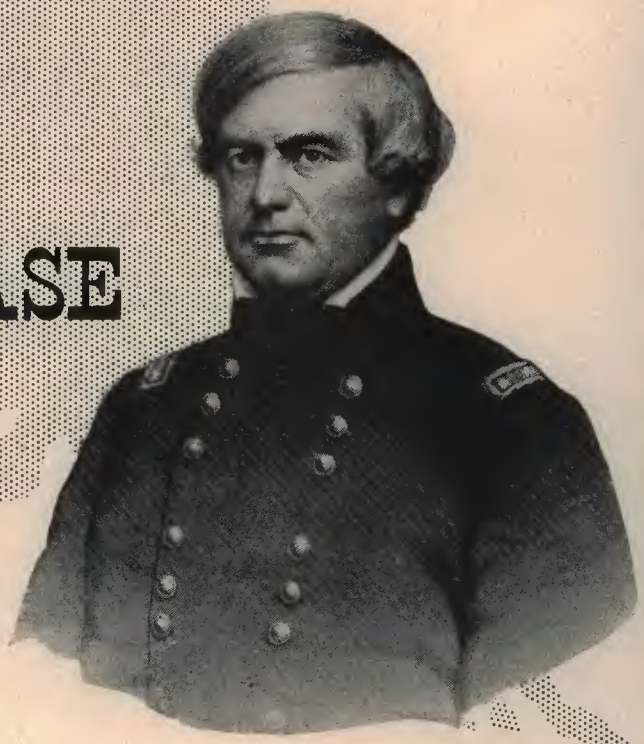
On the advent of this holiday season, I welcome the opportunity to offer you my best wishes for a joyous Christmas and a good New Year.

During this last year, we have faced together many trying problems. That some have been solved and others eased is due, I feel, in good measure to your faithful and conscientious discharge of your responsibilities. For your devotion to the welfare of this country, and for your unflagging work for the cause of peace, I am deeply grateful.

The year to come will bring its new problems. With your support we shall continue our advance toward the common objective.

To all of you, at home and abroad, a very happy Christmas and a rewarding New Year.

CASSIUS CLAY AND THE ALASKA PURCHASE



By B. G. Newhoff

When Alaska becomes a state the dream of Lincoln's Minister to Russia will be realized, his vision justified. As early as 1863 Cassius M. Clay believed the United States should own what was then Russian America, not because he shared the current popular belief in Manifest Destiny but for our own protection against attack from the north.

Clay was noted as an abolitionist. In his native Kentucky today that is how he is remembered; his long and useful service to his country in Russia is practically unknown. Yet he was the first American Minister to the country of the Czars who got to know intimately, and to like thoroughly, all classes of the Russian people from Alexander II down.

The St. Petersburg post was not of Clay's choosing, however. As a Republican he had worked hard for the election of five Presidential candidates; when one, Lincoln, was elected, Clay expected a reward. He wanted to be named Minister to England or France, but these posts had already been promised to other men. Only two places of consequence were left to be filled, in Spain and Russia. Carl Schurz also was to receive a ministerial reward, and since, being a political refugee, he was *persona non grata* to Russia, he was sent to Madrid and Clay went to St. Petersburg.

Clay accepted his mission saying, "Russia is a great and young nation and must much influence the great crises." During his years there he always regarded himself as "a sentinel on the frontier."

Russia had never been a popular post with Americans. John Randolph of Roanoke liked it so little he returned home on the same boat that took him over. Clay was from the start determined to like Russia. A man of very strong feelings, his liking increased during his stay in the country.

The War Between the States had already begun when he arrived in St. Petersburg, then the capital, in 1861. Clay's entire career in Russia up to and including the negotiations for the Alaska Purchase was influenced by that conflict.

Although a Kentuckian, Clay's sympathies were wholly with the Union. By 1862 he felt he must actively participate in the war and he came home. His previous service in the army during the Mexican War had made him a seasoned commander. While he was in this country, his place in St. Petersburg was taken by Simon Cameron, who had been inept as Lincoln's Secretary of War and who was to be equally ineffectual as Minister to Russia.

Prince Gortchacow, Russia's Foreign Minister, asked for Clay's return. In 1863 Clay went back, to remain, without another home leave, until after Grant's inauguration.

First Deep Interest

It was on that return trip to Russia that Clay first became deeply interested in Russian America. Like most of his contemporaries, if he had thought of the region at all he had pictured it as a land of perpetual snow and cold. On this crossing R. J. Walker, who had been Polk's Secretary of War, was a passenger. This man had gained intimate knowledge of Russian America during the clash with England over the Canadian boundary when the national slogan was "54-40" or Fight. At that time Russia had considered ceding its American territory to the United States. From this knowledge Walker was able to convince Clay the region was important to us, particularly in war time. At the beginning of his second ministry Clay strongly urged our government to fortify Portland Harbor and Portland Canal, northeast coast entrance to Alaska.

As the War Between the States continued, the need for

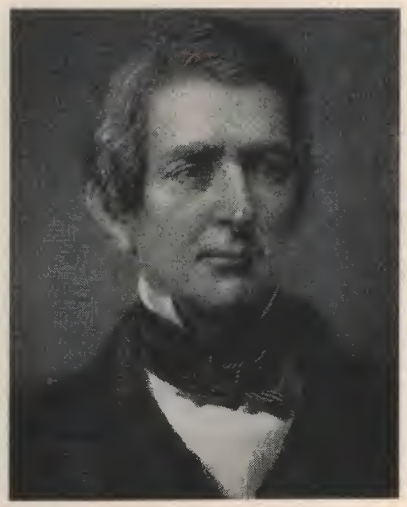
protection in that area was demonstrated when the Confederate cruiser Shenandoah did several million dollars damage to Union shipping in far northern waters.

Both England and France had more or less openly championed the Confederacy. Russia had a long tradition of friendship with the United States, which Clay was successful in strengthening during this critical period. He himself wrote, "I strive to please." Part of that pleasing was in his lavish entertainments to which all Russian notables were invited. But more was in his political sagacity and his unusual personality. Frank, blunt, courteous, he gained the confidence of the imperial family and kept the court party on the Union side during the war.

In the winter of 1863-4 the Russian fleets were kept in American waters: the Asiatic fleet off California and the Atlantic in New York and other east coast ports. Whatever the reason for those ships' wintering here was, Russian friendship for a struggling Union or Russian fear of England, their presence deterred the British from coming into the war on the Confederate side. Clay ever afterward considered this Russian gesture an important factor in the final Union victory. His gratitude for it probably colored all his later negotiations in Russia.

He began to seek, and to find, analogies between Russia and the United States. Both were young, newly aware of their strength. Russia's freeing the serfs in 1861 was analogous to our Emancipation Proclamation. Even Lincoln's assassination and the attempt on the life of Alexander II were similar. Clay always emphasized the likenesses and minimized the differences between the two nations; thus he gained influence in Russia.

Today, with world affairs what they are, Clay's attitude may seem strange, but it was not his alone. At this time Oliver Wendell Holmes was writing of Russia, "Our friend when the world was our foe."



Secretary of State Seward

Since the first permanent Russian settlement was made on Kodiak Island in 1783, Russian America was ruled not by the Czar but by the Russian American Company. This organization had much the same objective as the Hudson Bay Company, with which it was frequently in conflict. The Russian American Company had neither encouraged settlement nor established industries. Its only interest was in furs, but due to mistreatment of the natives and other mismanagement, its shares on the market had dropped from 500 to 75 rubles each. Clay learned that when the company's lease expired it would not be renewed.

Russia had not been receiving enough revenue from the company to make renewal profitable. The Hudson Bay Company, which had forced the Russian American Company to grant it a sublease, was steadily encroaching on Russian territory and an open struggle seemed inevitable. These were some of the reasons Russia wanted to abandon the territory when the leases expired in 1866. Also, it needed money. The American territory had been acquired during Peter the Great's era of expansion. Russia was still expanding, but by the mid 1860's the direction was east instead of north.

When it was generally learned that the lease to the Russian American Company would not be renewed, there were various plans for taking over the territory. A group of men in California were ready to buy it, and Canada was bidding for it.

Fearful of Intentions

The United States, just recovering from war, was not too eager to add to its territory, but it could not permit private citizens to buy so large an area nor did it want England's American possessions enlarged. We are fearful of that nation's intentions as was Russia. Our relations with her both during and since the war had been strained. Considered opinion in Washington was that as soon as the lease expired, the British would move in from Canada and take over the territory. Clay knew of this talk.

He advised the Russians to sell the territory to the United States. Later he wrote to Seward, "I may safely say that it was owing to the good relations I had been able to maintain with Russia that such a purchase was possible." Part of these "good relations" was his attitude favoring Russia in the Perkins affair which might have created ill feeling between the two countries.

During the Crimean War Captain Benjamin Perkins of Boston tried to make a contract to deliver much needed arms and ammunition to Russia, which was under blockade, with Baron Edouard de Stoeckl, Russian Minister in Washington. Later Perkins declared there had been an oral contract, which de Stoeckl denied. The war ended without any delivery having been made. Perkins sued Russia for $200,000, which he claimed was the loss he suffered through the deal. De Stoeckl continued to insist there had been no deal. Clay had to present this claim, which he believed to be fraudulent, to Prince Gortchacow much against his better judgment. When the case came to trial in New York, Perkins was awarded $200 damages.

Clay did the ground work for our purchase of Alaska, finding out if the Russians would sell, urging them to sell to us and learning what their lowest price was. Secretary of State Seward and de Stoeckl had to make the actual treaty. One of Seward's hopes in buying Alaska was that enlarging

(*Continued on page* 52)

B. G. Newhoff, of Versailles, Kentucky has had material published in more than thirty magazines. He was introduced to Cassius Clay through a friend's exquisitely wrought old Russian silver, would like to write a biography of Clay.

1

3

SERVICE

4

1. Waldemar J. Gallman, Ambassador to South Africa, lays the foundation stone of the new teachers' college building at Adams College near Durban, Natal, on the occasion of the School's centenary. Adams College claims to be the oldest school in Natal as it is the successor to the Province's first school which was founded by Dr. Newton Adams, an American missionary, in 1836.

2. Pictured at the Chiefs of Mission meeting in Vienna this fall are, left to right: the Honorable Llewellyn E. Thompson, Jr., Ambassador to Austria; Assistant Secretary of State Livingston T. Merchant; the Honorable Christian M. Ravndal, Minister to Hungary; the Honorable Joseph Flack, Ambassador to Poland; the Honorable Harold Shantz, Minister to Roumania; the Honorable Charles E. Bohlen, Ambassador to the USSR; and the Honorable George Wadsworth, Ambassador to Czechoslovakia.

3. Consul and Mrs. Harold D. Pease were received by the Lord and Lady Mayoress of Newcastle-on-Tyne, Eng-

2

GLIMPSES

5

6

land, at a reception held just prior to the official closing of the Consulate at that city in October.

4. In December 1952 in Manila Charles G. Wootton ably portrayed Santa Claus at the ECHO December sale. The children were in turn thrilled, amused, frightened, skeptical, but the pictures taken of them on his knee netted $47.50 for ECHO.

5. Vice-President Richard M. Nixon was greeted at Melbourne with a baby koala. It is being held by Mrs. Joyce Seekamp, of the Melbourne Zoo staff.

6. Two prominent Americans who claim the state of Maryland as their home exchanged greetings in Rangoon recently. The Honorable William J. Sebald, Ambassador to Burma, officially greeted members of the U. S. House of Representatives Armed Forces Subcommittee, which included Rep. James P. S. Devereux of Maryland. Rep. Devereux, during World War II, valiantly resisted Japanese forces in defending the beleaguered garrison at Wake Island.

visa operation in MEXICO

All applicants are greeted at the reception desk, where the type of visa they are seeking is determined and they are given an appointment. The author can be seen in the above photograph helping to reduce the size of the waiting line.

Felipe Barragan, a Mexican clerk, is taking the fingerprints of an applicant.

Consul General W. K. Ailshie hears the appeal of an applicant who has been refused a visa by Consul Warren C. Stewart (left), Chief of the Visa Section.

By Sidney Weintraub

The total number of visas of all types combined that are issued annually by Embassy, Mexico City, is larger than that of any other American post in the world. Consequently, all problems which are encountered at any visa office are familiar problems here, and for the most part, the familiarity is multiplied many times. On an average slow day the visa shop here issues about 150 visas and ordinarily runs up against and solves 150 problems; during a rush period, such as before Easter or before Christmas, issuance runs close to 300 visas daily, which does not double the office's problems but multiplies them geometrically.

Over and above the usual cases encountered by most offices, Mexico's proximity to the United States, and its lower standard of living, makes the visa issuance at this office somewhat more tricky than at a place like Paris, for instance. A non-immigrant visa (NIV) at this office entails only a small and relatively inexpensive trip for the applicant and this naturally affects the visa volume; it also means that greater caution must be used in determining which applicants are bonafide non-immigrants. An estimated two million migrant farm workers cross the Mexican border into the United States annually, and the visa office has to be careful not to swell this load through its visa operation. Mexican nationals with relatives in large United States' industrial cities know that jobs, at considerably higher pay than in Mexico, are available across the border and many such persons flock to the Embassy to request NIV's and then, if obtained, stay in the United States to work. Many such persons who originally enter the United States illegally, or who stay illegally after being granted a visa for a temporary stay, settle down in the United States, marry, have children, and eventually return to the Embassy to fix up permanent residence papers.

The quota problem at this office is not a difficult one, since the quota is limited in size, but it does exist. Mexico has for some time been a haven for refugees, and persons of all nationalities and origins can be found in Mexico City. Many of these have residence in the United States

as their ultimate goal.

The job of issuing visas to aliens is a much misunderstood operation, misunderstood not only by the aliens concerned, by American friends or relatives, but even by Foreign Service personnel not directly involved in visa issuance. The operation at an office which issues a dozen or so visas a week bears about as much resemblance to the operation at a factory like Mexico City as does the running of the corner candy store to the administration of the Government of the United States. Each visa must be processed, whether it be a question of one a day or of three-hundred a day, and each visa takes time to process. In every case, security files must be cleared, file cards pulled out, an application typed, the bona-fides of the applicant examined, pictures pasted, fingerprints taken, the visa written in the passport, the fee collected, the fee noted on a fee sheet, and the visa signed at least three times in every case. It doesn't take long to sign one's name three times; however, multiply these three times by three hundred, and even this small detail becomes a lengthy chore. This multiplication by 300 must be repeated for every detail in processing a visa, and it no longer remains a simple problem of multiplication but rather one of squaring to get any indication of the scope of the operation at a really large office.

