

CHAPTER 3



CREATING A SECURITY OFFICE

Robert L. Bannerman and Cold War, 1945-1950

After World War II, tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union gradually escalated into the Cold War. A global rivalry, the Cold War played out across the political, military, economic, and cultural relations between the world's nation-states. Even though the two superpowers did not engage in direct military hostilities, several proxy wars occurred in the developing world, most notably in Korea and Vietnam. The U.S.-Soviet rivalry reinforced and elevated the Department of State's concerns regarding diplomatic security. As a result, the Department created a formal office to devise, execute, and enforce diplomatic security practices.

The Department of State's Security Office was the creation of Robert L. Bannerman. It would be logical to assume that Bannerman's efforts occurred within the Office of the Chief Special Agent (CSA) because Bannerman worked as a Special Agent in the CSA during the war; however, Bannerman actually left the CSA and formed a new office devoted to security. Department officials opted to create a new office rather than restructure the CSA because they believed that the CSA did not have the experience for "the approaching new concept of security" needed in the post-World War II era.¹ The catalyst for hiring Bannerman to build the Security Office was the 1945 *Amerasia* spy case. Soon other charges of espionage and disloyalty intensified the demand for an effective security program within the Department. Also, challenges faced by U.S. Embassies in Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe and the newly partitioned Palestine pressed the Department to expand its diplomatic security efforts.

Neither Bannerman's Security Office nor the Chief Special Agent's Office survived the first years of the Cold War. Security problems, Congressional pressure, and Department reorganization led to the merger of the Security Office and the CSA, and Bannerman left the Department. The new Division of Security (SY) assumed responsibilities of both offices, but it adopted Bannerman's program and vision. Within five years (1945-1950), the office that Bannerman initiated had grown from one person to 111 people, and became the foundation of the present-day Bureau of Diplomatic Security.

Stettinius's Reorganization and Security

By December 1944, with World War II nearing an end, U.S. officials had begun planning for the postwar world. The Department of State stood poised to play an extensive role; however, Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., recognized that “outstanding defects” had arisen in the Department’s operations. The defects were largely due to a reorganization of the Department that occurred earlier that year, on January 15. The rapid wartime expansion of the Department (from 763 personnel in 1936 to 7623 personnel in 1946) and the creation of several wartime offices and divisions generated a certain amount of disorganization in the Department’s bureaucracy. The January reorganization, also enacted by Stettinius, sought to group together offices and divisions engaged in similar function. The regroupings would improve operations and administration of the Department, and better incorporate new aspects of U.S. diplomacy, such as informational and cultural diplomacy. The January reorganization was not fully effective, in

part because some offices and divisions, like the Office of the Chief Special Agent and the Office of Foreign Buildings Operations (FBO), were omitted. In order to correct such errors, centralize responsibility, and improve management functions, Stettinius undertook a second large-scale reorganization of the Department. The December 20, 1944 reorganization created six new Assistant Secretary positions to centralize responsibility for specific geographic and functional areas.²

The Office of the Chief Special Agent remained untouched by both reorganizations, but subtle changes in security did occur. The CSA still reported directly to the Assistant Secretary of State for Administration, who had been the Department’s Security Officer since 1942. In order to help the Assistant Secretary for Administration enforce security, Under Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew increased the number of Assistant Security Officers from one to four. The new Assistant Security Officers focused upon particular aspects of security: cryptography, distribution of telegrams, security overseas, and physical security of the State Department building. In addition, it was proposed that each office and division designate one person to serve as the unit’s security officer, but that did not occur.³

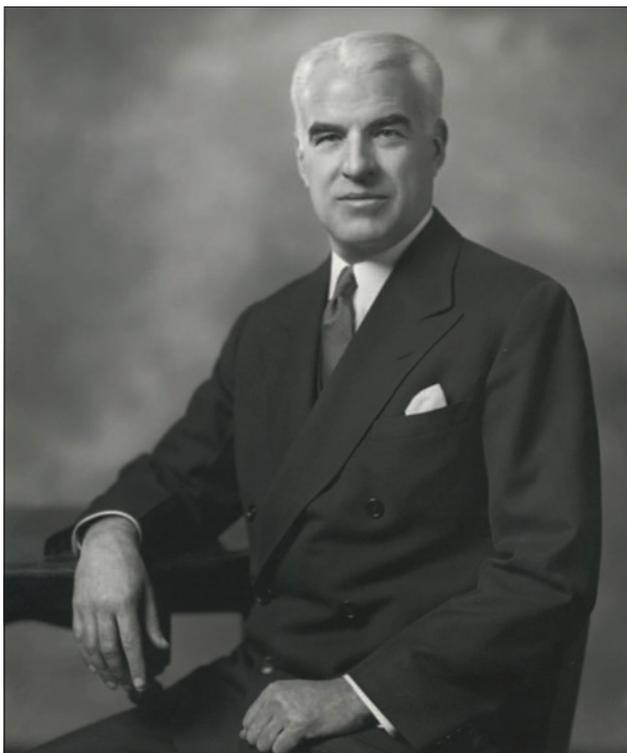


Figure 1: Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., 1944-1945. In the wake of the Amerasia leaks, Stettinius ordered the creation of a Security Officer for the Department. He selected Robert L. Bannerman to be the first Security Officer and tasked him with creating a security program for the Department and an office to assist him. Source: Office of the Historian, Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State.

Despite the wartime emphasis upon security, adherence to security procedures by Department employees had been rather lax. Classified documents were not placed in envelopes when sent around the building, “Top Secret” documents were not being double-wrapped, and safes were being left open overnight, practices that all had developed during the war. The greater frequency of security incidents was likely a product of the rapid growth of the Department during the war, the lack of training, and the greater amount of classified material being generated.⁴

Shortly after the December 1944 reorganization, Secretary Stettinius asked the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to conduct a security survey of the Department, and the FBI submitted its report to the Secretary on March 8, 1945. The FBI recommended creating a security program that included a security manual and training for Department officers and employees. The FBI also urged the Secretary to remove security responsibilities from the Assistant Secretary for Administration and create a separate “Security Officer” who had authority over security procedures, the ability to conduct security inspections, and jurisdiction over the Office of the Chief Special Agent. Senior Department officials, however, took no action on the FBI’s recommendations for several weeks. Part of the reason was that Stettinius, like most officers in the Department, viewed security as a broad-based responsibility affecting every office and division, one that constituted a basic element of the Department’s daily operations rather than an issue that required its own bureaucratic structure.⁵

The Amerasia Catalyst

In June 1945, news outlets reported that Department of State officers had leaked highly classified documents to the journal *Amerasia*, edited by Philip Jaffe. Classified information had first appeared in a January 26, 1945, article on British policy in Asia in *Amerasia*. Kenneth Wells, the Office of Strategic Service (OSS) chief for Southern Asia, read the section on Thailand and “found himself reading his own words” on U.S. and British policy toward that nation. Soon afterwards, a team of OSS and Office of Naval Intelligence agents raided *Amerasia*’s offices and discovered dozens of classified documents, including some classified as “Top Secret.” The documents had originated from the Department of State, as well as from the Army, the Navy, and British intelligence services. A subsequent FBI investigation discovered that Foreign Service Officer John Stewart Service and Department of State employee Emmanuel Larsen, among others, had leaked classified documents to Jaffe.⁶

Public uproar over the *Amerasia* case occurred, in part, for two reasons. First, there had been little news about espionage during the war because the FBI had refrained from publicizing espionage cases in order to prevent “spy hysteria.” Second, the *Amerasia* case involved ties to an ally (the Soviet Union) rather than Nazi German espionage. *Amerasia* editor Jaffe was a Soviet sympathizer who had been actively collecting documents with the intention of passing them to Soviet officials. Some newspaper commentators charged that the espionage resulted from Communist agents in the Department of State. John Stewart Service and Emanuel Larsen, however, had leaked the classified documents to promote their position in an on-going dispute over U.S. China policy within the Department, and their personal conflict with U.S. Ambassador to China Patrick Hurley.⁷



Figure 2: John Stewart Service testifies before Congress. Service and Emanuel Larsen leaked classified documents to Philip Jaffe, who was the editor of Amerasia. The Amerasia case embarrassed the Department of State and led to the creation of the Security Office and a formal security program within the Department. Source: Library of Congress, New York World-Telegram and the Sun Collection.

On June 6, 1945, the day the FBI arrested Service, Larsen, Jaffe, and three others, the Department of State tried to dampen public interest in the case. In a press statement, the Department announced that it had learned that “information of a secret character was reaching unauthorized persons,” and that two Department employees had been arrested. The Department assured the public that it was working with the FBI and that it had “been giving special attention to the security of secret and confidential information.” The next day, Under Secretary of State Grew declared that the arrests were “one result of a comprehensive security program which is to be continued unrelentingly in order to stop completely the illegal and disloyal conveyance of confidential information to unauthorized persons.” Some newspapers took Grew’s comment to mean that there might be more spies in the Federal Government. FBI agents added to the uproar by telling the *New York Times* that the leak of classified information was “overwhelming.”⁸

With a storm of criticism bursting over the *Amerasia* affair and the Department’s acknowledgement that it had not prosecuted earlier leaks of classified documents, Secretary Stettinius

moved quickly to enact several security reforms. On June 18, he issued Departmental Order No. 1324, which created the position of Security Officer for the Department of State; this officer would also serve as Special Assistant to the Director of the Office of Controls. On June 20, the Department announced that Robert L. Bannerman would assume the position of Security Officer, and Frederick B. Lyon, Chief of the Division of Foreign Activity Correlation, would be Acting Director of the Office of Controls.⁹

Bannerman recalled later that “time was of the essence,” in assuming his new job and creating a Security Office; indeed, it was because neither the Department’s June 6 press release nor Grew’s June 7 comments were accurate. The Department did not have “a comprehensive security program,” nor had it given “special attention” to the security of classified information. Also, the *Amerasia* case had resulted from OSS chief Kenneth Wells’ discovery, not the Department’s “comprehensive security program,” as Grew had claimed.¹⁰

Bannerman's Three Point Security Program

Pushed by the *Amerasia* case, Bannerman and the Department rushed to create the Security Office. Starting literally with nothing, Bannerman later remarked that he and Lyon “had no funds, no office space, no slots for personnel, [and] no clear statement of authority;” furthermore, the wording of Departmental Order 1324 was “vague.” He was able to obtain space and staff from several divisions in the Office of Controls. He obtained four rooms from the Visa and Special War Programs Divisions; and acquired seven people from Visa, Passport, the Special Programs divisions, and the Chief Special Agent’s office. Bannerman and his new staff then spent several days determining how “the Department actually operated, what [security and] office systems were in effect, what was considered sensitive information, and how information circulated through the Department.” When Bannerman developed a program that exceeded the terms of Department Order 1324, he obtained permission from Assistant Secretary for Administration Julius Holmes to depart from the order’s restrictions.¹¹

Bannerman’s security program consisted of three parts. Directed by Paul Cooper, the first part of the program focused on “Documentary and Physical Security,” specifically developing Department-wide security procedures for classified information, devising measures to protect the Department’s buildings in Washington, and training Department employees on security procedures. The second part of Bannerman’s program addressed personnel security. Even though the Office of the Chief Special Agent conducted a background investigation on each applicant (which consisted largely of checking references and verifying information), Bannerman proposed and received approval of a requirement that Department applicants obtain a “security determination” before employment. He set up a Security Evaluations staff and selected Morse Allen as its head. The third part of the program was to place Security Officers in several selected embassies around the world, and this effort was delayed for a year.¹²



Figure 3: Robert L. Bannerman, a Special Agent for 10 years, was named Security Officer of the Department of State in 1945. He developed a three-part program: background investigations for a security clearance, security officers at U.S. embassies, and Department-wide security procedures for classified information, with an accompanying training program for all Department officers and employees. His program became the foundation for diplomatic security programs currently existing in the Department. Bannerman left the the State Department and its Security Office in 1947 to join the new Central Intelligence Agency, where he helped to create that Agency's security program. Source: Central Intelligence Agency.

Bannerman's requirement that each new Department employee obtain a security determination soon overwhelmed the work of the new Security Office. Beginning on August 31, 1945, shortly after Bannerman gained approval of the requirement, several special war agencies, including the Office of War Information (OWI), were abolished,¹³ and their employees transferred to the Department of State, with approximately 4,000 new employees transferred in the month of October alone. The number of new employees was very large, but two unanticipated difficulties made security determinations an overwhelming task. First, when Bannerman sought to obtain individuals' security files from their previous agency, the soon-to-be-defunct agencies were reluctant to hand over the records. When the OWI refused to release its security files, Bannerman, with senior officer approval, took a work crew and a truck late one evening and seized them. Once having control of the files, Bannerman encountered the second difficulty: he had assumed that OWI and the other agencies had completed a background review similar to what the Chief Special Agent's office had done for Department of State hires. Instead, Bannerman and his staff found that other agencies' files were "limited in scope, poorly organized, and many were missing or non-existent." Facing a far larger task than he had initially envisioned, Bannerman now was forced to send the cases of many transferred employees to the Chief Special Agent's office for further investigation and various checks. In addition, Bannerman initiated the practice of checking new hires against the security files of the FBI, House Un-American Activities Committee (the Dies Committee), and the Department of State.¹⁴



Figure 4: Igor Gouzenko (in hood) interviewed by Associated Press writer Saul Pett. Gouzenko, a code clerk for the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, defected and gave Canadian officials documents that revealed a Soviet spy ring in Canada and that ring's links to a Soviet spy ring in the United States. The documents implicated Alger Hiss of the Department of State. Bannerman expanded security checks to include all Department applicants. Source: © Associated Press.