Special Favors

When, during a busy rush period, Sr. X of the Foreign Office asks for special treatment of a friend, he does not believe he is asking for much. However, during a rush season Sr. X's friend is not the only person in a hurry, and there are always a few dozen Sr. X's who have a few dozen friends every day. This sort of special favor ordinarily entails hours of overwork daily during a busy period. The visa office of this Embassy also endeavers, despite the work it involves, to give considerate treatment to contacts of officers in other sections of the Embassy. The visa shop is one place where the foreigner is coming to the Embassy for something; political or economic officers generally are going to the foreign sources of contact to obtain information from them of use to our Government.

Public Law 414, 82nd Congress, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, the popularly known McCarran Act, has been, ever since the time of its inception, a widely and hotly discussed piece of legislation. It has had plenty of political repercussions, in Congress, in the recent Presidential contest, and today between the Executive and the Legislative branchs of the Government. The political ramifications of this act are not within the scope of this article. It is interesting, nevertheless, that despite this mountain of words on the McCarran Act and the philosophy which prompted it, how much misinformation about the act has been disseminated, even from responsible organs of the press. For instance, detractors of the act have complained, and given much publicity to refusals of NIV's based on security grounds "when the persons really were well known anti-Communists." The Act does exclude the admission of Communists or ex-Communists, but then goes on to make exception under Section 212 (I), as follows:

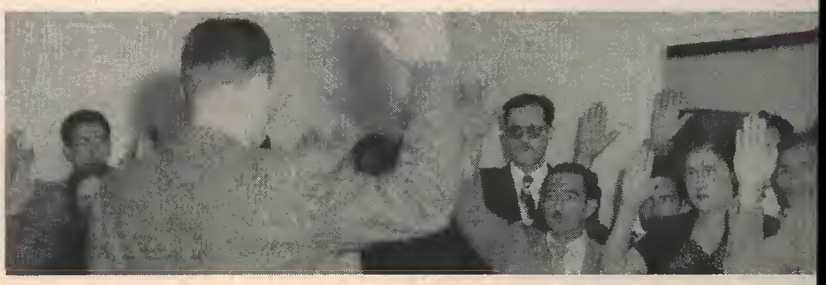
"(i) such membership or affiliation is or was involuntary, or is or was solely when under sixteen years of age, by operation of law, or for purposes of obtaining employment, food rations, or other essentials of living and where necessary for such purposes, or (ii) (a) since the termination of such membership of affiliation, such alien is and has been, for at least five years prior to the date of the application for a visa, actively opposed to the doctrine, program, principles, and ideology of such party or organization or the section, subsidiary, branch or affiliate or subdivision thereof, and (b) the admission of such alien into the United States would be in the public interest."

This does not mean that anti-Communists, let alone ex-Communists, are admissible to the United States under the McCarran Act. The security operation of a visa shop is not a loosely or viciously applied procedure. People are not refused visas based solely on wild rumors, unsubstantiated charges, or poison-pen letters. A visa refusal on security grounds is taken seriously and proper consideration is given such cases, all of which was contemplated under the McCarran Act. Every such refusal is made by the Chief of the Visa Section, and in important cases the refusal is personally reviewed by the Consul General.

On the other side of the picture, persons who favored the new Immigration and Nationality Act, point to the fact that it removes all discrimination, which it by no means does. The most visible substantiation of this is in the determination of which quota a given individual should be charged to. Basically, under Section 202 (a), ". . . the annual quota to which an immigrant is chargeable shall be determined by birth within a quota area. . ." However, a later part of this same section states ". . . any alien who is attributable by as much as one-half of his ancestry to a people or peoples indigenous to the Asia-Pacific triangle. . ." has a separate quota to be determined by further analysis. In other words, if such a person was born in Mexico, for instance, he would not be a non-quota immigrant, as are other persons born in Mexico, but his blood and not his country of birth becomes the determining factor. It might be added that the so-called Asia-Pacific triangle is a tremendous area.

It is with this Act, on the whole a sound compilation of the previous myriad pieces of legislation, despite its possible imperfections, that visa issuing offices throughout the world must operate. And it is with this act that Mexico City deals and issues 37,000 to 40,000 visa a year. Mexico City and Habana are by far the leading large volume posts, with London not a close third, Montreal a distant fourth, and Paris a weak fifth. Mexico City accomplished this great volume with a total personnel fewer than any one of the four posts which follow it in volume. At present the office is in comparatively sound shape personnel-wise, with about

(*Continued on page* 58)



The applicants here have successfully passed through the visa factory belt and the final step before the visa is issued is the swearing in as to the truth of their statements and their lack of membership in subversive organizations. Vice-Consul Charles J. Stolbrand III is administering the oath.

EDITORIALS

A WORLD OF CHRISTMAS

Because expatriation is their common lot no group is likely to be more poignantly aware of what it is to be an American than the members of the American Foreign Service. All of us have had the experience of celebrating Thanksgiving or the Fourth of July at posts of duty in foreign lands and know the special impact of patriotism at such times. The celebration of Christmas abroad, however, emphasizes another aspect of what it is to be an American. For in the spirit and meaning of Christmas all Christendom is one. At Christmas we Americans find ourselves united with others by bonds of common tradition, custom, and faith.

Christmas reminds us of what it is we Americans are defending against our opponents. It is not only our land; it is not only our material resources and standard of living; it is not even the American way of life by itself. What we are defending is that civilization which we call Christian and which today embraces so many nations, races, and creeds. Our own way of life is only one expression of that civilization for, like God's house, it contains many mansions.

Christian civilization is based on a concept of man which comes down to us through the Judaic-Christian tradition. Man, according to this concept, although full of evil, has a spark of divinity that makes him redeemable, that makes him potentially capable of discharging moral responsibility. This innate dignity entitles him to pursue his own development and seek his own salvation. But he cannot do so unless he is free and he can be free only where his diversity is tolerated. That is why we can have a President and others have a king; why we can speak one language and others another; why we can be Baptists or Catholics or Jews—yet all gather around the tree at Christmas, pledge one another in wassail, and count our gifts.

Against our diversity is the imposed uniformity of our opponents: one doctrine, one party, one creed, one chant, one indisseverable mass of bowed humanity that dare not celebrate Christmas openly because of the human dignity it implies.

So on Christmas we say: God bless us all! God bless the common cause of humanity!

ECONOMY AND THE FOREIGN SERVICE

In this issue we are publishing a letter from Fulton Freeman commenting on the impressive number of measures which have been recently taken to deprive Foreign Service personnel of direct and indirect financial benefits they have enjoyed for some years. The immediate cause for these economies is well and simply stated in Mr. Chaille's letter which also appears in these pages: the sharp reduction in the amount of funds appropriated by Congress for State Department and Foreign Service purposes during 1953-1954. We who have an opportunity to see at first hand the herculean efforts of the Department's administrative, budget and fiscal experts to keep the essential operations of our complex foreign affairs' machinery going under these straitened circumstances would like to call the attention of all Foreign Service readers to Mr. Chaille's appeal for greater understanding.

The heart of the matter is the public and thus Confressional attitude toward the value of our professional organization for the advancement of the national interest in foreign affairs. The men best and properly placed to influence this attitude are the politically responsible leaders of the Administration in the State Department and other executive agencies having to do with foreign affairs. We doubt that they would find a very receptive public or Congressional audience were they to contend that the morale of the Foreign Service has been undermined by reduction of the per diem on shipboard travel, even if the voyagers must go cabin class! And as long as freight allowances for the shipment of effects and the time requirements in connection therewith are within reasonable bounds, we do not see any real damage to the public interest in an occasional downward revision to save money for other more exigent purposes. Though there are some inequitable and impracticable features in the new regulations on the subject, we are not so sure that a convincing case can be made against the current effort to reduce accumulated leave. Such leave may in practice have become a kind of substitute for a separation allowance, but who is violating what sacred obligation when leave was never intended by Congress for such purposes? If there is a case to be made for a seperation bonus, should it not be made on different grounds? And while extending our sympathies to those who through no fault of their own, especially those of whatever branch who entered the Foreign Service as a career, have been brought home from the far corners of the world for separation from the Service, are we not agreed that a careful review of the extent to which certain functions were being performed abroad was in order?

Having said this, we wish to emphasize that some so-called economies can and do adversely affect the value of the Foreign Service as an instrument which can be employed by the President and the Secretary of State to further the national interest. From a perusal of the public hearings held before passage of the Rogers Act in 1924 and the Foreign Service Act of 1946, we know that it is the firm and long-standing intent of the American people and Congress that the Foreign Service of the United States be so constituted as to, in Mr. Freeman's words, "encourage the impecunious to aspire to a career in the Service." A representative Foreign Service requires a system of salaries and allowances which will enable persons of talent but without outside sources of wealth to enter and advance through the ranks; nor can the prestige and dignity of United States representatives be divorced entirely from monetary considerations. Furthermore, we cannot overlook the need to provide financial inducement to attract into the Service young men who either already have families or who aspire to the normal role of *pater familias*. The special problems regarding education of Foreign Service children have yet to receive the practical financial recognition they deserve. If it is, as we believe, in the national interest to staff the Service on a democratic and representative basis, so it is also necessary to ensure the maintenance of contact

(*Continued on page* 64)

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NEWS FROM THE FIELD

MISSIONS
CONSULATES

KARACHI

The most important recent event in the Embassy in Karachi has been the arrival of AMBASSADOR HILDRETH and his family. Although the Ambassador had presented his credentials in May and he and Mrs. Hildreth spent about ten days in Pakistan during the visit of the SECRETARY and MR. STASSEN, we had not really had time to become acquainted with them and had not met their handsome son, Horace, Jr., nor their three very vivacious and charming daughters, Dodie, Anne, and Dassie. No. 1 Bonus Road, the Ambassador's residence, has suddenly become a very gay and lively place.

Senator Knowland addressing a luncheon meeting of the American Men's Association, Karachi. At the table, left to right, are: Ambassador Hildreth, Senator Knowland, Patrick J. Sullivan, President of the Association and Pan American sales representative, John Smith, Managing Director, Standard Vacuum Oil Company, and Henry W. Spielman, Agricultural Attaché.

Life has been quite eventful during the past months. Karachi continues to occupy an important place on the main East-West highway of the world, and many among America's most distinguished men and women stop over for at least a brief bit of Pakistani hospitality, which they agree unanimously is warm and enthusiastically friendly. Besides SECRETARY DULLES and party, the Embassy has helped to play host to Admiral Jerault Wright and the 1400 men of the *S. S. Pittsburgh*, to Adlai Stevenson, Senators Sparkman, Gillette, and MacFarland, Congressmen Merrow, Judd, Carnahan, and Zablocki, to Ralph Bunche, Majority Leader Senator Knowland, and to a great many others travelling privately or under our own government's auspices.

One of the most pleasant occasions was the arrival of the first ship carrying wheat to Pakistan under the grant of a million tons passed by the Congress in record time. Although the Ambassador was not present, he sent a mesage saying that he was sure the Pakistanis would be more grateful for the arrival on time of 9,000 tons of wheat than of 200 pounds of Ambassador. The Prime Minister and the Minister for Food and Agriculture spoke on this occasion, as well as the Chargé d'Affaires, JOHN K. EMMERSON, and the TCA Country Director, RALPH R. WILL.

The Karachi Kamels, a baseball team made up largely of Embassy personnel, has been climbing into Big League standing. The team recently managed a weekend in Bombay, where they played creditably against the Bombay Bombers (score: Kamels 10, Bombers 11 in an 11-inning game). A few weeks ago the Kamels lost 10-12 to the Karachi Japanese Embassy team but recouped with a 17-3 victory over the local British Rugger Association. In a return engagement with the Japanese, the Kamels won 6 to 5 in a 10-inning thriller on a homer by ART PRINCE (TCA) with WES SHELDON (Administration Section) on base. The lead changed five times during the game, which was attended by the Japanese Ambassador and Ambassador Hildreth. After the game Ambassador Hildreth gave a reception for the players of both teams. Among the outstanding Kamels are HARRY SPIELMAN, Agricultural Attaché, JOHN TALLMAN, Deputy Director, TCA; and GIL GOODMAN, Air Attaché.

The past few months have seen numerous changes in Embassy personnel. It seems as though everyone came just two years ago and is leaving now. Not long ago a farewell party was held at the Chargé's home to honor several of those departing, namely, DAVE SCHNEIDER and family, Cultural Affairs Officer HERB TATE and family, Films Officer VERLE JOHNSON and family, and LILLIAN WALKER, Disbursing Officer. The host produced a few skits dedicated to the departees. For Dave Schneider, who had just completed a stint in the Administrative Section, was read an urgent OM just received from the Deparmtent, to wit, "You will please submit not later than July 1, 1953, for use before budget hearings of Congress an alphabetical and complete inventory, itemized by weight, color, condition of box, and degree of rustiness, of all paper clips now in use, before in use, yet to be in use, including number of papers clipped daily by section, with special attention to individual clippers, noting by name, age, class, social security number, and marital status, those individuals who appear to be excessive clippers of papers."

On September 16, Ambassador Hildreth presented a ten-year service award to economic analyist, MR. DIEGO MENEZES. MR. MENEZES began working for the Embassy as a stenographer when the Embassy was a Consulate and MR. CLARENCE E. MACY was Consul. The members of the Economic Section were present in the Ambassador's office when the presentation was made.

On September 23 Majority Leader Senator William F. Knowland addressed the American Men's Club, Karachi. He was introduced by Ambassador Hildreth. At the same meeting the club held its annual elections, and the Embassy staff supplied a number of the officers. Agricultural Attaché HENRY W. SPIELMAN was elected President; Commercial Attaché CHARLES LUDEWIG, Secretary; Economic Officer DAVID B. BOLEN, Chairman, Sports Committee; RUFUS

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BURR SMITH, Economic Counselor, elected Co-Chairman Business Men's Panel; DUDLEY WITHERS, Political Officer, and SETH THOMPSON, TCA Information, elected Co-Chairmen Hobbies Committee; and Major WILLIAM DUNCAN, Assistant Air Attaché, elected Co-Chairman, Entertainment Committee. The Men's Association is not made up entirely of Embassy personnel. At least half of the membership are in private business, and they hold more than half of the offices in the Association.

The following weddings have taken place recently; JOAN MURPHY, TCA stenographer, and PAUL STARR, clerk, on June 20; ELOISE VAN STOREY, USIS stenographer, and WILLIAM WALCOTT-VOWLER, an English businessman, on June 27; and ANN PORTER, Chief File Clerk, and KARL WEYGAND, Personnel Officer, on July 23.