Bannerman and the new Security Office confronted multiple pressures that threatened to subvert the security check process. The sheer number of transfers and employees prompted Bannerman to form a Security Committee to review files in which questionable information had arisen. The committee comprised six people: Bannerman, and one person each from the Divisions of Departmental Personnel, Foreign Service Personnel, Passport, Foreign Activities Correlation, and the Chief Special Agent's office. The Department also insisted that security reviews be completed by November 30, 1945, a deadline which Bannerman later confessed was "impossible."¹⁵

Further revelations of Soviet espionage in the Department of State and the U.S. Government led Bannerman to expand the use of security checks for other Department employees. In September 1945, the defection of Soviet agent Igor Gouzenko to Canadian

officials in Ottawa led to the exposure of a Soviet espionage network in Canada and of that network's strong links to the Soviet network in the United States, disclosures which further implicated Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White in Soviet espionage. Then in November 1945, Elizabeth Bentley, a courier for the Soviet intelligence agency, NKVD (Narodnyi Komissariat Vnutrennikh del—People's Commissariat for State Security), went to the FBI and confessed her involvement with Soviet espionage, implicating several people including Hiss. Bentley's information, in turn, led FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover to reexamine the revelations that Whittaker Chambers had offered in 1939. The FBI then prepared a two-volume report that detailed Soviet espionage in the United States that was distributed to Bannerman, among others.¹⁶



Figure 5: Elizabeth Bentley before Congress in August 1948. Bentley confessed to involvement in Soviet espionage and implicated several, including Alger Hiss of the Department of State. Source: © Associated Press.

Bannerman developed a “highly confidential” liaison with the FBI, and in the process uncovered several “serious security cases.” Meanwhile, the revelations and sensation created by the Canadian spy ring, Bentley’s confession, and the FBI’s two-volume report prompted Congress again to raise questions about security at the Department of State. In January 1946, Bannerman expanded the requirement for security checks to include all employees joining the Department or Foreign Service.¹⁷

By July 1946, Bannerman’s Security Office was “devoting practically all of its effort to the personnel problem.” Bannerman requested that his office be granted an additional 12 officers, 10 clerks, and 3 stenographers. He also reported that of the personnel transferred from the five now-abolished agencies, the Security Committee had disapproved the employment of 285 people and had terminated 79 others.¹⁸ There were other cases where the Security Office wanted action taken against the individuals, but action was not taken for reasons unknown. Adding to the difficulties, the Security Office and the Security Committee had to determine what criteria constituted grounds for termination, because they had not received a statement of policy guidance from senior Department officers that detailed grounds for dismissal, standards for loyalty, or procedures to follow.¹⁹

Bannerman and the Office of the Chief Special Agent (CSA) partially resolved the back-ground investigation problem by creating Field Offices in 1946. Prior to World War II, Post Office Inspectors conducted many of the background investigations for the Department. The CSA sent a request to the Post Office citing the applicant’s hometown or previous city of residence, and the Post Office Inspector made inquiries and conducted interviews, sending the results back to CSA. By early 1943, wartime demands

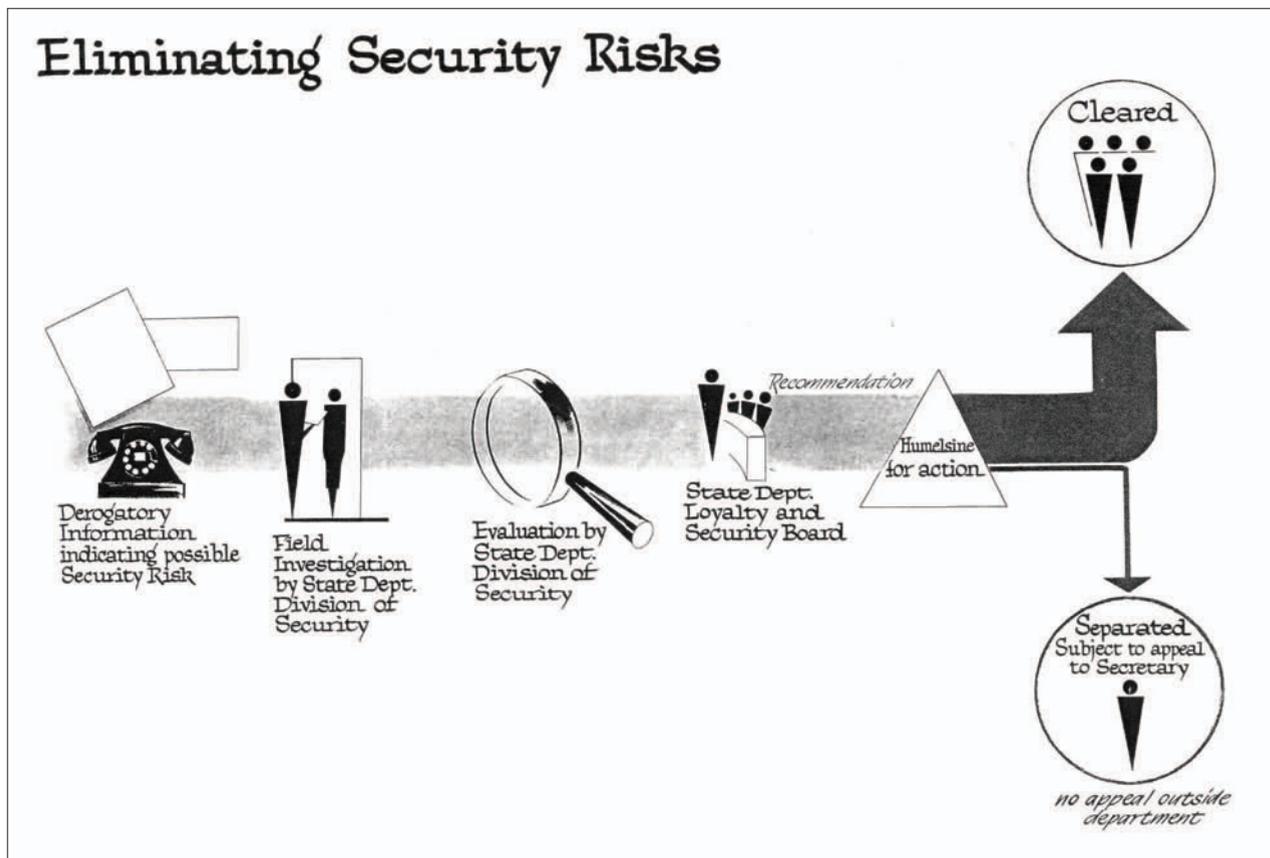


Figure 6: Chart showing the Procedure of a Security Investigation. Bannerman's procedure for security investigations and evaluations closely resembled the above chart. The differences were that the Division of Investigations (the old Chief Special Agent's office) conducted the investigation, the Security Office evaluated the results, and the Security Committee chaired by Bannerman reviewed the case. As the chart's arrows show, very few faced difficulties before the Security Committee. Source: Department of State Records, National Archives and Records Administration.

on the workforce required the Post Office to stop doing investigations for the Department. Although the New York Field Office had existed since 1917, Chief Special Agent Thomas A. Fitch added Special Agents in Washington to undertake investigations. In August 1945, the CSA had 47 agents, and they formed the core of the Washington Field Office that emerged in early 1946. Several other Field Offices were opened; and by early 1947, there were Field Offices in Chicago, Atlanta, Boston, Cincinnati, Dallas, Denver, Detroit, Los Angeles, Miami, New Orleans, New York, Omaha, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Seattle, St. Louis, and St. Paul. In 1948, the Cleveland and Greensboro Field Offices were added. Of these, New York, Washington, Boston, and San Francisco were the largest (10-20 Special Agents each), with Chicago, St. Louis, and Los Angeles following (4-6 Special Agents each). The remaining Field Offices were generally staffed by a single Special Agent with a clerk.²⁰

 *Bannerman's Security Committee Draws Fire* 

Congress's demands that the Department of State remove "disloyal" employees--what Director of Policy Planning Paul Nitze called "the elimination of the faithless"--continued. In July 1946, Congress attached the McCarran Rider to the Department's appropriations bill. The rider gave the Secretary of State "absolute discretion" to terminate any Department employee if it was deemed "necessary or advisable in the interests of the United States." This meant an employee could not appeal the Secretary's decision to the Civil Service Commission. Congress continued its pressure by adding the McCarran Rider to every Department of State appropriations bill for the next seven years.²¹

While Congressional pressure to remove subversives increased, some Foreign Service Officers criticized the manner in which Bannerman's Security Office and the Security Committee was handling personnel cases. Bannerman learned on May 15, 1946, that a senior Department official had recommended that the "security control of personnel" be "decentralized." The recommendation meant that the investigation, evaluation, and security risk determination stages would be in separate bureaucratic entities rather than centralized in one office. The criticism, combined with the passage of the McCarran Rider, prompted Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Administration Joseph A. Panuch to ask Samuel E. Klaus on July 10 to conduct a survey on how the Security Office, the Chief Special Agent's office, and the Office of Controls pursued and completed personnel investigations.²²

In his report, Klaus strongly criticized not only the process, but also the personnel performing the work. Klaus questioned the Special Agents' abilities and qualifications, asserting that few had a "superior education" and that the average agent did not know "the differences among the various schools of so-called liberal and radical thought." He charged that when a case was referred to the Chief Special Agent's office, Special Agents conducted a cursory review of the person, did not verify "derogatory" information, and tended to rely upon local Postmaster reports for distant locales. Klaus also asserted that the FBI supplied information to the Security Office that it would not provide to the Office of the Chief Special Agent upon a similar request, and that the FBI often did not provide evidence for its claims, including membership in the Communist Party.²³ Klaus additionally objected to the centralized procedure by which all cases involving "doubt" were forwarded to the Security Committee. The committee members, he said, did not review the files before rendering their decision, and instead relied upon the Security Office's recommendations. In the majority of instances, Klaus asserted that "doubt" led to disapproval, and no minutes or records were kept of the committee's meetings.²⁴

The Klaus Report had the hallmarks of a pre-determined conclusion before the research was conducted, and several items cast doubt on his charges. First, Klaus received his assignment on July 10, and completed a report numbering more than 100 pages by August 3. Klaus admitted that he did not travel to the Chief Special Agent's field offices, and according to Bannerman, Klaus completed his survey in just 4 days. The report's length and the time spent on it strongly indicate that Klaus could not have conducted a sufficient survey to make several of his claims. Klaus seems not to have recognized that the investigations conducted by the Chief Special Agent's and Security Offices in 1946 were more extensive than at any previous time. Moreover,

Klaus dismissed out of hand the many years of law enforcement and investigative experience that Special Agents possessed. He also admitted that he had no knowledge of background investigation procedure. If he had, he would have known that sending a request to the local Postmaster had been standard practice since 1920, and that the local investigations, particularly in larger cities, were conducted by the local Post Office Inspectors, who were not mere mailmen, as Klaus tried to suggest. Furthermore, if the Carl Marzani case was an indication, the Security Office and the Chief Special Agent's office conducted better investigations than Klaus had portrayed. The two offices gathered enough evidence to indict Marzani for perjury (Marzani had not fully disclosed his work for the U.S. Communist Party). The Marzani indictment infuriated FBI Director Hoover, who lamented, "It is rather humiliating that a case like [Marzani's] was made by the State Dept and *not* the FBI."²⁵

Deputy Assistant Secretary Panuch also tasked a second survey to be completed in July 1946 on physical security within the Department of State, and that report favored expanding Bannerman's office. Undertaken by S. R. Goodrich of the Bureau of Administration's Management Planning Division, the second survey found that security breaches in the Department were "too numerous to mention" and that the Department's security deficiencies "prevent[ed] even a reasonable degree of security." Goodrich advocated that the Security Office be expanded and made into its own separate division within the Office of Controls. Another recommendation was to develop an "aggressive security indoctrination program," and a third was to appoint security officers for every office and division, an idea that the FBI had recommended the previous year but one the Department of State had not implemented. Goodrich's report essentially advocated Bannerman's broad three-part security plan and urged a large expansion of the Security Office.²⁶