WILLIAM ALLEN WITHERELL, son of MR. and MRS. HARVEY WITHERELL, was born on July 23. MR. and MRS. DAVID BLEE are the parents of twins, ELIZABETH and DAVID, who were born on the fourth of July.

JOHN K. EMMERSON

CIUDAD TRUJILLO

AMBASSADOR WILLIAM PHEIFFER, newly-arrived but a few months back, already is one of the most popular men in the Dominican Republic. In addition to plunging into the routine calls and receptions for new Ambassadors, he has inaugurated an intensive series of trips to the interior to meet, and get to know, the people of the country.

VICE-CONSUL PAUL CARR is looking for new opponents to conquer in shooting contests. Not that he has homicidal tendencies—it's just turned out that he's a crack shot with pistol, rifle or carbine and has high score over all challengers to date.

Ambassador William T. Pheiffer (second from left) at the luncheon given in his honor during his visit to the La Romana Agricultural and Livestock Fair in September.

A constant round of "*despedidas*" are being given this month for PAO RICHARD BARR, and VICKY VALCARCEL and AMADA DELGADO, who have joined the RIF Club. Vicky has a job already with the president of the local telephone company, Amada plans to stay on here with her husband, and Dick Barr is returning to New York to give stiff competition to writers in the science-fiction field.

FIRST SECRETARY RICHARD JOHNSON and his lovely wife, Irene, are being congratulated on a series of brilliant parties for local celebrities at their picturesque home "*Granja Cañada Salada.*"

CARLOTTA ALLEN is believed to own a part-interest in the swimming pool at the *Hotel Jaragua;* every spare moment sees her there and she has so much sun-tan that local swains frequently ask: "Are you really an American?"

LEE STULL and WENDELL WOODBURY are huddling these days over the intricacies of life in the Commercial Section.

SECOND SECRETARY STANLEY SLAVENS, after 25 years in the Service, is retiring this month to spend a life at ease in Texas with his wife, Jane, and two charming small daughters.

And a welcome to the new Marine Guard, Private Edward Ishida.

RICHARD M. BARR

MONTERREY

A few months ago the Department announced its decision to discontinue immigration visa services at a number of our consulates in northeastern Mexico and amalgamate their services into a combined immigration visa office situated at Monterrey. Concurrent with this RIF-enforced measure, the Consulate at Torreon, Coahuila, was closed and jurisdiction of its district was assumed by the Monterrey Consulate.

Although CONSUL GENERAL GERALD A. MOKMA's imminent departure on home leave made it impossible for him to participate in most phases of the new program, he nevertheless laid the groundwork and appointed his EXECUTIVE OFFICER, RALPH A. SCHWEITZER, to take charge, pending the arrival of the new visa consul.

Mr. Schwitzer soon had a building leased and planned the necessary alterations, incorporating a number of suggestions offered by SECURITY OFFICER CARR of the Embassy. Other Consulates were contacted and a system established to stagger the arrival of files and equipment for inclusion into our own.

Shortly thereafter, DELANO MCKELVEY arrived from the Department assuming his function as Consul-in-Charge of the new Visa Section. He immediately organized a production line system, had signs made, mailing forms printed and introduced new types of equipment to facilitate the issuance of visas. About 15 new FSL employees were employed and trained.

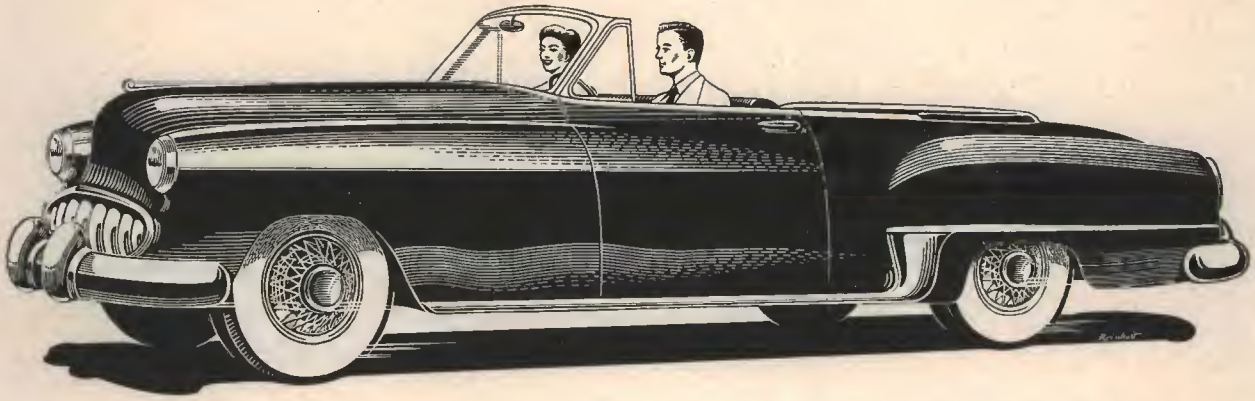
CONSUL WALTER KNEELAND was on hand for a few weeks giving invaluable service and supervising CONSUL GENERAL WILLIAM AILSHIE made a number of trips from the Embassy.

VICE CONSULS ALICE C. MAHONEY and OWEN L. STEELE and EDNA M. MACDONALD moved the old Monterrey unit over to the new building and the section went into operation immediately. Then came more American personnel to fill the new staff complement: VICE CONSULS RALPH G. SAUCEDO (from Torreon), FRANK NICCOLS (from Germany), MINA KRAKAUER drove in from Torreon and GEORGE P. BARRY flew in from Managua.

Consul McKelvey believes that his new Section which already issues 100 immigration visas a day and from 70 to 100 non-immigration visas will ultimately reach 125 immigration visas a day and that non-immigration visas (except for spasmodic rush periods) will continue at the same rate. When the dust had settled, McKelvey leaned back in his chair for a moment, viewed his new factory with a critical eye and what he saw made him happy: Monterrey's new Visa Center was off to an excellent start.

OWEN L. STEELE

Cars change...



but this tire fact hasn't...

The world over, more people ride on Goodyear Tires than on any other make.

When you consider that this fact has held true for thirty-eight years — doesn't it stand to reason that the tire that gives the greatest satisfaction to the most people is the tire for *you* to buy?

GOODYEAR

Francis C. deWolf, Review Editor

THE BOOKSHELF

NEW AND INTERESTING
by FRANCIS COLT DE WOLF

1. **The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud,** Vol. 1, by Ernest Jones, *published by Basic Books* $6.75
The life of young Dr. Freud, up to the turn of the century, brilliantly told by his British friend and follower, Dr. Ernest Jones—the first of three volumes.
2. **King George V,** by Harold Nicolson, *published by Doubleday* $7.50
A human and decidedly "nonofficial" portrait of an able monarch by the well-known English diplomat and writer.
3. **The Schirmer Inheritance,** by Eric Ambler, *published by Knopf* $3.00
Not quite up to "A Coffin for Dimitrios" or "Journey Into Fear" but still a rattling good yarn of international intrigue in Pennsylvania, Germany, and Greece, all in connection with a $3,000,000 inheritance, 8,000 claimants, a young Philadelphia lawyer and a most intriguing female interpreter from Southeastern Europe.
4. **London Calling North Pole,** by H. J. Giskes, *published by British Book Centre* $3.50
Lt. Colonel H. J. Giskes, Chief of the German Military Counterespionage in Holland, tells a tragic—from our point of view—story of how he fooled the British Secret Service for almost two years during World War II.
5. **How to Help Husbands Get Ahead,** by Mrs. Dale Carnegie, *published by Greystone* $3.00
The wife of the author of "How to Win Friends and Influence People" tells wives how to build up "hubby's" ego. Obviously a must for Foreign Service wives.

The Conservative Mind, by RUSSELL KIRK; *Henry Regnery Co., Chicago. 1953. 452 pages. $6.50.*

Reviewed by ELIZABETH G. JACKSON

The Conservative Mind, a study of the political philosophies of certain English and American thinkers from Edmund Burke to George Santayana, depicts the men who have attempted to preserve and incorporate in our democratic systems the ancient moral traditions of humanity. Although this conservative cause fought a losing battle against a rising tide of socialism and radicalism, and although individualism is apparently going down before a vast leveling process, Russell Kirk's book deserves the attention of all students of government, and particularly of those who are concerned about the whence and whither of the democratic form of government.

As Kirk shows, these conservative political leaders knew only too well that they were counter-current and that other ideologies would sweep the world. They proclaimed, nonetheless, that change and reform were not identical, that property and freedom were inseparable, and that economic leveling was not progress. In the spiritual realm they would have agreed that political problems are, at bottom, religious and moral problems, and that a divine intent rules society, forging an eternal chain of right and duty which links great and obscure, living and dead through the ages. Using these credos as a basis of selection for his subjects, Mr. Kirk has done an excellent job in condensing their profound and intricate intellectual systems to a chapter, more or less, and in showing the continuity of the conservative philosophy as it slowly lost ground. After completing his extensive study, Mr. Kirk is not completely insanguine. He believes that the forces of conservatism have only been routed, not conquered, and that a world weary of materialism and experiment may return to them at some future time.

Burke, Newman, and Disraeli, the Adamses, Randolph and Calhoun foresaw and decried many changes in our systems of government which have since come to pass. Helping to shape the democratic form of government as it exists today, they were at the same time bitter critics of certain aspects of our system, and often prophets of doom. John Randolph of Roanoke, arguing with Thomas Jefferson is quoted as having said, "Sir, I can never assent to the principle that all men are born free and equal for the best of reasons—because it is not true."

You could as well contend that all the soil in the world is equally fertile, he scoffed. These champions of individualism believed that our human differences were ordained by the Creator for a purpose. And surely if the Creator put any mark upon the universe it was that of infinite variety. No two things would be equal: no two stars, no two snowflakes, no two leaves upon a tree, and no two whorls upon a finger.

They also believed that freedom was not a state decreed by God, rather it was a state to be achieved and continuously to be re-achieved. Utter freedom and equality were meaningless terms to them, undesirable and unattainable. They believed, as all past ages have, that civilization is carried forward by an elite, a flower, a small group of highly trained thinkers and leaders, and were dismayed to see that flower being leveled or hobbled for the benefit of less talented men. Whether they were right or not remains for future generations to prove. At least their opinions must be respected and deserve a hearing in this age of atomic warfare and totalitarianism into which we are rapidly being propelled.

Mr. Kirk is to be commended for his sound scholarship and his delightful, vigorous prose style. To be sure, the reader is not always sure when Mr. Disraeli is talking or when Mr. Kirk is talking, but the reader is convinced that Mr. Kirk is thoroughly conversant with his subjects and has done a vast amount of reading in preparation for the book. The last chapters, those on English and American conservatism of the 20th century, are less incisive than the

earlier chapters on the 18th and 19th centuries; perhaps for the good reason that this is also true of the men themselves.

Who Speaks For Man? by Norman Cousins. *The Macmillan Company, New York, 1953. 318 pps. $3.50.*

Reviewed by HARRIET PALMER MICOCCI

There are two parts to this book. The first two-thirds is a readable account of Mr. Cousins' post-war visits to spots of vital importance on the contemporary world map. His penetrating comments on Bikini, Korea, India, growing Nazi feeling in Germany, and the rebuilding of Hiroshima, are informative and often thought-provoking. He was among the first to note a growing dissatisfaction towards the United States in many parts of the world. His analyses as well as his observations are worth careful consideration.

Interlarded throughout this part of the book, and the subject of the last third, is Mr. Cousins' appeal for world federation. This suffers from the author's very earnestness. It is repetitive, wordy, over-eager. While the advisability of world federation may be obvious to any thinking person, reasoned arguments in its behalf will not convince the type of individual who must be won over if it is ever to become an accomplished fact. Mr. Cousins states—without adequate emphasis—that the world has shrunk to a point where world government of some kind is inevitable. It is the opportunity, the duty, and the only hope of the democracies to grab the chance to make this a strong, equitable government capable of enforcing the rule of law before the totalitarian nations establish a world government of their own along much less desirable lines. If this point were sufficiently emphasized and dramatized, it might possibly have more effect on the unpersuaded than the sweet reasonableness and hopefulness of a too obvious a special pleader.

Immigration and Nationality Act, by Frank L. Auerbach. *Published by the Common Council for America. Unity. 104 pages. $1.50*

Reviewed by ROBERT C. ALEXANDER

There is perhaps no subject more controversial than that of the control of immigration into the United States. Public opinion is generally in favor of some form of control, but the views of individuals and organizations range from the one extreme of only nominal control to the opposite extreme of a complete stoppage of immigration for an indefinite period of years.

In summarizing the provisions of the *Immigration and Nationality Act* Frank L. Auerbach has performed the admirable feat of compressing into one small volume all of the essential features of the law and stating in layman's language just what the law provides, without any effort to justify, condemn, criticize, or apologize for, its provisions.

The laws relating to the acquisition, maintenance and loss of nationality and citizenship of the United States, which are embodied in the Immigration and Nationality Act, have received at Mr. Auerbach's hands the same impartial and unbiased treatment in his book.

Copies of the book have been purchased by the Department and distributed to each Foreign Service post. Every Foreign Service Officer should find the book to be of invaluable aid in dealing with its topic.

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to Haiti. The project which he will direct aids schools in Central and South America and the Caribbean area. During his years in the Service, Dr. Dunn was Commercial Attaché and Counselor for Economic Affairs in Argentine, Colombia, Guatemala, and Chile, as well as political adviser on Latin America to the U. S. Delegation to the United Nations.

Miss Mary A. Bransford of Dallas, winner of $1500 prize fellowship at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Medford, Massachusetts. Miss Bransford has served with the State Department in Washington and at the Embassay in Montevideo.

CHRISTOPHER H. PHILLIPS, former Republican State Senator of Massachusetts, was appointed Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for United Nations Affairs. The son of the HONORABLE WILLIAM PHILLIPS, former Ambassador and Under Secretary of State, Mr. Phillips will replace WILLIAM SANDERS who has been assigned to the field as Counselor of Embassy at Santiago, Chile.

EWING A. PLITT was appointed American representative on the U. S.-German board for reviewing Nazi war crime convictions. Also appointed to the board were Henry Lee Shattuck, of Massachusetts, and Maj. Gen. Walter J. Muller, allied deputy chief of staff in central Europe.

HERBERT HOOVER, JR., recently appointed Advisor to Secretary of State Dulles on matters dealing with world wide petroleum affairs, went to Tehran to examine the problems inherent in the Iranian oil situation.

ANDOR KLAY, author of "Quarterdeck Diplomacy" which appeared in the July JOURNAL, reports that the material in the article has been revised and used in several ways. It has been presented in a Voice of America broadcast, reprinted in the Congressional Record, sold (in a different version) to *Coronet* magazine; preparations have also begun on a television presentation of the story on the "Cavalcade of America" program.

RUTH M. BLEEZARDE, a treaty analyst, won the National Symphony Mystery Voice Contest and collected a $4200 Cadillac as her prize. She correctly identified the mystery voice as that of Ivy Baker Priest, Treasurer of the United States. It was the first time, said Miss Bleezarde, that she had ever ridden in a Cadillac, much less owned one.

HERVÉ J. L'HEUREUX was appointed Executive Director of the Office of the United States High Commissioner for Germany. He succeeds GLENN G. WOLFE, who will head the Administrative Section of the Embassy in Rio de Janeiro.

CONSUL JOSEPH E. WIEDENMAYER, alias "The Painting Consul" (according to an A.P. news article) exhibited two of his paintings in the eighteenth annual Metropolitan Art show at the Smithsonian Institution in early November. He paints original compositions in tempera on wood in the Italian rennaissance technique. He is now assigned to the Department awaiting re-assignment to the field.

USIA

THEODORE C. STREIBERT, head of USIA, stated at a press conference that the enemy his agency seeks to combat is Russian expansionism and imperialism, not international communism as such. He said that USIA would not try to sell the United States to the world but would try to identify ourselves with the aims, purposes and legitimate aspirations of friendly nations and of other peoples, as distinguished from unfriendly governments.

Theodore C. Streibert

During an informal talk to USIA employees he stated that he felt the RIF was completed, and that the freeze on promotions would be lifted soon. He also remarked that he thought a career service for information personnel would be set up. He likened Congress to "a board of directors." He also commented that USIA would be a little more free to publicize its work to the American people than it had been in the past.

Personal Purchases Notes

1954 Cars—In response to many inquiries from the field, the Association has asked the automobile manufacturers for advance information on 1954 models. The Chrysler Corporation (Chrysler, Dodge, DeSoto and Plymouth) and the Hudson Motor Car Company (Hudson Hornet and Jet) have stated that 1954 cars are now in production. Other release dates reported to the Association are:

Packard—November
Chevrolet and Pontiac—December 18
Buick—January 8, 1954
Cadillac and Oldsmobile 88—January 20
Oldsmobile 98—February 5.

All manufacturers replying to the Association's query state that orders for 1954 models are being accepted now and that prices are expected to be about the same as for 1953 models. Detailed price information will be forwarded to all posts by the Association when received from the manufacturers.

Studebaker—The Studebaker Corporation informed the Association in late October that the courtesy discount extended to American diplomatic and consular personnel has been substantially increased. The new preferential prices for export Studebakers will be shown on 1954 price lists which will be distributed to all posts in the near future. Studebaker's advertisement appears on page 2 of the November JOURNAL.

John Plain—All Foreign Service posts should now have received the 1954 John Plain Book for the Personal Purchases File. All prospective purchasers should familiarize themselves with the new discount arrangements which simplify price computations and provide for prepaid delivery to any point in the world.

Program for Riffees

Personnel leaving the Service because of the recent reduction in force may soon be able to get leads on possible new jobs through the Foreign Service Association, if in-

quiries the organization is now making to prospective employers encounter a favorable response.

Following its annual meeting on September 21, the Association appointed a Committee to look into the possibilities of personnel placement. The group consists of Walton Ferris, Ed Gullion, Jim Henderson, Fritz Jandrey, Ambassador John Muccio, Fred Oechsner, Art Richards, and Rollie White.

The Committee is trying to assemble information about employment opportunities for the benefit of "riffees." Those who are members of the Association have already been advised about this service by personal letter.

"We don't know yet how much success we may have," a member of the Committee told the JOURNAL.

"It will depend on the initial response, both from the applicants and the prospective employers. We hope, however, to be of some real help to our colleagues."

The proceeds of the Association's Fall Cocktail party at the Foreign Service Club in Washington have been applied to the administrative expenses of the Committee.

Inquiries about the personnel program should be addressed to any member of the Committee on Personnel Placement, American Foreign Service Association, 1908 "G" St. N. W., Washington, D. C. All correspondence will be held as strictly confidential.

JOURNAL Board

Edward J. Mulcahy

Newest member of the JOURNAL Board is EDWARD J. MULCAHY, now assigned to the Division of Personnel Operations, for South Asia and Africa. Mr. Mulcahy entered the Service in 1947 after serving overseas and obtaining an M.A. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. He has served in Mombasa, Munich, Addis Ababa and Asmara.

Homecoming

Three congressmen fresh from European tours called for sharp cuts in foreign aid and imposition of hard and fast conditions on further help for America's allies, a United Press news report said. REP. ALVIN M. BENTLEY, former FSO, told a reporter that if Europe fails to ratify the crucial European Army plan within six months, Congress will make further aid conditional on that ratification. Reps. Robert L. F. Sikes and William C. Lantaff demanded elimination of all further economic aid to Europe.

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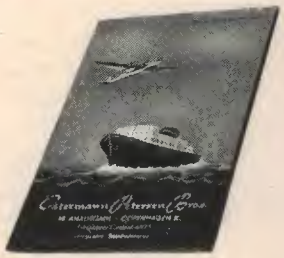

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advocating that our policy in presenting the depression be reversed. But other countries—those to whom we speak—do remember the years of which we say relatively little. In most instances, the ironies of history being what they are, that is the period in their lives of which they prefer to think as being less trying for them than the postwar. Most of them are almost incomparably older than we, have known more experience and more disillusionment. They measure in centuries the background that we measure in generations. We have largely ignored these facts in our output to them. In the light of foreign memories, we inevitably seem, with our talk of the present, to be offering ourselves as alone successful in this present. *Their* past sacrifices somehow turn out to look like failures, their past accomplishments to be merely something they did not know how to hold on to.

This unconscious complacency with our success has led us into a blind assumption that all foreigners are gasping for American democracy, for individual liberties and human comforts exactly as we prize them. In lands where these blessings are unwanted, just because they are not recognized as being particularly desirable, the American presentation is in many instances so far ahead of local initial dreams in this realm as to be ludicrous. The foreigner under such circumstances simply cannot understand what we are being so serious about. He ends up by being rather more confused than enlightened. And most often we do not take the very considerable time necessary to analyze his bewilderment.

Other Mistaken Assumptions

Other mistaken assumptions due to ignorance of the past of our audience lead us over and over to commit further errors because we lend to the foreigner we are convincing the same level of political acumen that we possess ourselves. In some cases, it is much less than our own. We had to learn the hard way that the Indo-Chinese just were not as frightened as we were by the "Communist dangers." We have repeatedly taken for granted too much knowledge, on the part of the foreign audience, of what World War II and its issues were all about. We forget that interpretations of the war were more widely distributed to us as a people than to any other on the globe except perhaps the British. We shall have accomplished little, for example, by using Pearl Harbor to illustrate any part of our thesis, if it is true that to the Oriental, friend or foe, Pearl Harbor looks like an amusing incident in which the yellow man really pulled a fast one on the unsuspecting white man. On the other hand, others to whom we address our propaganda abroad politically are more advanced than we, and to them our mouthings sound immature and over-emphatic. Turks to whom our propaganda has been directed felt recently that we were really exaggerating more than a little in telling *them* of Communist dangers; had not they lived with these dangers, right next door, ever since such dangers first appeared in Russia? To sophisticated Europe, coalition defense, to take another example, is an old, old story, and our message to its people would be stronger if we left out mention of principles they have for so long taken as axiomatic.

And then there is, once more, the problem of time. Few problems are more completely relative. The foreigner to whom we try to explain our haste in the present circumstance will understand what we mean only if he too is in a hurry. Most foreigners are less bothered about solving things quickly than we. Some of them see no point at all in this preoccupation of ours, and agree to go along with us only if they want badly enough to humor us—for completely irrelevant reasons. Our failure correctly to assess the rhythm of their vibrations to urgency, so to speak, can lead to results such that it might be far better for us to remain silent.

Only a knowledge of and appreciation for the past of the countries in which we are operating can avoid dangers of the type I am discussing. This means that when at all possible only personnel with a solid background in these countries should be entrusted with the American propaganda within their borders. All of which puts a new emphasis on the recruiting of information personnel and the training of current personnel for the future. If such training looks like a slow process, then we need to remind ourselves once more of the basic assumption that the United States is a long-range proposition, and of the further fact that doing nothing until properly prepared is frequently less harmful than doing a lot in much the wrong way.

I am not advocating at all an information program in which we give our audiences only what they want to hear, in order to avoid unpleasantness. If we are to lead—as lead we must—it may often be considered necessary to season our output with elements that are quite distasteful to the foreigner involved, but which our best judgment tells us are essential to greatest over-all good or in best national interest. But even these elements cannot be judiciously chosen without a better foundation in the foreign country's past, and without a greater appreciation of that past, than is possessed by many of our information officers today.

Pride in the past is an emotinoal phenomenon, shared by all peoples to whom we speak, which no meaningful information program can ignore.

Too much of our information program up to now, I have said, has dealt with the present. Dangers in neglecting the past, as just outlined, are more than matched by those which come of too little attention to the future. Once more, the people we criticize for not enthusiastically joining hands with us fail to do so largely because we seem to them too occupied with current positions, with a maintenance of the *status quo*. They see our dynamism, and are sometimes impressed by it. They do not see where it is supposed to be leading us—and therefore them.

And indeed we have not yet revealed—to them, or, for that matter, to ourselves—the future in which we profess to believe.

Promise of Future

It seems to me high time that we did so, if we can. Until we do, the Soviets have the upper hand in the Cold War. *We* may not believe in the future paradise they say they can eventually offer, but their promise is better than nothing to the fellow without any future at all and to whom we on our side present none. I think this one failure of ours is responsible for more disillusionment among our postwar friends than anything else. If we find a way to correct it, our information task will immediately become relatively simple; for "once our positive, creative aims are rediscovered—once we start moving slowly and steadily toward their realization—the peoples of the world will have no difficulty in deciding whether or not to range themselves by our side."

Nothing else will steady us sufficiently in the leadership we must assume. The absence of a defined faith in the future deprives us of our best of all possible guides *for* the future.

(*Continued on page* 48)

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PATTERN FOR PROPAGANDA *(from page 46)*

It is not just indulgence in pessimism which brings one critic to conclude that "we no longer recognize the (true) symptoms of incipient heresy, because we can no longer fluently recite the articles of faith. Faced with a militant attack upon our faith by highly-disciplined and well-indoctrinated shock battalions, we tend to fall back, not upon our convictions, but upon techniques of defense borrowed from the enemy." It is needless to add that with no guiding light to our own future, however loyally we may insist that we believe in it for themselves, we can flash no very bright rays to show the way to peoples abroad.

Only Part Way

It may be that we veil the future we might otherwise be able to offer to potential allies by going only part way in our cooperation with them toward that future. We did so in a limited economic way, beginning in 1947, with the Marshall Plan and other economic aid; but we have not yet demonstrated our willingness to retreat even a little in the field of economic trade in order to make room for friendly foreign traders, even though we have publicly advanced certain pleasant theories in that direction. We have given cooperation in the military realm, recognizing the necessity for help in the military struggle possibly ahead; but we have not thus far matched this cooperation with proportionate cooperation in the political field—for when we talk glibly of the need for compromising in hegemony and national privilege, we are still talking only of other nations than our own (it is easy enough to encourage European union, since we ourselves are to sacrifice no political advantage to make it possible) and we have stated no willingness to become part of any organization in which we would have to relinquish any considerable amount of sovereignty. Perhaps judicious national interest will for a long time keep us from giving up any such privilege; my point is simply that if this is true, then we should not be disillusioned when potential allies think we are failing to practice what we preach and feel that we present them with no future in which they can believe with us. We want our military strategy to be set in a coalition program, and our political and psychological strategy to remain in a unilateral program. Right or wrong, we still look selfish to outside observers. We have not established a future goal that seems desirable to those we want to have striving for it with us.

A French friend of mine once analyzed the postwar struggle in these graphic terms:

> "Every nation is a vendor in the world's market place. Every one of them fills his basket with what he has to sell and tries to push it out on the market to his own best advantage. At war's end, Russia's basket was well-nigh empty. 'What can I put in my basket,' she said, 'to sell to the outside world most advantageously for me?' And she started filling her basket with . . . fear. She worked most seriously at it, and by mid-1947 she was ready to start selling her basket loaded with fear. Her biggest customer up until now has been the United States of America."

The foreign audience still does not understand why we have been quite so gullible in this particular market. The fact that we have done so serves in no way to inspire confidence in our sane judgment or qualities of leadership. Unless we ourselves find a way to see beyond the insecurity we feel, far enough to believe once again in the "articles of faith," we simply cannot come out with a more convincing propaganda. The American observer already cited states the point more clearly than it is being made here:

> "Propaganda can be no better than the policy it seeks to explain and exploit. The trouble with our propaganda warfare is that it has no message which carries any impact on the minds and emotions of the people at whom we are beaming the Voice of America. . . . The exposition of how well democracy works in this country, and how wonderfully free enterprise has raised our standards of living, merely sounds like boasting to those who see no possible bridge between their wretched living conditions and the American Paradise. Our benevolent intentions to make our system available to others are meaningless to those who lack the space and wealth of our environment. People in want are not helped by photographs of plenty. Nor is the poor man made any happier by having the rich man tell him how he acquired his wealth.
>
> "What we need is to demonstrate *in action*, to peoples *on both sides of the Iron Curtain*, that those who live outside the Soviet orbit are attaining greater freedom from want, precisely *because* they live outside the Soviet orbit—precisely because, as free peoples, they are together seeking security under law and progress through voluntary cooperation."[1]

The same general point of view was presented recently by Senator Fulbright, following his observation of United States Information operations in Western Europe. In his printed interim report he advances the belief that "no matter how effective an information program may be, it cannot be a substitute for policy. The United States is judged abroad by its actions much more than by words. Words may help a people to understand action, but they are no substitute for policy." In that light, until we devise an over-all policy with a future credible to our foreign friends, expecting much greater success for our information services is probably unrealistic.

Belief in Future

For there can be no real strength in a program so little projected into the future that we cannot fully believe in it ourselves. If we cannot devise this projection, through a revival of faith in something better ahead, then we had as well restrict very considerably what we pretend we expect propaganda to achieve. "Campaigns of Truth" will not carry the load alone. The alternative thus far is limited pretty much to adopting the Soviet offensive of expedience (minus the guiding "stream"), without too much worry about the ethics involved. But in case we opt seriously for that one, we should not be surprised if we end up looking and sounding shockingly like the enemy we profess to oppose.