On July 25, 1946, Assistant Secretary State for Administration Donald S. Russell disbanded Bannerman's Security Committee and created a new committee, formally titled the Advisory Committee on Personnel Security (ACOPS). Russell appointed Klaus to chair the committee, and Klaus chose the committee's membership. Bannerman was not consulted about the composition of the new committee; indeed, he only learned that a new committee would be replacing the old security committee after the deed had occurred. Despite the obvious slight to Bannerman, the Security Office continued to investigate personnel and submit reports to Klaus's committee.²⁷

The case statistics of ACOPS indicate that Klaus's charges against background investigations and the Security Committee were a means to discourage disapprovals and terminations for security reasons. Whereas Bannerman's Security Committee had rendered decisions of disapproval or termination in 341 cases in 10 months of existence, Klaus's ACOPS committee dealt with just 28 cases total in 10 months and terminated 2 people, one of whom was Carl Marzani, a case which Bannerman's committee had already developed. Of the remaining 26 cases, Klaus's committee allowed 12 cases to be withdrawn (due to resignation or other reasons), dismissed another 8 cases (for lack of evidence or other reasons), and gave approvals to the remaining 6 cases.²⁸ Moreover, Klaus refused to accept any FBI information unless the FBI revealed its sources, which the FBI refused to do. Then, on

November 9, 1946, Panuch announced that all security cases had to be resolved by December 1. In intention, Klaus, Russell, Panuch, and Department officials were moving in a direction opposite of what the McCarran Rider had demanded.²⁹

Security Training, Overseas Security, and the Creation of SY

While personnel security evaluations dominated the work of the Security Office, Bannerman moved forward on the two other parts of his program. During the summer of 1945, Bannerman and Robert Freeman developed the overseas security program, which assigned specially selected and trained Security Officers to 25 U.S. embassies abroad. Secretary of State James F. Byrnes approved the program in August 1945, and the Security Office soon developed a list of well-qualified candidates. However, the program was delayed for more than a year because the Department did not have any open slots available in which to place the new overseas Security Officers. In the fall of 1946, Bannerman learned that the Department had allotted hundreds of slots for media officers at overseas posts. He convinced the head of the Information Office to loan him 30 positions, but it still took several months for the loan to be approved.³⁰

For the third part of the Security Office's program, Bannerman and Paul Cooper developed much of the Department's training program for handling classified information. Bannerman was serving as the Department's representative on the Security Advisory Board of the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee (SWNCC), which was charged with developing security-training and awareness programs, and establishing postwar rules for accessing classified information, including new standards for handling and transmitting government information and definitions for categories of classification.³¹ Bannerman and Cooper worked with the Training Services and Management Planning divisions to create a reference manual of

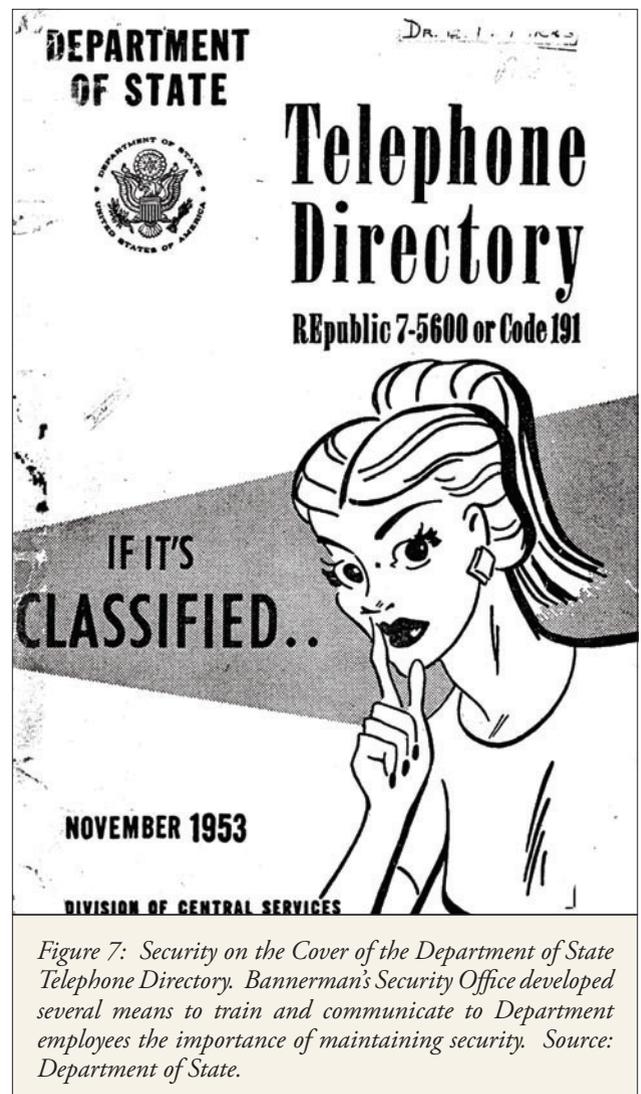


Figure 7: Security on the Cover of the Department of State Telephone Directory. Bannerman's Security Office developed several means to train and communicate to Department employees the importance of maintaining security. Source: Department of State.

security regulations, a “security handbook,” a poster series for the Department, “open” signs for safes, and other security related materials. Cooper and Bannerman, with the Presentation Division, produced the film *Security of Information*, which “starred” Near Eastern Affairs officer Clare H. Timberlake as the Foreign Service Officer who prepared a “Top Secret” memorandum, the contents of which were compromised.³²

In January 1947, the Security Office, in conjunction with the Training Services and Management Planning Divisions, launched the first formal, Department-wide security-training program. Between January 14 and 21, the Security Office and the Office of Controls conducted security-training sessions for all 7,000 Department of State employees. In the hour-long sessions, the program sought “to impress upon all employees...the essential part which good security practices must play in their daily operations.” Employees viewed the film *Security of Information*, and were issued a standard security reference book as they left the presentation. After the week of training sessions, the Security Office reported that the effect of its security program “upon Departmental employees has been gratifying.”³³

The security training program emphasized the individual responsibility of each employee. It advised participants that “the maintenance of security is a chain” and that “YOUR watchfulness in enforcing security regulations becomes a link in that chain.” Department personnel received instruction on how to classify documents according to defined categories; how to send classified information through officially designated message centers; and how to follow strict procedures for the reproduction, destruction, and storage of classified materials. In the case of storage of materials, employees were instructed that all classified documents had to be stored in safes or cabinets secured with a three-number combination lock. The Security Office also demanded that Department employees and officers adhere to building security measures, including displaying identification badges for entry. Furthermore, each office or division was required to designate a Security Officer to implement and oversee conformity with new security policies, and to maintain security check systems for the unit.³⁴

While the training materials assured staff that Department officials did not believe there was “an espionage agent under every desk eagerly waiting to pounce,” the materials stressed the utmost necessity of good security practices and the dire consequences of security breaches. The security program strove to promote a new consciousness of security by continuously linking employee security requirements to the very survival of the United States. Materials repeatedly reminded personnel “the way you enforce security today, tomorrow and in the more distant future may well mean the difference between preserving and undermining the strength and prestige of our Nation.” Security promotional materials frequently warned staff members not to be “the weak link,” with the ultimate message that true security could only be attained if each employee conscientiously and continuously monitored his or her own activities, and if employees remained vigilant of their surroundings, including the actions of others.³⁵

After the January sessions, Bannerman and the Security Office continued security awareness training for Department and Foreign Service employees, and their training extended to other agencies in the Federal Government. The Security Office offered training for each entering class at the Foreign Service Institute, had

regular participation in Foreign Service training, held talks with all Department personnel in Washington and New York, and conducted briefings for each new Foreign Service Officer and each Foreign Service Officer returning from overseas duty. Whether due to its popularity or the fact that the *Security of Information* was the first and/or only training film, the White House, Coast Guard, Bureau of Engraving and Printing, Secret Service, and Department of the Treasury all used the Security Office's film as a security-training tool for their personnel.³⁶

Despite the success of his training program, Bannerman learned on February 11, 1947, that the Security Office would be merged into the Division of Investigations, which was a part of the Office of Controls. Eight months earlier, the Department created the Division of Investigations, by moving the Office of the Chief Special Agent with its staff of 124 people into the Office of Controls and renaming it. On February 24, the Department transferred the Security Office into Investigations, creating the Division of Security and Investigations. Bannerman had been assured that any personnel actions would be made with "joint approval," but Bannerman and his two deputies, Morse Allen and Henry Thomas, received their new assignments at 6 p.m. on March 11, 1947. Allen, head of Evaluations, was transferred to the New York Field Office, and Thomas, Bannerman's right hand man, was moved to the Miami Field Office. Bannerman was named section chief and received a 50 percent cut in responsibilities and in pay.³⁷

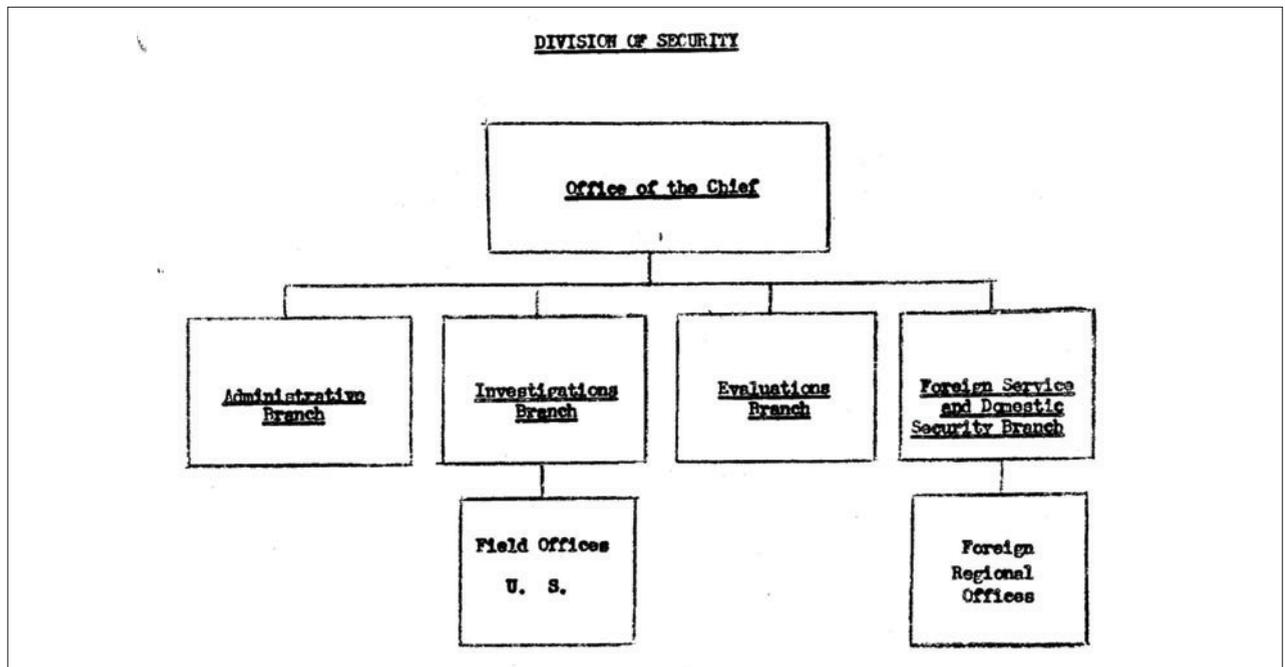


Figure 8: Organizational Chart of the Division of Security, 1948. After the Security Office and Division of Investigations (old Chief Special Agent's Office) merged, the new Division of Security resembled Bannerman's vision for an expanded Security Office. Source: Department of State Records, National Archives and Records Administration.

The decision to merge the Security Office into the Division of Investigations arose from several factors. The Division of Management Planning, influenced by Goodrich's report, urged Panuch to separate the security function into its own division, so that the director of the Office of Controls (CON) could focus upon the managing CON's multiple divisions. Also, Department managers wanted to improve the efficiency and performance of CON. Then, on January 22, 1947, Panuch left, and John E. Peurifoy replaced him as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Administration. One of the first memoranda Peurifoy received discussed the 2,000 case backlog in employee investigations.³⁸

Although the new Division of Security and Investigations kept the Chief Special Agent's acronym CSA, it adopted the Security Office's three-part program and effectively became the large Security Office that Bannerman had envisioned. As suggested by the name change, the 124-person Division of Investigations had grown largely due to background investigations; other duties such as protecting the Secretary of State and investigating passport or visa fraud required few people. Bannerman's Security Office not only had a broader vision, but his three-part program expanded the office's responsibilities. In essence, the small Security Office swallowed the much larger Division of Investigations, and the new entity's structure replicated the Security Office's operation. The Investigations Division

performed investigations of employees, and the concluded investigations were forwarded to the Security Office's Evaluations branch for review and evaluation, a process which in a way brought the old Chief Special Agent's office under Bannerman's umbrella. The new Division of Investigations and Security still retained the duties of protecting the Secretary of State and foreign dignitaries; however, Bannerman's three tasks: security investigations, the security training program, and the overseas security program provided the focus and structure for the new division.