I suspect that, all the current talk to the contrary notwithstanding, we do not really have much faith in any kind of future based too exclusively upon force politics and black propaganda. At least it does not seem to be in the American psychological make-up for us to be proud of such precedures. Our chances of ultimate pride in ourselves (and hence faith in ourselves) therefore comes in being able to work for something beyond force, even when we have to resort to force temporarily. Sensible, sane elements in the world recognize that armaments cannot be expanded at the

(*Continued on page* 50)

[1]James P. Warburg, *How to Co-Exist, Without Playing the Kremlin's Game.* Boston: The Beacon Press, 1952.

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present rate forever. Somewhere along the way people ought to be permitted to hope realistically for relief from some of the current armaments burdens. Yet only once since original proposals for international control of atomic energy have we come forward with any strong proof that we recognize the legitimacy of such hopes. The future in which we want to have faith ought to have more room for including them. Otherwise, those to whom we try to sell from our own "basket" are not going to be much impressed by the wares displayed.

We do have a good story to tell, out of America's past and America's success. But if we present it now as a story ended (that is, with battles all won and goals attained), no wonder listeners turn to another story-teller! "Living happily ever after" is still only a legend, an escape from reality, to those in no way included in that happiness. We must be going somewhere good, and capable of taking potential friends with us—else our propaganda presentation, however costly, new, or spectacular, is empty and unproductive.

Finally, in order to be more effective, our propaganda effort must comprise less unilateral activity on our part, especially in those areas where we have more in common than not with the audience-country. The United States Advisory Commission on Information, in its report of December 16, 1952, advanced something of what I mean to say:

> "It is 176 years since our Declaration of Independence was signed. Perhaps the time has come when the United States should join with other free nations of this world in issuing a Declaration of *Interdependence*, dedicated once again to the principles that all men are created equal and that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights."

Cooperation with Friends

It is only by tying our friends into our program that we will get them to believe in it with us. This truth has already been borne out time and again in our information experience. In Indo-China, the French remained completely aloof from the activities of our information services, until the day we were able to come to them with projects of such a nature as to be of obvious common interest, although clearly impossible to execute without mutual assistance and a combinaiton of available facilities and resources. In Western Europe, the information programs have come closer to psychological harmony with their audiences almost invariably in measure as they have in like manner worked local officials and local organizations into USIS plans, or executed plans through effective local groups. In this general connection, I think we have made less use than we might of locally-hired employees capable of interpreting to us the psychological reactions to materials we were proposing to disseminate. All sorts of reasons have been given for this non-use of our local help—problems of security information, inadequate salary scales for alien personnel of the calibre necessary, the feeling that American information even if slightly wrong should still be marked with the wholly American touch rather than the slightest foreign—and these "reasons" are not always to be ignored; but the limitations under which we must operate would be immediately eased by greater employment of local talent, and the program would thus be made more effective.

This should be only the logical beginning, however, of our drive for greater cooperation in the propaganda task on the part of foreign peoples. To the extent that our audiences themselves participate in the work to be done, the program becomes more flexible, more penetrating, more meaningful. That is why I have for a long time urged that most of our propaganda material—whether press releases, broadcasts, documentary films, or books—be made more "transmittable." The Voice of America has used up many, many hours of air time broadcasting in translation to Oriental audiences the editorial opinions of one or another commentator well known in the United States. Usually, the Oriental could scarcely care less; but even when he *might* otherwise be interested, he is stopped by the very form of the message. He finds no way of participating in it. Whereas, the Oriental love for story-telling (and story-listening) being what it is, the same message conveyed in "transmittable" form could frequently make the listener want to tell someone else what he has heard. The initial audience addressed by the Voice thus becomes a transmitter in itself and reaches an ultimate audience as yet untouched by our broadcasts. Rendering all such material "transmittable" naturally involves a new technique in radio; but it is a technique well worth study and development if, as I believe, it will result in a greater number of foreign peoples having a feeling of taking part in the American story.

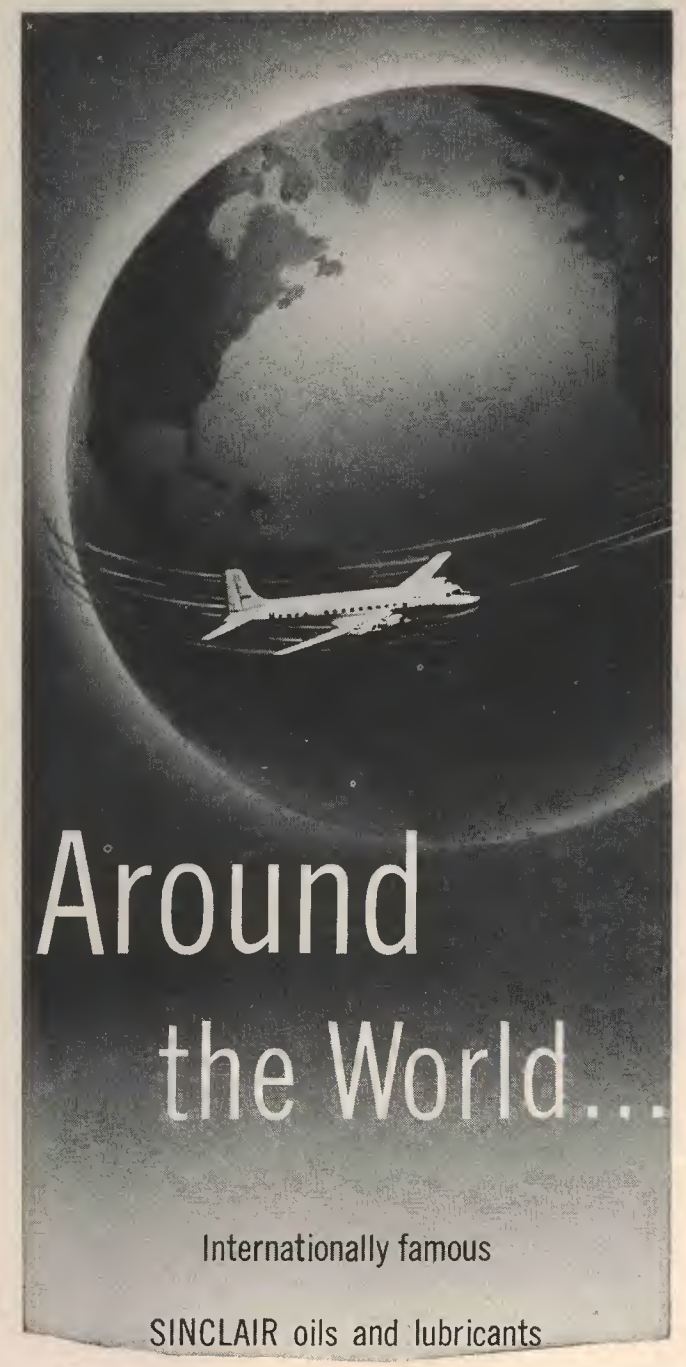
Herein lies, I think, one of the key difficulties to our give-away materials under the information program. Printed matter handed out free is at best slightly suspect. Certainly the indivadual who reads it has much more of the psychology of doing the distributor a favor than of participating himself in any part of the disseminating process. That is why many operators in the field have felt that less attention should be given to free materials (at least in advanced, sophisticated regions), and that more thought should be applied to ways of getting the same sort of information into native channels, especially commercial or private ones. By no other means yet devised can the reader be made to share the broadcasting of the truths we have to tell—thus making them in part his own.

The result of this propaganda program entirely of our own making is more serious than the mere limitation of the program itself. For it includes the inevitable connotation, once more, that we are interested in, and interested in promoting, American progress only, without regard to the aspirations of those to whom we preach. Our material assistance (misunderstood as it is, consciously or unconsciously) is not enough to demonstrate our desire to have our allies progress with us. We appear, I repeat, to be asking them to make a major effort to maintain well-being *for us*. And that does not represent an incentive strong enough to contribute much to what we wish to accomplish.

Humiliation Results

The foreigner who is left too much out of participation in the propaganda we disseminate develops ultimately the idea that if we are taking his country with us, wherever we are going, it is because his country represents too much of a responsibility to be left behind. Humiliation and resentment then turn out to be the unintentional results of our propaganda. We are little benefited, for example, by the millions of dollars poured into Southeast Asia, if recipient peoples there come to believe that our worries over their independence are only a by-product of our self-defense in their part of the world. Now it may well irk us that this is so, that so emotional a psychosis on their part develops out of such

(Continued on page 52)



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PATTERN FOR PROPAGANDA *(from page 50)*

good intentions on our part. But ignoring these emotional reactions does not make them disappear—and I assume that what we want, in the last analysis as well as in the first, is to obtain the proper end results.

I repeat that I think it is again in this kind of unilateral solution to things, broadcast through unilateral facilities and means, that we confirm the suspicion that there is something not entirely honest in our expression of super-friendship and good will. We think we must be liked and appreciated before we can say what is really on our minds and which would go something like this: "Look here, old friend, we frankly don't see how, if we fail to work together, we can fail to go down the drain together!" And we are not talking only of mutual protection, important as we all recognize that to be. What we also mean is mutual progress, which alone has in it enough worthwhile elements out of which to build mutual strength.

I suspect that we have chosen too frequently the wrong subjects to demonstrate our ability to develop, or to help to develop, individual freedom and broad well-being. We have pointed to our own people as best illustrating this accomplishment. Maybe when we decide that we ourselves are not Exhibit No. 1, that Exhibit No. 1 are the free peoples who rally to us because where we are going is where they also want to go, then we can evaluate things clearly enough to start planning more realistically the program that will have some possibility of "cracking Russia from within." But if we hope to do any of that through propaganda, we had better be able to show that we have thought out the ways to make the necessary progress together. "America must avoid appearing to be too much present physically in terms of power, overseas," says one propaganda expert, "and at the same time seeming to be distant and remote on the plane of common cultural and spiritual values." It is principally on this latter plane that the future holds more than the present.

"Pride in the past; faith in the future; progress together." If I could believe in slogans . . .

But I believe most slogans tend to hinder clairvoyant propaganda, rather than to further it; and maybe this one would be no exception. What I am really trying to say is simply that we need a more positive approach to our propaganda program if we want it to accomplish what we seem to believe it *could* accomplish. To develop such an approach means re-establishing our own fundamental faith in the future. When that is done, by whatever means best suited to our broadest long-term national interest, "the wheels of the American Revolution will again start turning, the great experiment launched by our forefathers will continue, and we the American people, shall know what we are fighting *for*, instead of knowing only what we are fighting *against*. . ." Then I think we can at last carry a positive message to peoples abroad whom we need mightily to convince—and I think they may then be tempted to believe it.

MARRIAGES

NASMITH—JOHNSTON. Miss Agnes Nairn Nasmith, daughter of the Rev. and Mrs. Augustus Inglesbe Nasmith of Arlington, was married on October 10 to Mr. James Richard Johnston, Foreign Service Officer assigned to Karachi. Mr. Johnston is the son of Alexander Johnston of Chillicothe, Obio, and the late Mrs. Johnston. The bride is a niece of C. Roy Nasmith of Edinburgh, Scotland, a retired FSO. The ceremony took place at the Trinity Episcopal Church in Arlington. A reception at the Foreign Service Club followed the ceremony.

CASSIUS CLAY *(from page 31)*

the country would help Americans, so lately Union and Confederate, forget their troubles. The two men worked through the night of March 29, 1867, signing the treaty at 4 A.M. the next morning. It was Seward's intention to keep it secret until the Senate could ratify, but a reporter learned it had been signed and the world had the news before the Senate could act.

Secrecy had been needed. The British Ministry, Sir Frederick Bruce, cabled the Earl of Derby, then Foreign Minister, for authority to protest the United States' acceptance of the treaty.

Senator Sumner, chief advocate of ratification, suggested we call the territory Alaska, the native word meaning Great Land. In his arguments for ratification he said, "Even if you doubt the value of these possessions, the treaty is a sign of amity. It is a new expression of the Entente Cordiale between the two powers which is a phenomenon of history." Mr. Sumner could not see into the future. Both our friends and foes have changed since ratification on May 20, 1867, which, however, did insure that the United States, not some hostile foreign power, would control Alaska.

In reply to Seward's cable that the treaty had been ratified, Clay wrote, "I congratulate you upon this achievement which adds so vast a territory to our union, whose ports, whose mines, whose timber, whose furs, whose fisheries and whose fields which will produce grains, even wheat, are of untold value, and which will become hereafter in time the seat of a hardy white population. I regard it as worth at least fifty million dollars and hereafter the wonder will be that we ever got it at all."

On the afternoon of October 18, 1867, Captain Petchouroff transferred the territory to General Lovell H. Rousseau at Sitka. The Russian flag came down from the pole in front of Baranof's castle and the Stars and Stripes went up. Alaska was bought but not paid for.

Although Benjamin Perkins had died apparently satisfied that his claim against Russia had been settled forever, his widow had later been persuaded to allow a stock company to sell shares in the claim to be formed. These stockholders now tried to get Congress to withhold the amount of the claim, now grown to $800,000, from the $7,200,000 purchase price we had agreed to pay Russia.

Clay was embarrassed both by the reappearance of the Perkins claim and by the House of Representatives' long delay in appropriating funds for paying Russia for Alaska. To him both were reflections on the integrity of tbe United States. "Russia not only sold us the territory below its real value, but generously and confidingly put us in possession on it. I regard the refusal of my political friends in Congress to make the necessary appropriation as not only a derogation of their constitutional duty, but as highly unjust. and I would say ungrateful to the Russian Empire and the Russian Nation," he wrote in June, 1868.

On July 14 of that year the House appropriated the money by a vote of 113 to 43, 77 members being absent. Seward thanked Clay for "the judicious efforts you have made to enlighten the government and people of the United States." Russia received the full purchase price, the Senate Judiciary Committee having thrown out the Perkins claim.

Alaska was ours. Cassius Clay could say, not immodestly, "I trust I have aided indirectly in this final cession."