After being integrated into the Division of Security and Investigations, Bannerman remained long enough to finish creating the overseas security program. With the loan of 30 positions from the Information Office finally approved, Bannerman began training overseas security officers in late spring or early summer 1947. The training program lasted two weeks and included physical security, personnel security, and organization of the Department. The Security Office



Figure 9: Regional Security Officer Mike Lustgarten (third from left) and his assistant, Jim Trout (center), meet with Special Agents Leo Crampsey (second from right) and Frank Madden (right), in Vienna in 1952. The onset of the Cold War and key alliances such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization led to an exponential increase in the amount of classified documents at an embassy and espionage threats to the post and its staff. Bannerman's effort to train and assign Regional Security Officers at U.S. embassies around the world took hold immediately. Source: Department of State.

held instruction at the U.S. Army's Camp Holabird, near Baltimore. Bannerman admitted that he conducted a large part of the informal training himself because he believed that he "was the only one who had the concept of how a Security Officer should operate at an Embassy." The program soon became more formalized, with classes in loyalty investigations, fingerprinting, "informants and informant exposure," physical security, and technical security.³⁹

On July 21, 1947, the Department issued a circular airgram to all posts describing the Foreign Service Security Corps, its responsibilities and duties, and the aims of the program. The trainees departed for their assignments shortly afterwards. These overseas security officers were given the title of Assistant Attaché rather than Security Officer, because it was feared that the latter might encourage the idea among foreign governments that the officers were engaged in intelligence activities.⁴⁰ Bannerman recalled that most officers were "well received and many were effective immediately." Some embassies were less enthused. New security officer Paul Green, assigned to the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest, had the worst experience--the Ambassador refused to allow Green to communicate with Washington, and would not even acknowledge that he had arrived at post. After the initial responses, Bannerman transferred to the new Central Intelligence Agency in November 1947 to help to create that agency's security program.⁴¹

Bannerman's departure was just one of several personnel and bureaucratic changes taking place in the security area. At the start of 1948, Donald L. Nicholson, a former FBI Special Agent, replaced Thomas Fitch as Chief of the Division of Security and Investigations, and Fitch become Special Advisor to the Director of the Office of Controls. Fitch, who retired in early 1950, focused upon protecting the Secretary of State and foreign dignitaries, and handled issues related to foreign embassies in Washington. The "portal-to-portal" method was in practice, meaning that the agent met the Secretary at his home in the morning and escorted him throughout the day until returning home in the evening. There was no overnight security.⁴²

In November 1947, the Department's postwar drive for efficiency and economy targeted the Division of Foreign Activity Correlation (FC), in part because of the running question within the Department: "Just what do all those people do in FC?" With 69 staff members, FC, in liaison with the FBI, the OSS, and the War and Navy Departments reviewed security and intelligence information about individuals, groups, and incidents that threatened the security of the United States. The Department's January 1948 survey of FC found that it duplicated or completed work similar to that of the Division of Security and Investigation.⁴³ By February 1948, the Bureau of Administration decided to dissolve FC and transfer most of its duties and staff to the Security and Investigations Division. This occurred on August 27.⁴⁴ With the addition of FC's functions, the Division of Investigation and Security was renamed the Division of Security, and it received a new acronym, SY. The Division of Security, numbering 197 people, continued to organize itself around Bannerman's three-part security program. SY focused primarily on personnel investigations, but it also operated an overseas security program and conducted the security-training program for the Department and the Foreign Service. Additional responsibilities included physical security of Department of State buildings, advice on Department security programs, recommendations on visas and passports, and protection of the Secretary and visiting foreign dignitaries.⁴⁵

🌀 *Determining Loyalty and Security Risk* 🌀

As Bannerman strove to build the Security Office and make security determinations for Department employees, Congressional and public pressure to remove alleged subversives from federal employment became even more intense. On November 25, 1946, after the Republicans had taken control of Congress in the off-year elections, President Truman signed Executive Order 9806, which established the President’s Temporary Commission on Employee Loyalty. An attempt to ward off a more aggressive Congressional investigation, Truman’s Temporary Commission studied the issue of Communist “infiltration” within the Executive branch, but commission members disagreed on the extent or seriousness of the problem. After approximately 10 weeks of study, the Commission’s findings resulted in Executive Order 9835, issued on March 12, 1947. This order created an employee loyalty program for the Executive branch designed to affirm “that persons employed in the Federal service be of complete and unswerving loyalty to the United States.” The order permitted federal agencies and offices to check current employee names against FBI records, and new applicant names against FBI, Dies Committee, and other records. If any derogatory information arose during a check, Executive Order 9835 allowed federal agencies to request a full field investigation on that employee or applicant.⁴⁶ Launched in October 1947, the government-wide employee loyalty program was generally executed through the FBI, and a Loyalty Review Board of the Civil Service Commission, known as the President’s Loyalty Board, reviewed cases.⁴⁷

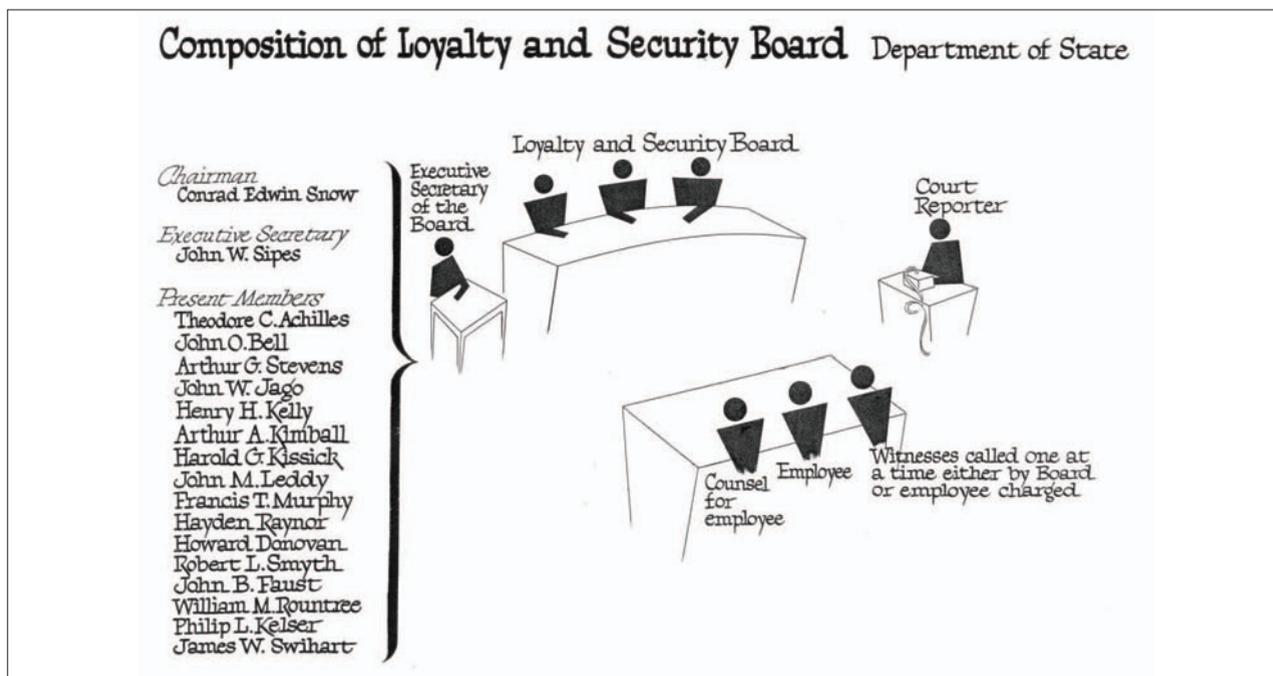
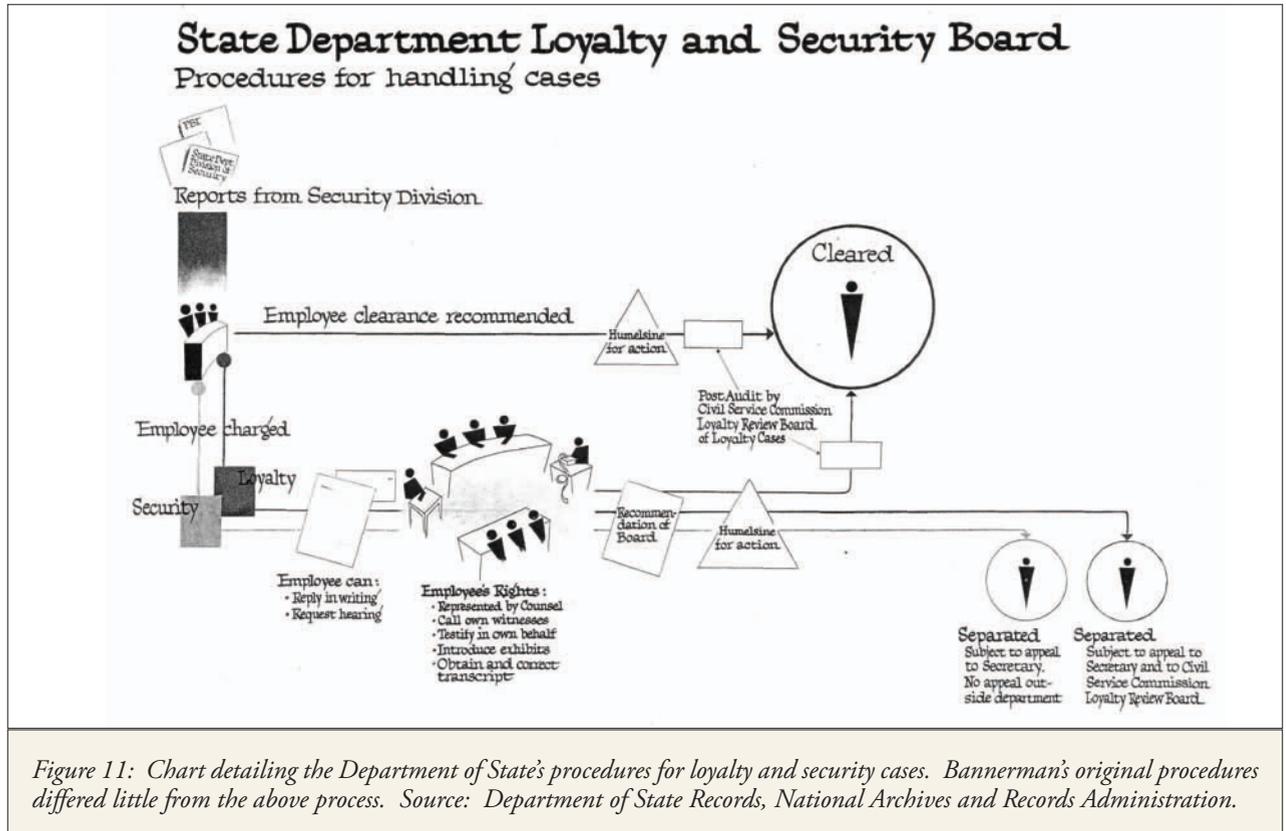


Figure 10: Chart of Loyalty Security Board in the Department of State. Chaired by Conrad E. Snow, the Personnel Security Board replaced Samuel Klaus’ ACOPS committee in reviewing loyalty cases. Source: Department of State Records, National Archives and Records Administration.



With the new loyalty program slated to start in October, Secretary of State George C. Marshall abolished the Advisory Committee on Personnel Security, headed by Samuel Klaus in June 1947. On July 9, despite the fact that there would soon be a government-wide loyalty review board, Marshall replaced the now defunct ACOPS with a three-person committee called the Personnel Security Board. The Department of State retained its own security review committee for three reasons. First, as a result of the McCarran Rider passed the previous year, the Department still had a number of security cases under investigation and review. Second, the Department noted a dual requirement relating to personnel security. The President's Executive Order 9835 focused upon an individual employee's possible disloyalty; however, the McCarran Rider focused on whether an individual employee posed a "security risk," which was a much broader set of considerations.⁴⁸ As the Department noted in a press release explaining the new committee, "a poor security risk may be judged because of sexual peculiarities, alcoholism or because of an indiscreet and chronically wagging tongue; without any question of the individual's loyalty to this country." Third, the Department argued that it needed a separate review board because of its unique status. Because the Department was a target for espionage and possessed a large number of highly classified communications, Department officials insisted that it needed to retain its independent power to investigate and to dismiss employees as outlined in the McCarran Rider.⁴⁹ The Department, in truth, did not like or want the McCarran Rider, but it was now using it to avoid bringing its employees under the broader loyalty board program.

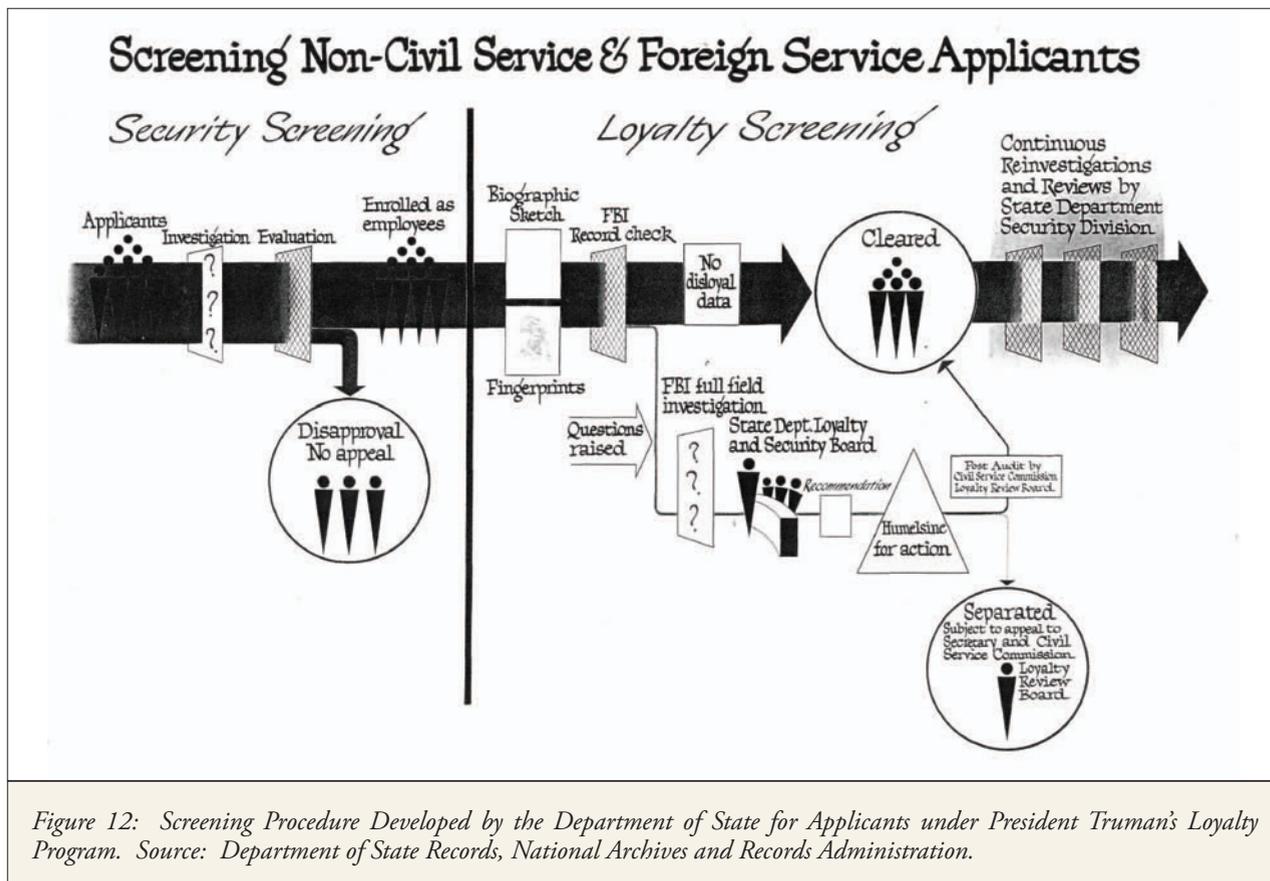


Figure 12: Screening Procedure Developed by the Department of State for Applicants under President Truman's Loyalty Program. Source: Department of State Records, National Archives and Records Administration.

Chaired by Conrad E. Snow, the Personnel Security Board received criticism from the Left and the Right. From the Left, reporter Bert Andrews published a series of articles in the *New York Herald-Tribune* that decried the Department of State's "witch hunt," charging that the security checks, investigations, and hearings placed civil liberties under serious threat. The articles earned Andrews a Pulitzer Prize for Journalism and were revised into a book titled *Washington Witch Hunt*. From the Right, the House of Representatives' Committee on Appropriations charged that the Department of State was not aggressive enough in removing Communists and other persons deemed to be security risks from Department employment. The Committee sent a team to the Office of Controls and the Division of Security and Investigations in September 1947 to investigate the issue. After a struggle over access, the House investigators gained unlimited access to all files. After about six weeks, the investigators, led by Harris Huston, charged that there were 108 cases of persons of questionable security still working for the Department of State. Although one House member drafted a resolution calling for a special committee to investigate disloyalty in the Department of State, no legislative action was taken. On June 8, 1948, the Personnel Security Board was renamed the Loyalty Security Board, and it continued to process and make determinations for both loyalty and security cases.⁵⁰

Congressional debate and public discussion of the 108 cases continued through the first half of 1948, and it prompted Congress to pass the Smith-Mundt Act on January 27, 1948. The Smith-Mundt Act required an FBI check of all U.S. Government employees within 6 months. Although the law exempted Foreign Service Officers, who were appointed by the President and confirmed by the Congress, it did cover foreign nationals and non-Foreign Service U.S. citizens working at U.S. embassies abroad. Under the act, each post had to submit to the Department personal information, a set of fingerprints, and a photograph for each of these employees, as well as conduct a security investigation. Nearly every post completed the investigations and submitted materials in the mandated 6 months.⁵¹ Several embassies requested expedited investigations, or asked to have the person assume his/her duties before the investigation was completed, but the Department denied these requests.⁵²



Figure 13: Meeting of the subcommittee of the House of Representatives Un-American Activities Committee. Seated at the table to the left is Representative Richard Nixon (R-CA); the second person seated to the right of Nixon (black necktie) is Whittaker Chambers. Source: Library of Congress, New York World-Telegram and the Sun Collection.

The Department of State had already developed a clearly defined process for determining loyalty and security risk by the time the Loyalty Security Board was created. The Secretary of State delegated the responsibility, oversight, and decisions of this process to the Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration. For existing Department employees, the procedure for security and loyalty cases was similar. If there was no derogatory information found during the name check with FBI records or in one's file, the person was cleared. If such information did appear, the Division of Security undertook a full investigation. Special Agents would complete the investigation and turn their findings over to SY's Evaluations branch, which would then render a recommendation. If the derogatory information was false or unsubstantiated, the person was cleared. If the information merited further review, it was sent to the Department's Loyalty Security Board. The Board, which consisted of three Department officers, held a hearing with the following individuals present: the accused, the counsel for the accused, a court reporter, and witnesses for and against the accused. After the hearing, the Board would make its recommendation, and forward it to the Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration. The Deputy Under Secretary would then take action, either clearing the accused or terminating their Department employment. In cases in which termination resulted from issues related to loyalty, the Civil Service Commission could conduct a post-audit of the case. However, if termination resulted for security reasons, as stipulated by the McCarran Rider, the employee could not appeal the decision to the Civil Service Commission.⁵³

For those applying for Department employment, the process was nearly the same. For security screening, SY conducted an investigation of the applicant, and turned over the finding to the Evaluations Branch, which rendered a decision. As defined by the McCarran Rider, disapprovals could not be appealed. Loyalty screenings followed the same procedure as employee screening, with the Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration taking action. As was the case for employees, applicants' cases regarding loyalty could be appealed and post-audited by the Loyalty Review Board of the Civil Service Commission.⁵⁴

Many Department employees, the great majority of whom were never accused of anything, found accusations of disloyalty and the introduction of security background checks to be discomfoting. Most Foreign Service Officers at the time had come from well-to-do backgrounds and had attended prestigious universities. They thought of themselves as members of an elite service, and found it difficult to accept the idea that treasonous conduct could be found among their ranks. Accusations tended to be exaggerated and inflamed by the press, and fears that scurrilous and untrue accusations would wreck an Foreign Service Officer's career were not uncommon. In March 1948, Secretary of State George C. Marshall sought to allay these concerns by sending a message to employees that he was "confident" of the loyalty of Department personnel. Marshall insisted that any doubt of an employee's loyalty "must be based upon reliable evidence," not "on spiteful, unsupported, or irresponsible allegations."⁵⁵

Charges of disloyalty and of security risks still on the payroll continued to haunt the Department. In July and August 1948, Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Chambers' testimony soon led to Alger Hiss and his wife being called to testify before the Committee (Mrs. Hiss was charged with typing up classified documents that Hiss brought home). Hiss denied Chambers and Bentley's accusations. The charges spilled over into the 1948 Presidential campaign, when Republican candidate Thomas Dewey charged President Truman with assisting "the enemies of the American system;" Truman won reelection anyway. Just after the election, Chambers was invited to appear on *Meet the Press*, where he again charged Hiss with being a Communist. Hiss promptly sued Chambers for libel. Chambers then presented new evidence in the pre-trial examination, which caught the attention of Bert Andrews, the Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter for the *New York Herald-Tribune*, and Richard M. Nixon, a young Representative from California. On December 2, 1948, Andrews joined Nixon on a trip to Chambers' farm near Westminster, Maryland. From his pumpkin patch near the house, Chambers pulled three microfilm reels from a pumpkin that had been cut and hollowed out. The microfilm reels contained images of classified State Department documents taken by Soviet agents during the late 1930s; the documents on the reels became known as the Pumpkin Papers. Chambers' microfilm created a media bombshell, and at the end of 1948, questions regarding security, loyalty, Soviet agents, and stolen classified documents swirled even more intensely around the State Department.⁵⁶

🌀 Overseas Security 🌀

The introduction of Bannerman's overseas security officers, or "assistant attachés," as they were called, led to the development of several new security practices at U.S. posts abroad. One was a requirement that each embassy, legation, and consulate submit an emergency plan describing how it would respond in the case of natural disaster or human-instigated emergencies. These plans detailed the various aspects of the post's response, including the destruction of files, codes, stamps, and equipment; evacuation procedures and routes; announcements to U.S. citizens in country; and operation of post communications during the event.⁵⁷ Some emergency plans, such as those of the U.S. Embassies in Santiago and San Salvador, had to consider several scenarios including earthquakes, volcanoes, civil disorder, or war. The U.S. Legation in Beirut focused on public disorder and civil war; meanwhile, the U.S. Legations in Warsaw and Bucharest planned only for a World War III scenario.⁵⁸

Improvements in embassy security, however, were hampered by a shortage of trained professionals. During the war, the Department had halted recruitment of new Foreign Service Officers, and created the Foreign Service Auxiliary to meet its personnel needs. As a result, the Department suffered a 10 percent decline in career officers by the mid-1940s. The expansion of U.S. activities overseas and greater involvement of the United States in world affairs exceeded the Department's capacity, particularly in relief work and reconstruction of war-torn areas. As one indicator of the Department's expansion, the Department received and took action on 246 airgrams and telegrams in January 1942; in January 1944, the number was 4397. In another example, incoming communications traffic at the U.S. post in Tangiers rose 40 percent in the years immediately following the war, while its outgoing traffic increased by 70 percent, with the post constantly asking for more code clerks. The U.S. Congress, however, was in a budget-cutting mood, imposing additional difficulties for Department officers who were trying to balance their mandated and expanding tasks with the shortage of personnel.⁵⁹

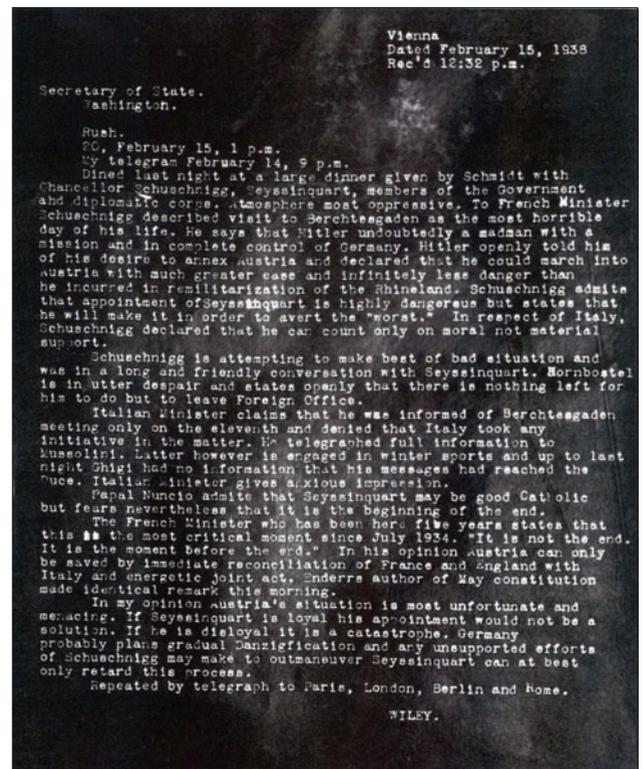


Figure 14: One of the "Pumpkin Papers" produced by Whittaker Chambers from his field near Westminster, Maryland. Chambers led Richard Nixon to the spot, and the microfilm reels held several classified Department of State documents. This document, dated February 15, 1938, discusses the situation in Vienna after Hitler took control of Austria during the Anschluss. Source: Associated Press photograph in Library of Congress, New York World-Telegram and the Sun Collection.