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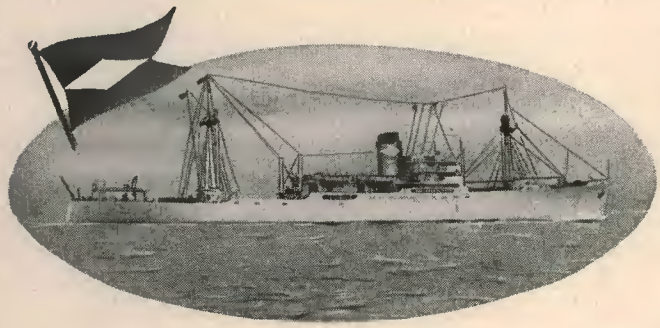

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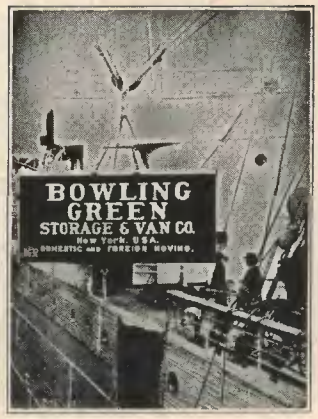

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expected. As they sat down her hostess pointed to the Bridal chair a few feet from the couch and also against the wall. It was a heavy throne-like mahogany affair, untenanted at the time.

"It is where we will go later to see the bride," Begum Kahn told Betty. Before she had time to explain further, the hostess noticed her sister coming toward them through the seated guests. The Begum quickly explained that Begum Huque was a Member of the Calcutta Constituent Assembly. The groom's Aunt was a handsome grey-haired woman, with intelligent and expressive dark brown eyes. Her grey chiffon sari was perfectly plain and she wore no jewels except two finger rings. After the introductions, Begum Huque mentioned to her sister that there were more guests at the doorway. They all three then looked over to see two tall slender young girls, one in mauve and the other in coral, adjusting their saris in front of the blue net curtains.

Begum Khan moved to greet them and Betty and Begum Hugue settled down to the usual exchange of questions customary to Bengal. When the subjects marriage, progeny, servants, and hobbies had been discussed, they settled down to a pleasant gossip about Dacca politics. As a Moslem, Begum Hugue avidly followed events in East Bengal and subscribed to the Dacca English language daily to compare its treatment of news with that of Hindu West Bengal. This dual coverage of local news was extremely helpful to Betty, who was subject only to the very biased Dacca press. Begum Hugue had been a member of a Congressional Investigating Committee which finished its field trip about the time of the wedding and quite close to Bihar. She had decided not to run for reelections—or, as they termed it "to stand," but was following the forthcoming Calcutta elections very closely. Begum Hugue asked Betty the local rumors on the promotion and transfer of the District Magistrate and agreed with her that his crisp humor would be missed in the local court. The D M's wife was expected at this party but Begum Hugue had not noticed whether she had come in yet. Betty glanced around but did not see Mrs. Haidar.

Beginning Introductions

This rather reminded both of them that they should circulate and Begum Hugue asked if she might call her Bettyscott, in that all-in-one word manner that Betty had come to expect from local ladies. Settling this minor point of protocol, the Begum suggested introducing her to some of the guests. Betty was quite relieved to leave the conspicuousness of the couch and they started on the rounds on their hands and knees. People were sitting in conversational circles and crawled from circle to circle to talk to friends and families.

All of the names of new and old East Bengal were represented. She met Khans, Quaisars, Shahabuddins, Bahaudinns, el Huques, Zuberris and Gilanis. Wives of the University faculty, High Court Justices, Central and Provincial Government officials as well as those of leading merchants had all come to welcome the bride to her new home. Having been in Dacca only a few months and not a resident of Ramna, the more fashionable suburb, Betty had not met many of these other guests. Not that many of them observed purdah, but at the same time they were not habitue's of the Dacca Club either. When they found that her husband was the Vice Consul, they knew that she lived above the Consulate. Many of them asked for news of Jane Withers, who was a very popular figure in Dacca, and had recently moved to Karachi when her husband was transferred there. These same ladies seemed very disappointed that the present Consul was not married. Betty had always found Bengal hospitality relaxed and pleasant, but in this group she was made to feel even more at home than ever before.

Begum Khan's oldest daughter, a Khan also by marriage, brought over a smiling lady in a severe green sari bordered with bright red, the colors of the Ismalia sect. They were neighbors, and Betty and David had often sat on their second floor porch and watched her family entertain. Their compound was directly across the street, and the family was as gregarious as it was hospitable. Through an interpreter, Betty's neighbor thanked her for her umbrella. To the rest of the seated circle, the Agha Khan and the American's umbrella had to be explained. During His Highness' visit, Betty's neighbors were very active in arranging details at the ceremonial tent nearby. Betty had followed these preparations with a great deal of interest and was on her balcony the first morning that the Ismalia's procession for the Agha Khan and his Begum was to pass in front of the Consulate. In the last minute bustle—a chaos of shouts and giggles—the Major Domo realized that an umbrella would be needed when the Agha Khan left his limousine. He called up to her on the porch. All she had was a travelling umbrella folded to half its size and completely inelegant. But they seemed very grateful and several days later brought it back to her. What the wife wanted to add was that the opening of it had been a fiasco, since it was an unfamiliar style. Eventually, while His Excellency waited, it was successfully raised, but to their chagrin, the umbrella was barely large enough to cover the Agha Khan's gold turban and offered no protection to his rather ample person.

Ria, the eldest daughter of this family, was then introduced, wearing her first sari. Betty and David had often seen her in her starched white pajamas and vivid green scarf, called a *dupatta*, which was her school unform. She looked very lovely in an old rose sari with matching blouse, and was obviously terribly excited at this her first party outside her own family. Her mother explained that the sari was from her own trousseau.

A Bengali of good family may have as many as three hundred saris given her by her Mother or Aunts. Many of them never buy a sari, or even wear all of those given them. The style doesn't change, only the patterns of the short sleeved blouse. The only variation is whether the sari has a border or has not. Betty met a young matron in a purple heavy silk sari, with an eight inch gold and silver border, three hundred and fifty years old. For generations that border had been the most treasured possession of the daughter by whom it was inherited. Its present owner told her that each person who had owned it had had it attached to the sari whose color was most becoming to her.

Because everyone was so informal, and seemed relaxed with her, questions were exchanged unselfconsciously. Betty asked to see a typical *Guluband* and one of the University wives showed her a very old heavily studded collar which was her main ornament. Apparently necklaces of Western designs were becoming more popular, and families were having their jewels re-set in more modern frames. There were only a few of the *Gulubands* at this large party.

(Continued on page 56)

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UNDER THE BRIDAL VEIL *(from page 54)*

She was then shown a rather well known *Karanphul,* an ear ring so heavy that, besides being attached to the pierced ear, had an additional gold chain looped around the ear to help support the gold flower with its bell-shaped ornament. Most of the guests that afternoon were wearing *Karanphul* and Betty was told to particularly notice the bride's, for it was famous in West Bengal. Several of the very young matrons, justifiably proud of their trim ankles and beautiful feet, wore the *Pazeb,* a chain of gold with tiny tinkling bells.

As exquisite as everything was to see, hear and smell, Betty suddenly realized that she had not yet met the Bride. In the hour since she had arrived another hundred guests had also come. When she was introduced to a serene faced Madrasi wearing white chiffon, Betty asked her please to point out the Bride to her. With the closest approach to chagrin that any of her questions had received all afternoon, Betty was told that the Bride had been due only two hours ago. Surely no one would expect her for at least another half hour. She herself had been three hours late to her reception, and twenty years later she seemed as delighted with her naughtiness as she must have been that afternoon.

The Bride Arrives

It was actually forty-five minutes later, after moving about from group to group, and meeting many more attractive and friendly guests, that someone whispered to Betty that the Bride had arived. The room was so huge that it took the news a few minutes to reach all parts of it, and the Bride and her two attendants stood before the blue curtains arranging their lovely gowns self-consciously. Their care for the Bride was most touching, as she stood there with her head bowed. Betty was told that her sister was attending her and she recognized the second lady as Mrs. Khan, her sister-in-law.

Everyone shifted her position to clear a path down the room and up to the throne. There was a rather hushed and dramatic pause, and a young and indiscreet lizard filled it with a bold chirrup. What little formality the Bride's arrival had brought was dissolved immediately. All of the guests chatted happily as the Bridal procession walked to the throne.

The Bride (in the middle) was dressed completely in gold. Through the transparent face veil Betty could see the gleam of the *Tikka* on her forehead and the flash of her nose jewel. Her head was still bowed so that she was guided by her two atendants. An elderly lady on Betty's left, whose English was very formalized, referred to these as the two handmaidens. At the throne the Bride was seated, steered into the throne, almost as though she were blind. The attendants arranged the folds of her gold sari, pulled the folds away from her tiny feet to display her ankle and toe decorations. They even placed her hands in the position traditional to a Bride, and she sat most docilely.

All around the room guests were whispering flattering remarks about her cloth-of-gold sari and blouse, her handsome jewelry and pretty figure. Those in the back were kneeling to get a better view and everyone seemed very pleased. Someone behind Betty asked if she could tell if the Bride was wearing an *Arsi.* For a desperate second Betty couldn't remember what an *Arsi* was. With visible relief she recalled that it was a ring with a mirror worn usually only by Brides. By kneeling for just a second Betty did see and reported to the inquisitive guest.

Begum Khan went up the narrow path and spoke to the Bride's sister who was also dressed in gold. Betty had never before seen such a beautiful woman, with classically perfect features and wonderfully expressive eyes. It was her duty to receive everyone in the name of her sister, who would neither raise her head nor speak during the entire reception. She frequently leaned down and spoke to the Bride. Then the Begum left them and came to Betty's circle to invite her to come see the Bride. When Betty demurred, the Begum realized that she was unfamiliar with the custom and quietly suggested that later she might want to.

Leaving that circle, the Begum issued her invitation to a contemporary of hers who immediately rose and followed her to the path before the Bride. Seeing the Bride involved going up to her, kneeling and picking up the veil to look into her face. Mrs. Khan then introduced the guest to the Bride through her sister. The sister made a little acknowledgement speech and the guest raised the veil once again. She then complimented the Bride on either a feature or a jewel and the sister acknowledged this.

Since Betty had been told that the Bride was a complete stranger to Dacca and was really meeting these ladies for the first ime, she could only wonder at this exchange; but Begum Khan came and sat with her to explain that her daughter standing on the Bride's right introduced each guest to the Bride's sister, identifying their position in Dacca, or their relationship to the Khan family. Then very tactfully the Begum mentioned that the Bride wanted to receive all of her guests so Betty joined the queue as soon as teatime duties in the dining room called her hostess.

Picking up the golden gossamer veil, Betty first saw the *Tikka*—a golden oval set with lovely stones on the girl's smooth forehead; its sparkle emphasized her surma painted eyes. She seemed a younger version of her lovely sister, but with her eyes closed, it was impossible to tell whether they shared the intelligent expression. Betty's short compliment to the bride was translated by Mrs. Khan into Bengali, as neither of the Bihar sisters spoke English. The reply was a charming rather formal little speech, thanking Betty for coming. Because the *Tikka* was what impressed her most Betty used a remark on it to prelude the second lifting of the veil.

Guests were still seeing the Bride when tea was announced and guests moved into the adjoining room. Betty took some curry and several pancake-like *chappatis* to nullify the spices. During tea everyone complimented the Khans on their charming new daughter. This Bride would not be in purdah, her husband not having asked it of her. The people at this party would see a good deal of her because the social calendar for a young lawyer's wife in Dacca is a full one. It seemed almost a completely public one to Betty and David, who frequently wondered when a family had time to relax alone.

When everyone had had tea and the older ladies started to leave, Betty started to say goodbye to the various ladies who had been so hospitable to her all afternoon. Begum Khan walked with her to the porch. At the blue net curtains they looked back into the room, now alive with graceful movement of purple, turquoise, red, green, white and yellow saris. Betty's last glimpse of the Bride was a golden pyramid-like figure protectively watched by her beautiful sister.

Elizabeth Scott, whose drawings illustrate her article, is the wife of David Scott, formerly of the courier service, now Vice-Consul at Hamilton after his tour of duty at Dacca.

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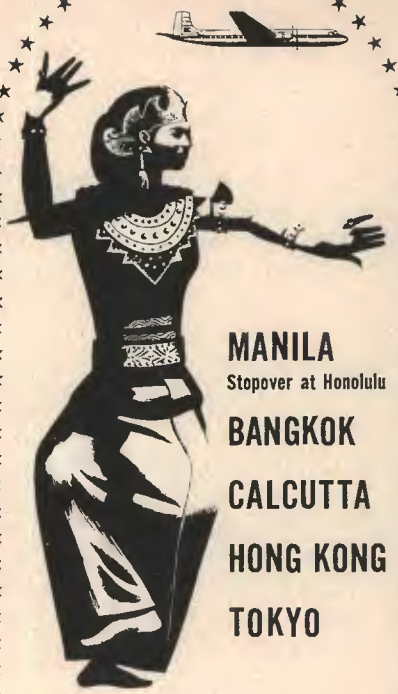

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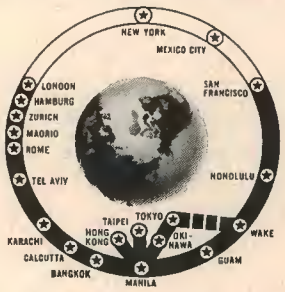

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THE TISSOT AUTOMATIC NAVIGATOR WATCH IS THE OFFICIAL TIME PIECE OF PHILIPPINE AIR LINES

23 persons in all categories (some one or more of these are almost always on leave or ill), but during 1952 the daily average was less than 20 persons. In 1952, the Mexico City visa office did receive a unit citation for its very considerable accomplishments.

The chronological routine followed at this office runs as follows. A person comes to the visa office, one of 300 or 400 who come daily, and is greeted first by the receptionist of the section. The receptionist determines immediately if the person's passport is valid (for six months longer than the date intended departure from the United States if applying for an NIV), and if so, gives an appointment. If the applicant is seeking an NIV, an appointment ordinarily is 24 hours distant, and sometimes as long as two to three days later during a heavy rush. Immigration appointments now average about a week after the original appearance.

During this 24-hour period, the person's security files are checked. When the person comes in for his appointment, the receptionist takes his appointment slip and three photographs, the passport having been kept at the time the appointment was made, and asks the applicant to have a seat in the waiting room. A 24-hour delay is the absolute minimum for giving appointments (although it cases of extreme emergency, such as illness or death, clearance can be obtained and a visa granted in as little as two hours), and a period of which this Embassy is rather proud, due to the security clearances required. Once an applicant keeps his appointment, he usually must wait between half an hour and three and one-half hours (this is about the maximum in cases which do not require clearances from other posts), the average not being more than about an hour and a half. During this hour and a half delay his file card must be pulled, a clerk must take his application, his case must be approved by an officer after an interview, his pictures must be pasted to his application, he must be fingerprinted, pay his fee, his fee must be entered in our records, the officer must sign his visa, and he must be sworn as to the truth of his statements and his lack of membership in subversive organizations. All first-time applicants must present at least two letters of recommendation, and obviously, if the officer requires some additional proofs of the applicant's bona fides he may not get his visa within 24 hours. Of course there are variations on this procedure for NIV cases which require further clearance, clearance from other countries, of students, exchange visitors, temporary workers, and other odd cases, but in all cases the delay is kept to the absolute minimum. Naturally, the procedure in an immigration case is more lengthy due to the greater documentation required and the quota problems encountered.