U.S. posts overseas felt the personnel shortages acutely. In January 1947, U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Laurence Steinhardt complained that despite reopening the U.S. Embassy in Prague nearly two years earlier, the Department had still not sent a trained code clerk to the Embassy.⁶⁰ Steinhardt's complaint was not unusual; several posts faced a severe shortage of code clerks, guards, stenographers, and other personnel, and sought to resolve the shortage by hiring men from the U.S. Armed Forces. The U.S. Embassy in Paris "requisitioned" six enlisted men from the U.S. Army, and the Embassy in Vienna hired eleven. The U.S. Mission in Berlin hired eight Army cryptographers and, a month later, asked for six more. In Tehran, the shortage of personnel prompted the Chief of Mission to assign an embassy guard to the task of distributing "confidential and unclassified mail, preparing diplomatic pouches, and other duties ordinarily performed by a...security clerk."⁶¹ Other posts, such as the U.S. Consulates in Berlin, Bremen, and Frankfurt, as well as the Political Advisor to Germany, turned to locals to serve as clerks, receptionists, stenographers, and charwomen. In fact, the commanding general of Allied-occupied Germany encouraged the hiring of non-Nazi Germans for clerical positions; however, the foreign nationals were not authorized to handle classified material.⁶² The post in Tangiers moved one stenographer to code work, only then to have its remaining stenographers resign in protest, leaving Tangiers begging for replacements and facing a future when it would not be able to communicate with Washington. Loy Henderson, the Director of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, considered the Tangiers situation typical. The post's plea for more staff, he said, would be "helpful" in the Department's talks with the Bureau of the Budget and members of Congress. However, most posts that requested additional personnel, such as the Embassies in Santiago and San Salvador and the U.S. Consulate in Saigon, merely received a polite "No."⁶³

Despite the shortage of personnel, the Department still needed to give consideration to the personal safety of FSOs and U.S. citizen employees overseas. The Tehran Embassy desperately needed code clerks; however, it specifically requested two *male* code clerks. When the Department assigned two women to Tehran, Embassy officers reminded Foggy Bottom that women occupied "a position of inferiority and inequality" in Muslim countries. "Even beggars, who cringe before a feeble youth," wired the Embassy, "feel themselves licensed to take liberties with unescorted women in broad daylight."⁶⁴

Marriages overseas generated another security challenge for the Department-- the specter of espionage. Shortly after the war, the Theater Commander in Germany informed U.S. Consulates in Munich, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Bremen Hamburg, and Berlin that all prospective U.S. employees must be told that they could not marry a German, Hungarian, Rumanian, or Bulgarian citizen, and to do so "will result in immediate termination and repatriation." This was a more stringent policy than that defined by Department of State regulations. Department regulations required employees to request permission to marry, and submit a letter of resignation that would go into effect *if* the request was denied. While the marriage request was under review, Department regulations stipulated that the employee was to be denied access to classified codes and papers. If the Department approved the marriage, the couple was transferred to another post away from the foreign national spouse's country of origin.⁶⁵

The Department's policy regarding marriage to foreign nationals, combined with the personnel shortage of the immediate post-war period, led some to question the policy. For example, in Prague, the U.S. Embassy had only one code clerk, who requested permission to marry a Czech. The situation confronted the Embassy with a situation of possibly not having someone able to do code work. By 1949, however, the issue was open for discussion, since many people were not satisfied with a policy that either dismissed a good Foreign Service employee or took away a Foreign Service Officer's security clearances because of whom they chose to marry.⁶⁶

Eastern Europe and Embassy Security

As an Iron Curtain fell over Eastern Europe, embassy security, as one Foreign Service Officer noted, required far greater "vigilance than would normally be expected."⁶⁷ In this sense, Bannerman's overseas security officer program proved exceedingly well timed, because the U.S. Embassies in Warsaw, Prague, Budapest, Sofia, and Bucharest found themselves on diplomatic security's front lines.

Difficulties with Iron Curtain governments began in early 1946, and the Embassies' local employees were among the first caught up in the emerging Cold War hostilities. Polish, Czechoslovak, Hungarian, Yugoslav, Rumanian, and Bulgarian secret police and plain-clothes agents began arresting and questioning the local nationals hired by U.S. Embassies to serve as chauffeurs, clerks, charwomen, and other positions. They also detained and questioned people who visited the Embassies. Authorities particularly targeted those individuals who had worked for U.S. posts before World War II and had continued to do so afterwards. Many arrests occurred just after work or at night, with relatives and friends not knowing the reasons for the arrest.⁶⁸ Eastern European secret police questioned them about U.S. Embassy activities and routines, and about the information to which they had access. Many of those arrested or detained endured several hours of interrogation; others were jailed for several weeks, and a few were tried for "anti-state activities." However, Eastern Bloc agents and secret police were more interested in forcing the employees to spy on U.S. Legations and Embassies. By 1948, U.S. posts in Eastern Europe noted that the secret police were "framing" local employees; meanwhile, the employees feared U.S. officials would fire them because the local Communist governments were forcing their spouses to join the Communist party.⁶⁹

The harassment and intimidation by Communist authorities transformed routine security measures, such as fingerprinting, into an ordeal of fear and propaganda. Although the Department encouraged

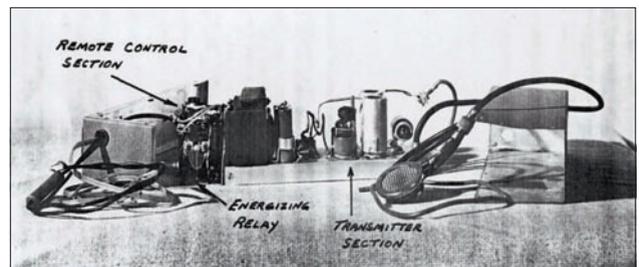


Figure 15: SY technical engineers found this listening device in the U.S. Embassy in Prague in 1954. During the early years of the Cold War, SY found many listening devices in U. S. Embassies in Soviet bloc countries. In fact, between 1948 and 1961, SY engineers discovered more than 95 percent of all listening devices found by all U.S. Government agencies. Source: Bureau of Diplomatic Security Files.

the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw to explain to its local employees that fingerprinting was required of all U.S. Government employees and “represent[ed] no special treatment or discrimination,” the explanations likely offered little reassurance to Polish employees who were “already under constant pressure from the Polish secret police.” Furthermore, the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw expressed concern to the Department that the Polish Communist press would publish stories about the fingerprinting requirement that had the “facts so twisted so as to instill...fear.” Besides, asked the Embassy, why fingerprint employees who had never travelled to the United States, and faced little likelihood of ever obtaining a passport from the local Communist government?⁷⁰

U.S. diplomats in Eastern Bloc countries strongly objected to the host governments’ harassment and intimidation, and the United States formally protested the poor treatment accorded its employees.⁷¹ On the occasion that local authorities detained an employee, the Embassy assisted the employee by keeping them on the payroll, placing him/her on authorized leave, or paying the employee’s salary to the spouse so that the family could survive during the employee’s detention.⁷² In 1948, the Department formalized its policy for protecting its Iron Curtain local national employees who were in extreme danger. The policy amounted to smuggling the employee, as well as his or her spouse and dependents, out of the country and paying the family’s expenses.⁷³

Harassment and detention of local employees contributed heavily to the break in U.S.-Bulgarian relations in 1950. In Sofia, U.S. Legation officers strove to ensure the security of the Legation’s local employees. The suspicious deaths of three of Legation’s local employees while in detention; the arrest, detention, and intimidation of many others; and restrictions placed upon the U.S. Legation by the Bulgarian Communist government irritated the already prickly bilateral relations between the two countries. The U.S. Legation’s senior local employee, Mikhail Shipkov, was arrested and brutally interrogated by the Bulgarian security police. Beginning in October 1949, in an effort to protect Shipkov, U.S. officials hid him in the Legation for more than three months. John C. Campbell, the Officer in Charge of Balkan Affairs, told Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs George W. Perkins that he was willing to break relations with Bulgaria’s Communist government if it meant getting Shipkov out of the country. Campbell believed that an aggressive, steadfast course of action regarding treatment of U.S. post employees would not only “enhance the prestige” of the United States, but the act of breaking relations with Bulgaria might “indirectly bring about better treatment of [U.S.] missions in other satellite states.”⁷⁴ After the Bulgarians accused U.S. Minister Donald R. Heath of trying to overthrow the Bulgarian Government and declared him *persona non grata*, the United States broke relations with Bulgaria in February 1950. However, the United States could not get Shipkov out of the country. Despite a Department of State affidavit, formally presented to the Bulgarian Government, citing Shipkov’s innocence, he was arrested and tried for espionage, then sentenced to 15 years in prison.⁷⁵ The Department’s press release about the break in relations cited only the accusation of conspiracy against Heath, but, as Minister Heath made clear in a radio address on Washington DC’s CBS affiliate WTOP, the treatment of Embassy employees such as Shipkov played a central role in the break of U.S.-Bulgarian relations.⁷⁶

U.S. citizens were not immune to similar treatment by East European police. U.S. diplomatic officials reported receiving increased attention from the Polish secret police (UB), which included being followed, receiving police escorts to and from engagements, and having their chauffeurs questioned and subjected to surveillance. The Polish secret police also arrested and questioned two U.S. citizens, both women who served as translators, and held one of them for several months.⁷⁷ The UB also visited Julian Nowakowski, a U.S. citizen living in Warsaw and employed by the U.S. Embassy. They pressured him to become an informant, and warned him that “he should consider the safety of his wife and child” before declining the assignment. U.S. officials quickly transferred Nowakowski and his family out of Poland. By 1949, the hostile surveillance and treatment of U.S. Embassy personnel had increased to the point where Ambassador Waldemar J. Gallman anticipated that a member of the Embassy staff would soon be accused of espionage, and that the Department should prepare countermeasures.⁷⁸

In Eastern Europe, espionage was pervasive. The U.S. Embassy in Warsaw terminated the employment of one Polish employee due to suspicions of his honesty and reliability. Another Polish employee admitted that his main job was to compromise individual Americans and the Embassy itself, in order to force the withdrawal of the U.S. Mission from Poland. The head of the American Section of Poland’s Foreign Ministry conceded that his Government not only had planted agents among Embassy employees, but also obtained copies of Embassy documents. “You would be surprised to learn what comes out of wastepaper baskets everywhere,” he told U.S. officials.⁷⁹ The Czech police had charwomen collect the contents of the wastepaper baskets of the U.S. Embassy in Prague. In what was perhaps not a judicious choice, Embassy officers helped one elderly charwoman by giving her papers of no worth. U.S. officials in Prague also planned to expose the waste paper operation, but Washington discouraged this, fearing it would antagonize Czechoslovak officials, encourage retaliation against employees, and drive such activities further underground.⁸⁰

Espionage and other hostile activities intensified against U.S. posts in Eastern Europe in the late 1940s. Local newspapers accused U.S. missions and personnel of “systematically plot[ting] against the governments” of the “people’s democracies.” The U.S. Legation in Budapest feared that additional



Figure 16: Special Agents Protect Secretary of State George C. Marshall during a 1948 trip to Athens, Greece. After World War II, U.S. Secretaries of State began travelling abroad often, and the security detail for the Secretary was extended to overseas travel as well. In this photograph, Regional Security Officer Ralph True (standing, second from left) looks on as Secretary of State and Mrs. Marshall prepare to depart Athens. Source: Department of State.

attacks from the Hungarian press would soon lead the Hungarian government to order U.S. Embassy personnel to leave.⁸¹ FSOs found microphones hidden in the U.S. Embassy in Prague and searched for similar “bugs” in Budapest. Several listening devices were discovered in other Eastern Bloc countries over the next few years.⁸²

🌀 Partition of Palestine: A Portent of the Future 🌀

The United Nations’ partition of Palestine in November 1947 brought security threats to U.S. posts overseas into high relief and foreshadowed the future of diplomatic security. With partition, tensions between Jews and Arabs threatened Department of State personnel and facilities. The tensions and subsequent hostilities resulted in the bombing of the U.S. Consulate in Jerusalem, the murder of the U.S. Consul General, the kidnapping of a U.S. Foreign Service Officer, and the murder of one United Nations diplomat. The incidents in turn prompted the introduction of several security measures now common at U.S. posts abroad.

As Great Britain, the United States, Arab states, and Zionist groups debated the future of Palestine after the war, tensions and isolated incidents between Arabs and Jews in the British colony increased. In October 1947, U.S. Consul in Jerusalem Robert B. Macatee, reported, “Arab bitterness at Americans is apparent on all sides.” On October 13, unknown assailants bombed the U.S. Consulate in Jerusalem. Although the bombing appears to have been more frightening than damaging, by December 1947, Macatee noted that for reasons of personal safety, U.S. personnel “were virtually confined in security zones maintained by British” forces. Even the routine matter of meeting the diplomatic courier had become “hazardous,” “require[d] a police escort,” and threatened to “become impractical [at] any time.” Macatee also said that travel by rail was no longer possible, and that continued service by Arab messengers, chauffeurs, and servants was increasingly “problematical.”⁸³

With Great Britain preparing to end its mandate over Palestine and pull out its troops in 1948, the U.S. Consulate, like other foreign posts in Jerusalem, began seriously considering protection for its personnel and facilities. Consul General Macatee acknowledged that after the October bombing, the British Palestine Government had “generously singled out [the] American Consul General...for special treatment by giving us guards while refusing [guards to] others.” Insecurity, however, remained. Many local guards deserted their posts; meanwhile, British authorities struggled to maintain some semblance of general security. Since the Consulates of Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Transjordan had private guards, Macatee proposed that the Department send 290 U.S. Marines to Jerusalem. That number could provide details of 8 men during the day and 12 at night, along with escorts for Consulate officials as they moved about the city. The Department responded that it had “no intention of recommending the use of Marines,” but Macatee’s proposal was leaked to the press by the British office and provoked a “strong reaction” from the Jerusalem public.⁸⁴

Macatee’s proposal for 290 Marines prompted a series of discussions by Department officials regarding the protection of U.S. personnel, and the type and number of diplomatic and consular activities to provide in Palestine. The Department proposed sending a dozen civilian guards to Jerusalem. The limits of the civilian

guard program became apparent, however, when one newly assigned guard arrived lacking experience and any knowledge of firearms. On February 6, 1948, Macatee urged the Department to “send [a] security expert to analyze [the] situation and make recommendations,” because the imminent departure of British troops would leave the Consulate in a “no-man’s land” between the Jewish and Arab quarters.⁸⁵ With Macatee casting profound doubts upon the Consulate’s ability to operate after the British withdrawal, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs Loy Henderson recommended to Under Secretary of State Robert A. Lovett that the U.S. Consulate in Jerusalem reduce its activities rather than close its doors. Conceding that the situation was “deteriorating,” the Department ordered that the Consulate move most of its operations to Haifa. By mid-April 1948, Consulate personnel had transferred much of its activities, personnel, and files to the Mediterranean port.⁸⁶ The murder of Macatee’s successor, U.S. Consul General Thomas C. Wasson, by a sniper on May 22, 1948, and the subsequent kidnapping of a U.S. Consular official in August ended the debate over guards. Shortly afterwards, 42 Marines arrived to protect the Consulate in Jerusalem. Ultimately, that number was reduced to 15 Marines, with 2 Marines on duty 24 hours a day in 1949, after a truce ended the fighting.⁸⁷

The task of guarding the new U.S. Embassy to Israel, located in Tel Aviv, proved to be a logistical headache. In May 1948, Britain withdrew its troops from Palestine, Israel declared itself a nation-state, and Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, and Transjordan then attacked Israel, starting the first Arab-Israeli war. The extremely high demand for housing and office space in Tel Aviv forced the mission to accept a house for the Ambassador’s residence that was 12 kilometers away from the chancery, and Chief of Mission James G. McDonald commuted the distance daily.⁸⁸ The 12 kilometers forced the post’s Security Officer to divide his 12-man civilian guard force between the chancery and the residence. Depending on the state of tensions, Tel Aviv security officials assigned one to three Israeli police officers to enhance security.⁸⁹ In addition, the guards’ housing (located several blocks from the chancery) did not have a telephone, and “irregular” and “in some cases non-existent” telephone service plagued both the chancery and residence. Guards used SCR-300 radios to ensure communications among themselves, and ordered walkie-talkies to maintain contact with Israeli police.⁹⁰ When U.S. Marines took over guard duties in 1949, the guard detail still did not have a jeep. The mission’s severe shortage of cars raised the possibility that guards might need to hire taxis for transportation in the most



Figure 17: The Body of Count Folke Bernadotte, UN Mediator for Palestine, Lies in State in Jerusalem, Israel, September 1948. The deaths of Bernadotte and of U.S. Consul General Thomas Wasson were part of a set of terrorist threats in Palestine during 1947 through 1949 that foreshadowed diplomatic security efforts in the future. Source: © Associated Press.

dire or routine circumstances. Mission officers had already employed taxis to transport classified documents and themselves between the chancery and the residence when McDonald moved his office to the residence for security reasons. Ultimately, the Security Officer admitted that, in an emergency, “the safety of both the Embassy and the residence . . . [was] dependent on the ability and resourcefulness of the one Marine stationed at each place.”⁹¹

The murder of Count Folke Bernadotte, the United Nations mediator in Palestine, by a Jewish extremist group in September 1948 forced significant changes to the Tel Aviv post’s security procedures. The costly Chief of Mission’s residence now proved its worth. Located on a hill surrounded by a fence, the residence, said the security officer, was “comparatively ideal for protection.” With a “blanket threat” issued against all Americans, Israeli police placed three officers on constant duty outside the chancery. Mission officers were told to remain at mission offices “as much as possible,” and Israeli police and mission guards escorted Chief of Mission McDonald to and from the chancery. After a short time, at the security officer’s insistence, McDonald stopped commuting and set up his office in his residence. Other post officers spent nights at the residence so “their insecure abodes would not be identified.”⁹²

Post communications proved an easier problem for the Department of State to resolve. Like many posts, the U.S. Consulate in Jerusalem had utilized commercial telegraph facilities; however, with the May 1948 withdrawal of British forces, officials deemed a disruption in commercial wire services “very likely.” One week before British troops left, the U.S. Navy flew in 30,000 pounds of radio equipment, including two radio transmitters and a gasoline-powered generator, as well as a team of 12 naval communications personnel. The Consulate housed the naval communications office next door in the Convent of the Rosary, and made agreements with the Mother Superior to house and feed the Navy technicians.⁹³

The U.S. Mission Tel Aviv faced a similar situation. Shortly after opening, it wired Washington, stating that its only means of safe communication was the RCA (Radio Corporation of America) office. It also reported that its mail was “censored” and that it had no pouch or courier service. Within a week, Tel Aviv was incorporated into the courier route from Cairo, and soon afterwards the mission obtained radio equipment and a code room.⁹⁴

Despite the killings of Bernadotte and Wasson, the kidnapping of a U.S. consular official, and the bombing of the U.S. Consulate in Jerusalem, Department officials sought to cut the Tel Aviv mission’s security expenses in order to meet “drastic budget restrictions.” Just a few weeks after the Bernadotte murder, Under Secretary Lovett asked the Tel Aviv mission how much longer it needed the “special temporary guard detachment;” McDonald informed him that the continued emergency still demanded the guards. The Department of State later proposed renting out part of the chancery as a means of offsetting costs, but the mission shot back that the proposal “defeats the entire objective [of] security.”⁹⁵ When the Department balked at approving the lease for the Chief of Mission’s residence on the hill, McDonald informed Washington that if the Department rejected the lease, “I risk being forced [to] live in a tent.” The post Security Officer put it more bluntly, “*it is imperative* that the present residence be maintained. There is no other comparative house in the Tel Aviv-area that offers a similar degree of security.”⁹⁶

Fiscal economies in Washington still created diplomatic security problems at the U.S. mission in Israel. For more than a year, Tel Aviv mission officers warned the Department that they had only two people who could handle classified material, and that both were working long hours and seven days a week. One was McDonald's daughter, who served as his personal secretary. The other person, Bernard Piatek, marked, typed, and filed all of the mission's classified materials, which made up 85 percent of the mission's correspondence. He also prepared diplomatic pouches.⁹⁷ The mission, on numerous occasions, pleaded with Washington for another secretary and file clerk who could handle classified materials, but the Department either denied the request due to budgetary constraints or failed to send the people.⁹⁸ Mission officers soon began venting their frustration to Washington. McDonald bluntly asked Joseph Satterthwaite, Director of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, how Washington could expect reports if they sent no one to write them. The post's Counselor, Charles Knox, sardonically wondered if "the Department [was] under a misapprehension regarding the clerical utility of the 12 guards and the Post Security Officer." By September 1949, a security survey revealed that not only had the problem remained unresolved, but that the Tel Aviv mission, out of sheer necessity, allowed alien employees to handle and/or type classified materials.⁹⁹

In Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, U.S. officials also faced the problem of espionage. One member of the Navy communications team in Jerusalem reported that his girlfriend had "requested him to give her copies [of] all messages (coded and clear) received by the Consul General." Microphones were found at U.N. headquarters in Tel Aviv and Haifa, and Israeli government agents approached one local employee of the Tel Aviv mission. The Department of State warned the Consul General in Jerusalem that two Polish consulate officials were possibly intelligence agents. When the Department requested the Regional Security Officer (RSO) in Cairo to travel to Tel Aviv and survey the mission for security breaches, the RSO found that a workman had installed an extra telephone in the Military Attaché's office, and that a local tenant had installed a private radio antenna on the roof of the attaché's office.¹⁰⁰

Marine Corps Guards: Resolving a Problem, Creating a Tradition

Embassy guards constituted perhaps one of the most troubling and persistent problems for the Department of State during the immediate aftermath of World War II. Even though diplomatic protocol dictated that the host government bore "the ultimate responsibility" for the protection of all diplomats accredited to their nation, U.S. Embassies, Legations, and Consulates generally hired U.S. private citizens as embassy guards and local foreign nationals as night watchmen to provide basic security from theft, vandalism, espionage, and other crimes.¹⁰¹ Practice, however, varied from region to region. For example, in Chile and Iran, the local governments provided guards for U.S. Embassies.¹⁰² In and near theaters of war, U.S. Army soldiers assumed the responsibility, or in the case of London, the Marines did.¹⁰³

The problems mounted as the Department reopened Embassies, Legations, and Consulates in liberated areas and newly emergent nations after the war. One problem was a shortage of civilian guards. In Rome and Berlin, the U.S. Army, at the Department's request, continued to provide soldiers as guards.¹⁰⁴ Amid the rising tensions of the Cold War and decolonization, distrust of local guards and night watchmen grew. One SY official admitted that local guards "were subject to political pressure;" meanwhile, another said that night watchmen prevented theft but probably would stop few security breaches. One Foreign Service Officer confessed that his post's gatekeepers and guards were a security problem because they were generally "uneducated" and "badly paid."¹⁰⁵

The characteristics of U.S. citizens serving as embassy guards raised other issues. Many were "older persons of limited education, experience, and physical endurance," and the younger guards "usually lacked interest in their assignment and quite often accepted such employment for ulterior purposes." Few were willing to relocate to any

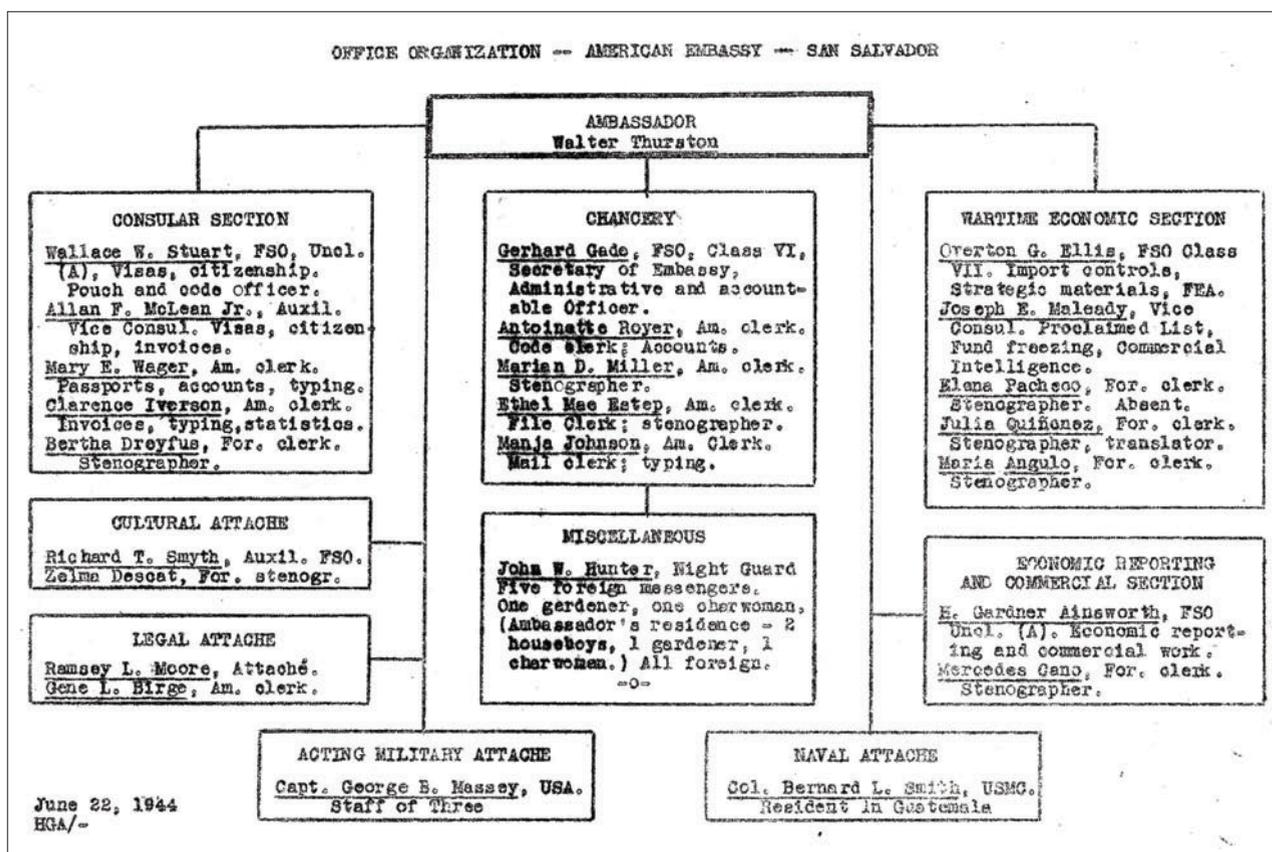


Figure 18: The Organizational Chart for the U.S. Embassy in El Salvador. Under "Miscellaneous," John Hunter, the "Night Guard" (a U.S. civilian guard), is listed as overseeing the work of five messengers, two houseboys, two gardeners, and two charwomen, in addition to his guard duties. Civilian guards were among the lowest-paid U.S. citizens positions at an embassy. Difficulties and higher expectations after World War II led to the Marine Security Guard detail. Source: Department of State Records, National Archives and Records Administration.