The personnel now engaged in the visa shop consist of five officers, Consul Warren C. Stewart and four Vice Consuls, and about eighteen clerks engaged in the file room, as application takers, in the visa assembly room, or on the reception desk. The Visa Section is under the general supervision of Consul General William K. Ailshie.

While the wait for visa applicants is kept to a minimum, some wait is inevitable and in most cases is a bothersome necessity to the applicant. To make this wait more enjoyable to the applicant, and more profitable to the United States, the visa office of this Embassy has secured the cooperation of the Information Service of the Embassy. USIA

The scene above is in the documentation room, where the visa applications are taken.

pamphlets are available, are picked up by the applicants, and occasionally probably even read. Music from records supplied by USIA is provided in the waiting room.

Possibly the most successful diversion, however, is provided by the films which are shown for about an hour each morning and afternoon, during the period when the greatest volume of people are waiting. The films are USIA-provided documentaries on life in the United States, obviously are favorable propaganda, and at the same time are an enjoyble and welcome entertainment to the waiting applicants.

In this rather large Embassy most of the numerous employees, both American and Foreign, both officer and clerical personnel, look upon the visa office as an assignment to be avoided. There is just too much work there. Yet this very fact, that there is much work to be accomplished, that this work is accomplished thoroughly and at high speed without much respite, imparts an esprit de corps to the visa section not always present in other sections of an Embassy. Working with live people, as visa personnel do, rather than statistics, which make up the bulk of many other Embassy operations, in itself gives a satisfaction.

The reciprocal fee provision of the new Act requires us to give Mexican citizens treatment equivalent to that which is given American citizens by Mexican consulates. Bearers of Mexican passports can be issued an NIV valid only for presentation within three months for a single entry, since American tourists are only granted a single entry tourist card. For many Mexicans, particularly businessmen who deal regularly with the United States, a single entry visa does work a hardship; this partially explains why Mexico City has more than 25 percent of all the NIV revalidations in the entire world. Even more ridiculous is the fee charged to Exchange Visitors who bear Mexican passports, and there are many of these, one of $41.50 for a single entry. The fee patently is too high for a program we are trying to encourage. The Department of State is aware of these difficulties and is negotiating with Mexico for a reduction in fees.

The first place that an impression is made on an alien is in the United States Consulate abroad where he seeks to obtain a visa. Government economy drives which reduce visa personnel and inevitably also reduce efficiency, courtesy due to short nerves, and speed of visa shop employees, constitutes false economy. This is so particularly since visa applicants include not only ordinary citizens but also policy makers, information leaders and business powers in their home countries. They should be given every possible consideration. The Embassy in Mexico City does attempt to do this, and we believe it succeeds pretty well.

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RECENT EXCAVATIONS *(from page 27)*

rows is rigorously geometrical and all the mausoleums face south. The mausoleums are built of brick and mortar. They contain doors and windows, and generally present the appearance of small houses. Some of them have two chambers, an *atrium* open to the sky and a roofed over inner chamber or *cella*. The walls are covered with stucco and decorated with paintings, of gods and heroes, flowers and birds. Because of the freshness of the paintings and the gaiety of the motifs, these miniature houses of the dead look anything but funereal. The remains of the dead lie in niches in the walls, either in sarcophagi or in urns. In keeping with the mural paintings the carvings on the sarcophagi depict scenes of sport and pleasure, bacchic dances and headlong hunts. Dionysius, who had descended into hell and tamed Cerberus, was a favorite subject for sepulchral art.

The mausoleums which stem from the IInd and IIIrd centuries A.D. belonged generally to well-to-do but not aristocratic families. The names on the inscriptions would seem to indicate a foreign and even servile origin. It may be assumed that they were mostly the enriched descendants of liberated slaves. The one aristocratic grave which has been found, belonging to a lady of the senatorial order, lies outside the mausoleums. Presumably she was too noble to be buried alongside her husband, a government official of the middle rank, who nonetheless wrote her a devoted and touching epitaph. In this connection it should be mentioned that these pagan graves show a high degree of conjugal fidelity. Double sepulchres for man and wife are a common occurrence, and the funeral inscriptions bespeak of sentiments of marital devotion.

A few Christian graves have been found in these mausoleums. They are recognizable by their inscriptions. One of them belongs to a lady named Gorgonia, and bears the mention "*Dormit in pace.*" It is covered with a marble slab. The slab is decorated with a little carving of a woman drawing water from a fountain. This seems to be an illusion to the freshment of heaven, the "*locus refrigerii, lucis et pacis,*" mentioned in the Roman liturgy. Another Christian mausoleum belongs to a child. The walls are decorated with mosaics, various figures are represented against a background of twining vines. One figure shows a ship bearing two sailors, of whom one is in safety and the other about to be engulfed by a wave, another shows a young fisherman casting his line, one fish is taken and the other escapes, finally another one shows the familiar figure of the Good Shepherd. On the ceiling is a picture of the Sun God, his head surrounded with the nimbus and standing in his chariot. This seems to be a representation of Christ, the Sun of Justice.

The Roman had a strong veneration for the dead along with the most confused and contradictory notions of the life after death. The peacock appears on the walls of some mausoleums as an emblem of immortality. What form this immortality was to take remained, however, obscure. Some of the sarcophagi are equipped with little holes in the lid, above the mouth. Into these the surviving members of the family could pour offerings of wine and oil for the nourishment of the deceased. These practices resemble those of the ancient Egyptians and may have been imitated from them. While they thus preserved the bodies of their dead and fed them, the Romans at other times also burned the remains and kept the ashes sealed in an urn. Under the Republic and in the early Empire cremation prevailed. In the IIIrd century, however, the custom of interment became predominant, perhaps under Christian influence, for in accordance with Jewish precepts the Christians practiced burial exclusively. In contrast to the pagan the Christian practice was marked by uniformity. The body is generally spoken of as having been deposited in the earth, which will have to give it up at the resurrection. The word "*depositus*" is thus characteristic of Christian funeral inscriptions.

In condemning the Vatican cemetery and obliterating its graves Constantine was violating the most sacred injunctions of the ancient religion. His only legal justification for this action was his authority as Supreme Pontiff. In this capacity all religious monuments were committed to his care. It may be assumed that Constantine would not have incurred the reproach of desecration from his still numerous pagan subjects without serious cause. The nature of this cause becomes clearer as we ascend the underground necropolis westward toward the high altar of the basilica. The space between the floor of the crypt and the ground is gradually reduced as we proceed uphill. Finally the way is blocked by the semicircular foundation wall of the apse. At this point appears the famous "red wall" which cuts across the apse like the cord of an arc, running north and south. This wall abuts on the row of mausoleums running east and west and is perpendicular to it. It borders a passageway which led from the mausoleums northward up the hill, and encloses the poorest and simplest graves in the whole cemetery.

One of these graves in particular appears to be of great moment and to be the reason for the wall. It lies at an angle to the wall and abuts against it. Its emplacement is marked by a niche in the wall. Dug in the ground and covered only with tile the grave is quite simple. The wall is a costlier and presumably a posterior structure, for if the grave had been dug after the wall it would presumably have been aligned with it. The date of the wall is indicated by markings on the bricks. It must have been built between 147 and 161 A.D., in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Finally the name of Peter is found scratched among other *graffiti* on the wall. In view of these circumstances it seems logical to assume that the wall was erected to shelter one grave, the one whose emplacement is marked by a niche. In the light of tradition this grave can only be assumed to have been that of the Apostle.

The Christian community at Rome in the IInd century A.D. was numerous and powerful. The persecuting emperor Decius is himself supposed to have said that he would prefer to have a rival emperor as an enemy than a Christian bishop. The popular notion that the early Christians lived like rabbits in the catacombs is obviously false. The catacombs were the burial grounds of the Christians and the resting place of the martyrs. As such they were also places of worship as the many little chapels within them attest. The cult of the martyrs which early developed among the Christians seems like a particular extension of that universal cult of the dead which characterized pagan antiquity. The institution of pilgrimages derives naturally from the practice of worshipping at the tomb of martyrs. It seems to have been flourishing as early as the IInd century. In building a wall before the grave of Peter the early Christians may have had another purpose in mind besides that of excluding trespassers from the grave. They may

have intended to mark the site more clearly for outsiders and pilgrims. Influenced perhaps by their own piety toward the dead, the pagans appear not to have interfered with this public cult of the Christians, and not to have molested the grave of the Apostle. At all events the red wall was still standing when Constantine came to erect his basilica. Building a small enclosure about the tomb, Constantine erected the *memoria* or funeral monument at the heart of his basilica upon the red wall above the niche and disposed the rest of the church about this focal point, in defiance of pagan piety and of engineering difficulties. When the XVIth century Popes built the present church of Saint Peter's to replace Constantine's basilica, they set the "altar of the confession" directly over Constantine's *memoria*, and thus above the grave, which an uninterrupted tradition designated as that of the Apostle.

The conclusions to be drawn from the recent excavations at Saint Peter's are thus finally dependent upon tradition. Archeology alone cannot tell who was buried in the grave which has been thus splendidly commemorated. The IInd century wall, the niche and the grave do not by themselves give any clue as to the identity of the deceased. They do, however, present the observer with a set of facts for which tradition furnishes the simplest and most probable explanation. In this sense the recent excavations at Saint Peter's constitute an objective confirmation of one of the most ancient and widespread of Christian beliefs.

Mr. Dur, who was an instructor at Harvard prior to the war, served overseas and was an analyst in the Combined Intelligence Group before entering the Service in 1947. He has been assigned to the Department, to Lyon, and is now in the Office of Public Affairs in Bonn.

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CHANGES OF STATION FOR OCTOBER

NAME	POST FROM	POST TO
Adams, Ware	Stockholm	Calcutta
Allen, Arthur P.	Tenerife	Naples
Allen, William G.	Leopoldville	Vienna
Anderson, Marion E.	Sydney	Manila
Appling, Hugh G.	Paris	Dept.
Armour, Norman Jr.	Dept.	Hong Kong
Ballantyne, Robert J.	Hong Kong	Jidda
Ballinger, Gail M.	Rome	Taipei
Barbis, George M.	Tehran	Pusan
Barker, Dorothy M.	Quebec	Paris
Barnes, Harry G., Jr.	Bombay	Praha
Barnsdale, William J.	Barl	Bombay
Barrett, Raymond J.	Managua	Dublin
Bartelt, John R., Jr.	Accra	San Salvador
Becker, Raymond J.	Colombo	Goteborg
Beckett, Erna V.	Milan	Bonn
Bergesen, Alf E.	Rangoon	Vienna
Bevilacqua, Charles	Leopoldville	Nairobi
Beyerly, Harold S.	Budapest	Madrid
Blocker, V. Harwood	Mexico	Athens
Boles, Carl C.	New Appt.	Nicosia
Boswell, William P.	Porta Delgada	Le Havre
Bowe, Martin S., Jr.	Munich	Moscow
Brewin, Roger C.	Zurich	Bombay
Brown, Robert C.	Praha	Dept.
Buchanan, Wiley T., Jr.	New Appt.	Luxembourg
Burns, Findley Jr.	Vienna	Berlin
Bushner, Rolland H.	Pusan	Tehran
Carlson, Harold	Stockholm	Vienna
Cameron, Turner C., Jr.	Belgrade	Saigon
Carson, Charles C.	Brisbane	Saigon
Chapman, Christian	Beirut	Tehran
Cobb, Carroll E.	Asuncion	Coblenz
Cotterman, Myron L.	Saigon	Hamburg
Courtenaye, Richard	Quito	Kobe
Crawford, J. Forrest	Dept.	Panama
Cumming, Hugh S., Jr.	Paris	Djakarta
Cunningham, Joseph	Tehran	Beirut
Damron, Everett L.	Vigo	Naples
Davis, Charles J.	Pusan	Seoul
Deak, Francis	Paris	Rome
Delgado-Arias, D. E.	Mexico City	Tananarive
Dubois, Arden E.	Dept.	Berlin
DuCharme, Arthur J.	Hanoi	Dacca
Dwyer, Paul S.	San Luis Potosi	Guadalajara
Eaton, Samuel D.	Dept.	Bangkok
Elliott, Virgil M.	Copenhagen	Helsinki
Ernst, Philip	St. John's	Winnipeg
Espy, James	Salzberg	Colombo
Falzone, Michael A.	Pusan	Taipei
Ferguson, C. Vaughan	Dept.	Dakar
Fisher, Mary E.	Naples	Bucharest
Fisher, Wayne W.	Godthaab	Stockholm
Fitzgerald, John F.	Brussels	Cairo
Freeman, James B.	Asuncion	Hamburg
Gaudin, Daniel Jr.	Basra	Luxembourg
Gavrisheff, Ellen	Sao Paulo	Bonn
Geoffrion, Lorette	Tehran	Tokyo
Geoghegan, Kathryn M.	Salisbury	Madras
Gilbert, Charles	Dept.	Lisbon
Glazer, Seymour H.	Manila	Genoa
Goodman, Herbert I.	Copenhagen	Saigon
Graham, William I.	Manila	Vienna
Greenberg, Herbert J.	Reykjavik	Djakarta
Grenlie, Edna J.	Manila	Mexico
Hall, Carlos C.	Santiago	Habana
Hall, Lucy J.	Dept.	Bonn
Helner, Gordon G.	Palermo	Naples
Hellyer, Charles S.	Saigon	Caracas
Hicks, Knowlton V.	Dept.	Winnipeg
Hicks, Miriam	Bangkok	Caracas
Higdon, Charles E.	Rome	Johannesburg
Hill, Jesse C.	Guadalajara	San Pedro Sula
Himmel, Lyle C.	Bangkok	Bonn
Hodge, Max E.	Frankfort	Salonika
Hooper, Peter Jr.	Taipei	Dept.
Hubbard, Fred E.	Ankara	Dept.
Hubbard, Wharton D.	Hanoi	Glasgow
Hunt, Mary E.	Bonn	Athens
Hutton, Paul C.	London	Guayaquil
Hyman, Borrie I.	Toronto	Calgary
Johnson, Ellen G.	Belgrade	Montevideo
Johnson, Eugene H.	Regina	Vancouver
Jones, Owen T.	Tel Aviv	Ankara
Josif, Harold G.	Madras	Dept.
Junior, Lewis D.	Lagos	Palermo
Kane, John M.	Geneva	Bern
Kazanjian, Reginald S.	Lisbon	Barbados
Kerrigan, William M.	Dept.	Montreal
King, Gordon Dale	Dept.	Tehran
Kirley, Louis L.	Piedras Negras	Salzburg
Knutzen, Gladys M.	Rio de Janeiro	Tokyo
Kohler, Foy D.	Dept.	Ankara
Krohne, Robert S.	Tangier	Dept.
Lamprecht, Reinhard, W.	Antwerp	Alexandria
Lee, James L.	Dublin	Madrid
Lentz, Lucy R.	Munich	Paris
Lewis, Harrison A.	Dept.	Tokyo
Lindahl, Eric G.	Munich	Hong Kong
Lindberg, Edward V.	Lima	Tegucigalpa
Lisle, Raymond E.	Warsaw	Bonn
Litsey, Weldon	Monrovia	Vigo
Loubert, J. Daniel	Dept.	Stuttgart
Maestrone, Frank E.	Hamburg	Madras
Manhelm, Louis S.	Vienna	Bonn
Martin, James V., Jr.	Kobe	Fukuoka
Mattison, Gordon H.	Tehran	Dept.
May, James A.	Rabat	Tunis
Mayer, Ernest D.	Quebec	Ottawa
McAskill, Vincent J.	New Appt.	Nicosia
McClintic, Stephen H.	Martinique	Paris
McGregor, Robert G.	Vienna	Leopoldville
McKinnon, Robert A.	Halifax	Dar es Salaam
McNeill, Allen P., Jr.	Santos	Reynosa
Merrill, Eugene H.	New Appt.	Paris
Meyer, Paul W.	Quayaquil	Buenos Aires
Miller, Paul M.	Hong Kong	Manila
Miller, William B.	Karachi	Hamburg
Mitchell, Lawrence C.	Yokohama	Tokyo
Moffett, James D.	Kabul	London
Moore, George C.	Munich	Calro
More, Bolard	Benghazi	Sydney
Morgan, John H.	Ottawa	Helsinki
Nardin, Mabelle B.	Vienna	Bonn
Noble, Marshall H.	Dept.	Djakarta
Ocheltree, John B.	Dept.	Genoa
Olson, Lynn H.	Bangkok	Dept.
Paine, Charles E.	La Paz	Stockholm
Pease, Harold D.	Newcastle on Tyne	Cork
Phelan, George R., Jr.	Curacao	Niagara Falls
Picard, Frederick P.	Dept.	Salisbury
Pringle, Sandy M.	Lima	Tegucigalpa
Pynn, George R.	Goteborg	Toronto
Quinlan, Clifford J.	Berlin	Karachi
Ramsey, Henry C.	Dept.	Madras
Rivera, Regulo	Valencia	Barcelona
Ross, Robert W.	Lagos	Naples
Rountree, William M.	Ankara	Tehran
Russell, H. Earl Jr.	Addis Ababa	Tunis
Sanderhoff, Lubert O.	Djakarta	Bonn
Schneider, David T.	Karachi	Asmara
Sharp, Frederick D., III	Quayaquil	Managua
Shults, Lucy A.	Hong Kong	Vienna
Silberstein, Joseph A.	Dept.	Santiago
Smith, Cora M.	Santiago	Athens
Smith, Elaine D.	Tehran	Wellington
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Smith, Paul A., Jr.	Bucharest	Vienna
Smith, Schubert E.	Jidda	Tripoli
Spengler, William F.	Bangkok	Oslo
Springs, L. Pittman	Valletta	Rome
St. Pierre, Rita	Paris	Bonn
Stull, Lee T.	Cuidad Trujillo	Stuttgart
Swedenburg, Wayne A.	Saigon	Vienna
Tanen, Ted M.	Rangoon	Phnom Penh
Tenney, E. Paul	Hamilton, Berm.	Milan
Thackara, E. Constance	London	Brussels
Toon, Malcolm	Rome	Berlin
Uhlrich, Hortense	Paris	Strasbourg
Van Oss, Hendrik	Kuala Lumpur	Vienna
Waggoner, Edward L.	Ankara	Izmir
White, C. Carey	Belgrade	Mexico City
White, Ivan B.	Madrid	Tel Aviv
Whitfield, Bernadine	Mexico	Manila
Yost, Robert L.	Dept.	Leopoldville

CANCELLATIONS AND AMENDMENTS

October, 1953

NAME	
Anderson, Stewart G.	Tokyo cancelled, now transferred to Manila.
Broderick, William D.	Winnipeg cancelled, now transferred to Windsor.
Bruun, Lorraine P.	Moscow cancelled, now transferrd to Luxembourg.
Cottam, Howard R.	Rio de Janeiro cancelled, now transferred to The Hague.
Manhard, Philip W.	Taipei cancelled, to remain in Pusan.
Pringle, Sandy M.	Bonn cancelled, now transferred to Tegucigalpa.
Stewart, C. Allan	Asuncion cancelled, now transferred to San Jose.

OFFICER RETIREMENTS AND RESIGNATIONS

AMB
Fleming, Philip B.
FSO
Abbey, Glenn A. (Retirement)
Adam, Hector C. Jr.
Berger, David C. (Retirement)
Birge, W. W., Jr.
Colebrook, Mulford (Retirement)
Conkright, William A.
Craig, John C.
Crooks, Bruce R.
Ferber, David I.
Flood, Douglas (Retirement)
Henry, J. William
Hewes, James E., Jr.
Hubert, Giles A.
Hughes, Richard M.
Kennan, George F. (Retirement)
Ketcham, John B.
Kuykendall, C. P. (Retirement)
Laidlaw, Wm. R.
Millet, Charles S.
Montamat, Harold E.
Nesselhof, William
Ragland, Joseph P.
Ruyle, Benjamin J.
Seward, Robert W., Jr.
Taylor, Robert M.
Wells, Bradford
Wilford, Richard R.
Williams, Harris H.
Wolf, Franklin W. (Retirement)
Young, John B.
FSSO
Alexopulos, A. I.
Buford, Hogan F.
Cansler, Norman L.
Carroll, Thomas P.
Cook, Eiler R.
England, Frank
Gaberman, Harry
Gardner, Margaret K.
Hart, William B.
Maish, James Jr.
Neuland, Paul A.
Ramsey, Henry O.
Robinson, Enid L.
Unger, Lois M.
Walker, Joseph F. (Retirement)
Whiting, Dinty
Wight, Royce A.

ELECTION OF ASSOCIATION OFFICERS

The annual meeting of the Electoral College of the American Foreign Service Association was held in Washington on September 28, 1953. The following eighteen duly elected members of the Electoral College were present:

Gerald A. Drew, Edward T. Wailes, John J. Muccio, Philip W. Bonsal, Douglas MacArthur II, Edmund A. Gullion, Andrew B. Foster, Livingston T. Merchant, Frederick Jandrey, John D. Hickerson, John D. Jernegan, Robert D. Murphy, Walton C. Ferris, Tyler Thompson, Edward S. Maney, Garrett G. Ackerson, Jr, Walworth Barbour, James C. H. Bonbright.

Mr. Tyler Thompson, as Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Association, called the meeting to order and proposed the selection of a Chairman to conduct the Electoral College proceedings. He was selected as Chairman of the meeting.

Mr. John D. Hickerson, who is at present serving as the State Department's Deputy at the National War College, was re-elected President of the Association by the required absolute majority of the Electoral College. This is the first time in the history of the Association that any officer has been requested to serve a second term as President. Mr. Edward T. Wailes, Assistant Secretary of State for Administraiton, was elected Vice President by the required absolute majority of the Electoral College. Following the election of the Vice President, the following members of the Board of Directors were duly elected:

Andrew B. Foster, BNA; V. Lansing Collins, Jr., National War College; Stephen Winship, A; Parker T. Hart, NE; Tyler Thompson, EUR.

The following alternate members of the Board of Directors were duly elected:

Philip W. Bonsal, PSA; Robert F. Woodward, ARA; William C. Burdett, Jr., NE; Miss Margaret P. Hays, PER; Rollie H. White, Jr., SY.

At the first meeting of the new Board of Directors of the Association, held on October 7, the following officers were elected:

Andrew B. Foster, Chairman; V. Lansing Collins, Jr., Vice-Chairman; Stephen Winship, Secretary-Treasurer; Miss Margaret P. Hays, Assistant Secretary-Treasurer.

BIRTHS

BARNES. A son, Curtis Walker, born to Mr. and Mrs. Curtis Waldo Barnes, on September 24, 1953, at the Clinico Biblico in San José, Costa Rica.

CHASE. A daughter, Ann Fessenden, born to Mr. and Mrs. Peter R. Chase on August 23, 1953, in Benghazi, Libya.

ERNEST. A daughter, Elizabeth Alice, born to Mr. and Mrs. David H. Ernest on July 9, 1953.

HORSEY. A son, Outerbridge, Jr., born to Mr. and Mrs. Outerbridge Horsey on September 18, 1953, in Washington.

INGERSOLL. A son, John Dobson, born to Mr. and Mrs. John J. Ingersoll on September 9, 1953, in Madrid, Spain.

LOBENSTINE. A son, Eric Willson, born to Mr. and Mrs. James C. Lobenstine on September 28, 1953, in Beirut, Lebanon.

SMITH. A daughter, Cecily Clare, born to Mr. and Mrs. Matthew D. Smith, Jr., on September 29, 1953, in Fukuoka, Japan.

SONNE. A son, Phillip Michael, born to Mr. and Mrs. C. Melvin Sonne on October 2, 1953, in El Paso, Texas.

VOORHEES. A daughter, Barbara Lydia, born to Mr. and Mrs. Harold C. Voorhees on September 6, 1953, in Washington.

WILE. A daughter, Sara Sloan, born to Mr. nad Mrs. Frank S. Wile on October 20, 1953, in Rotterdam, The Netherlands.

WILSON. A daughter, Laura Ann, born to Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Wilson on October 2, 1953, in Maracaibo, Venezuela.

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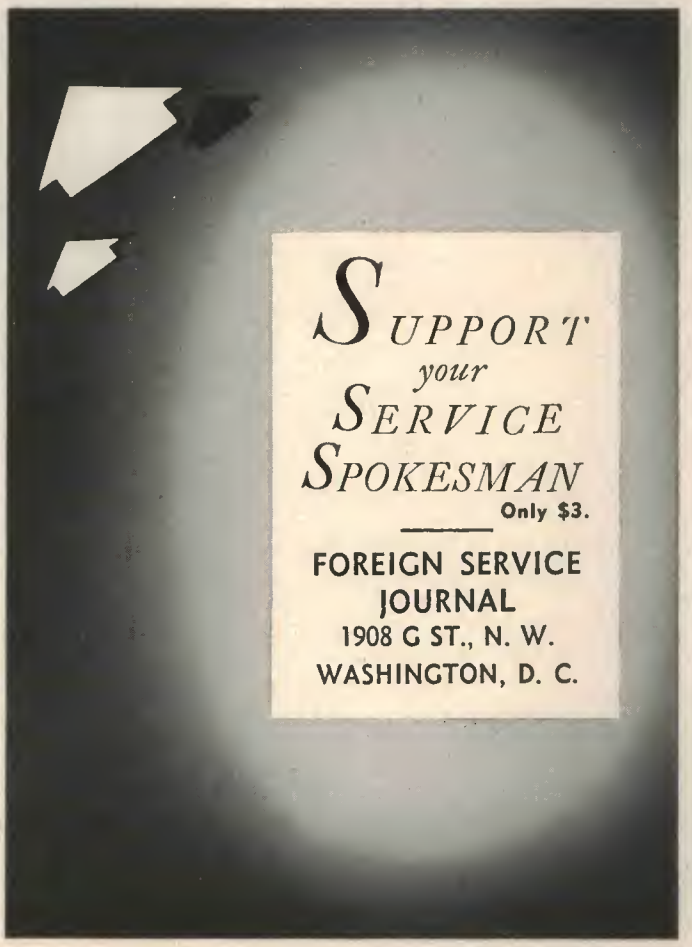

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with the American scene through frequent home leave and assignments to the Department. For years the Congress has expressed its favorable attitude towards this practice. Adequate appropriations both with respect to home leave and salary differentials for Foreign Service presonnel holding certain positions in the Department are essential for this public purpose.

If it is agreed by all concerned that the morale of the Foreign Service should be maintained in these critical times so that the effectiveness of the Service not be impaired, we can think of one measure which has had a particularly deleterious impact on the lower and middle ranks. We refer to the freeze on FSO and FSS promotions during 1953. We are aware that many reasons of a compelling nature lay behind the decision to delay implementation of the recommendations of the 1952 Selection Panels, including the budgetary factor, but we trust that this will remain an isolated, emergency episode and not a recurrent pattern. It does strike at the vital dynamics of a trained, permanent career system for foreign service in which entrants advance on the basis of merit alone to positions of progressively greater responsibility.

One last word. With its modest financial rewards, even including the so-called "fringe benefits," we wonder if the Foreign Service as now operated is not the most inexpensive machinery for the conduct of foreign affairs that could be devised by those mindful of the taxpayers' pocket-books? By making available to succeeding Administrations a trained, permanent corps of men and women who have acquired professional skills and insights over the years not easily or quickly learned, it seems to us that the Foreign Service *per se* represents a fundamental economy in the field of foreign affairs—a field in which the national risks are so high in both blood and treasure.

IN MEMORIAM

DAVID LEBRETON, JR. 1913-1953

By A COLLEAGUE

David LeBreton, Jr. died while saving the lives of the son and daughter of his colleague, Morris N. Hughes. The two children had been caught in an undertow on a beach in Tunisia. David, without a moment's hesitation, threw himself fully clothed into the surf and, while passing the children to safety, he became exhausted, his heart failed, and he was carried away by the strong undertow. So rough was the sea that his body was not recovered until an hour later.

David's heroic act was a fulfillment of his heritage and his character. The son of a distinguished Admiral of the United States Navy, David brought to the Foreign Service a strong sense of personal responsibility and a devotion to duty. This integrity was masked, perhaps, by a subtle sense of humor which spared no one, least of all himself. A few days before he died he said to a friend, "When I was at school we used to laugh at Polonius and his advice. It's still the best there is."

David, in laying down his life for others, was true to himself and was not false to any man.

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