post in the world, particularly given the low salary that they received (their pay was less than most Embassy clerks).¹⁰⁶ Common private sector issues such as overtime, drunkenness, and poor performance compounded the situation. Despite Departmental instructions that guards receive overtime pay for all work in excess of 40 hours per week, some post and department officers complained when guards requested it, and in at least one instance, a guard resigned over the issue.¹⁰⁷ Since many post budgets permitted only minimal overtime, officers-in-charge granted compensatory time (losing the guard's services at a later date) or simply did without the security. Moreover, with postwar demobilization and the occupation of Germany, Army officials wanted to move their troops to other assignments.¹⁰⁸

By 1947, it became evident that existing arrangements for embassy guards did not meet the minimal needs of the Department, and Department officials decided to "overhaul" the embassy guard system. As one official remarked, "the proper protection required for our sensitive operations abroad" necessitated "a group of physically fit, well-trained and disciplined, smart appearing" guards.¹⁰⁹ The Foreign Service Act of 1946, in Section 562, authorized the Secretary of the Navy to provide enlisted men from the Navy and Marine Corps "to serve as custodians...at an Embassy, Legation or Consulate" upon the Secretary of State's request. Section 562 was intended for emergencies; however, when the Army needed to pull troops from guard duty in Rome, the Department of State drew upon Section 562 and asked the Navy to provide Marines to replace the soldiers.¹¹⁰

In early 1947, Department of State officials turned to the U.S. Army to create a formal embassy guard program and said that they were willing to split the costs with the War Department.¹¹¹ The Army was the first choice, partially due to the Department's experience during World War II, but also because Secretary of State George Marshall (a retired General and former Army Chief of Staff) and Assistant Secretary of State for Administration Carlyle Humelsine (a former Colonel) had Army backgrounds. Army officials were interested, and talks were progressing well by late 1947. However, the Secretary of State's Legal Advisor reminded Secretary Marshall that the 1946 act required the Department to consult with the Navy for security guards, which forestalled an agreement with the Army.¹¹²

The Marine Corps was very interested in the embassy guard program and accepted; however, it did so for reasons of inter-service politics and institutional survival, not from a "tradition" of protecting U.S. diplomatic posts. USMC Lieutenant Colonel Wade Jackson, who with his friend Humelsine negotiated the Department of State -Marine Corps agreement, later admitted that the Marines had accepted embassy guard duty principally as "a political expediency, back-scratching thing to enlist [Secretary] Marshall's support."¹¹³ In 1947 and 1948, the Marine Corps saw itself in an unfavorable position. The Truman Administration was reorganizing the military and created the new Department of Defense. Amid reorganization, inter-service competition for positions, roles, and resources intensified, as did a debate over whether to include the Commandant of the Marine Corps as a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. There were also proposals to cut the Marine Corps sharply, or even end it altogether. The Corps' forces had declined from nearly 500,000 men in 1945 to 83,000 in 1948, and declined further before the Korean War broke out in 1950. Congress and the public were also concerned about the federal budget and inflation, and budget cuts were common. When the Department offered the "high profile" task, the

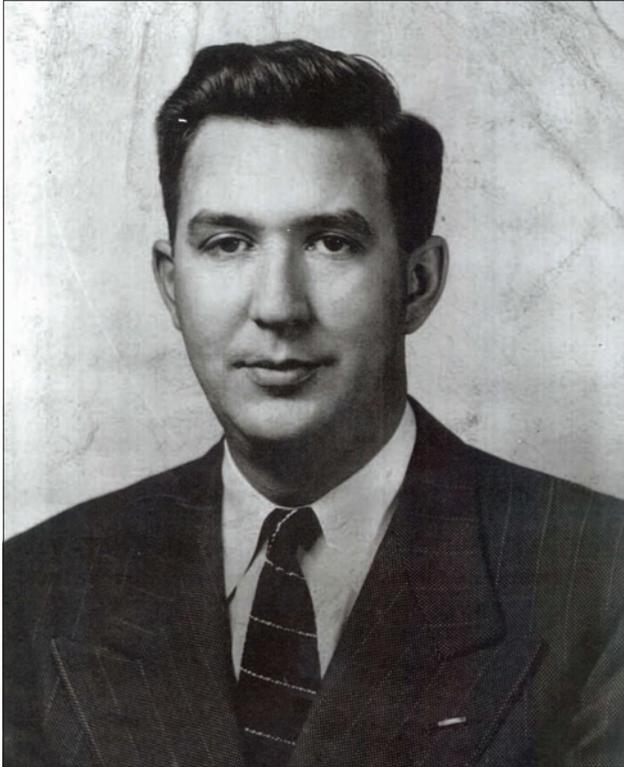


Figure 19: Carlyle Humelsine, Assistant Secretary of State for Administration. Humelsine and USMC Lieutenant Colonel Wade Jackson negotiated the agreement that created the Marine Security Guard program at the Department of State. Source: Department of State Records, National Archives and Records Administration.

Marine Corps jumped at it. Jackson and Humelsine completed most of the negotiations in private conversations. On June 22, 1948, Under Secretary of State Robert Lovett formally requested 300 Marines to serve as embassy guards, and the Secretary of the Navy authorized it a month later. The understanding on both sides was that this was a short-term task, not a permanent program.¹¹⁴

Anticipated as only temporary, the Marine Security Guard program placed 300 Marines at 26 embassies, but it did not end the need for civilian guards. Marines appeared--in civilian clothes, not dress blues--only at major posts in Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East, with posts in South Korea, Thailand, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), and Tangiers rounding out the list. Most posts had five Marines, with larger contingents at major U.S. embassies in Europe.¹¹⁵ With the arrival of the Marines, civilian guards stationed at those posts faced a number of possible futures. Some were transferred to posts where Marines were not assigned; others assumed new tasks such as supervisor of messengers or administrative assistant. The Legation in Beirut kept one civilian guard to serve as translator because none of

the Marines spoke French.¹¹⁶ Several embassies that obtained Marine guards continued to employ local nationals as guards because Marine Security Guards only stood watch when the embassy's offices were closed. During working hours, U.S. embassies still relied upon locals or had no guards on duty.¹¹⁷

All parties quickly came to appreciate the benefits of the Marine Security Guard program. Within seven years, an SY official acknowledged that Marine Security Guards had become "accepted as a normal personnel practice" and that a U.S. tourist "now expects to find a capable young Marine" when contacting the mission "outside normal work hours." Moreover, the Marine Corps took "great pride" in their contribution to the Department of State, not to mention recognizing the advantages that the increased visibility offered for the service's prestige and recruiting. For Marines, embassy work was popular duty. The Department also appreciated that the Marine Corps paid the administration, salaries, health care, leave, and other expenses, reducing a post's guard expenses by 50 percent or more.¹¹⁸

Some posts, however, opposed using the Marines as guards, particularly those in the Near East and South Asia. In 1950, the Regional Security Officer in Cairo admitted that most Chiefs of Mission in the region strongly preferred “middle-aged, married, civilian guards.” In South Asia (India, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka), posts expressed concern that “the memory of the British uniform still rankles.” Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, and other Muslim nations, as well as Yugoslavia, opposed the presence of foreign military personnel in their territory. In the case of Saudi Arabia, the Department told its Embassy that in negotiating with Saudi officials, it should “minimize” the men’s status as Marines and “emphasize” them as “civilian guards” who will be unarmed and “attired in civilian clothes at all times.” The Department issued special passports to Marine guards heading to Saudi Arabia, stating simply that they were on “official business for the Department of State,” and displaying photographs of the Marines in civilian clothes.¹¹⁹



Figure 20: A Diplomatic Courier (left) waits in the Department of State’s mail room in 1948 as diplomatic pouch contents are sorted and logged. After World War II, couriers replaced Despatch Agents as the Department’s primary carriers of important documents. The courier system resulted, in part, because air transport had developed so significantly. Source: Department of State.

🌀 *Couriers Replace Despatch Agents* 🌀

After World War II, the Department of State’s courier system replaced the Despatch Agent system as the primary carrier of the Department’s diplomatic correspondence. Following the passage of the Truman Act of 1946, the Courier Service was moved into the division of Documents and Communications under the Assistant Secretary of State for Administration. Regional centers created during wartime in Cairo, Algiers, and Naples remained in place, while new courier centers were established in Panamá, Paris, Shanghai, and Manila. The courier service was comprised of 77 trained, full-time diplomatic couriers, and transported about 100,000 pounds of materials each year, through the early 1950s.¹²⁰

As part of its information security campaign, the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee’s Subcommittee for Security Control set forth uniform practices for the transmission of classified materials through the Department’s pouch system. All diplomatic pouches required a routing certificate to be displayed prominently on the outside of each pouch. Methods of transmission varied depending on the level of classification of the contents.¹²¹ Airborne pouches bearing higher classifications had to be stored securely (in a safe) in the post’s mailroom, and then



Figure 21: Map of Routes for the Department of State’s Courier Service. The map shows the courier routing system that developed after World War II and replaced the Despatch Agent system. The map, although dated 1956, shows the regional centers that developed in Paris, Panamá, and Manila. In many cases, these routes were similar to the shipping routes employed by the Despatch Agents. Source: Department of State Records, National Archives and Records Administration.

accompanied to the airport by a courier, who personally had to witness the loading of the pouches on the plane. Upon a pouch’s arrival at its destination city, a courier would meet it on the landing strip and enter the plane’s cargo compartment to collect it. The courier would then walk the pouch through customs and escort it to the safe mailroom of its destination post.¹²²

🌀 *The Hoover Commission* 🌀

In January 1949, the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, commonly known as the Hoover Commission, issued its first report. Created in 1947 and headed by former President Herbert Hoover, the Commission extensively examined the organization and operations of the Executive Branch, including the Department of State. As part of the Hoover Commission, the Department set up a task force to study the Division of Security, and the resultant study, released on March 23, 1949, constituted the first extensive examination of the security function within the Department. The Security Task Force (which contained several members from SY)¹²³ urged Department officials to centralize security tasks and responsibilities within the Division of Security, declaring that the Department “must have an effective security program.” The

Task Force also pressed the Division of Security to manage more actively its overseas security program. The Department promptly created five Regional Security Officers located in London, Cairo, Manila, Mexico City, and Rio de Janeiro. The U.S. High Commissioner of Germany had its own Regional Security office. The Regional Security Officers were tasked to assist overseas security officers and the posts with improving security, implementing new measures, assisting with investigations, and submitting monthly security surveys of the missions in their areas.¹²⁴

Although the Hoover Commission prompted significant reorganization in other bureaus of the Department, SY was little affected. The Divisions of Security, Visa, Passport, and Protective Services were grouped together into a new Office of Consular Services that replaced the Office of Controls, but retained the old acronym CON.¹²⁵

The Office of Security did gain one new task: Department identification cards. The pass system instituted during the war had broken down, and procedures such as surrendering visitor passes upon departure were not implemented uniformly. Also, there was no accountability, even if a pass became mutilated, illegible, lost, or was retained by a departing employee.¹²⁶ Shortly after the Hoover Commission, SY instituted a standardized identification card. The ID card contained a black-and-white photograph of the person, as well as their name, and other information. When entering the building after hours, employees presented their ID cards to the guard and signed the register book. SY maintained a record of the cards issued, and employees and officers had to return them when leaving or retiring from the Department.¹²⁷



Figure 22: Guard at the Main Entrance to the U.S. Department of State (now the 21st Street Entrance). In 1949, the Division of Security implemented a new photo ID card system, and employees had to present the card whenever entering the building. Visitors to the Department received a temporary ID with restrictions on hours and areas of the building they could visit. Source: Department of State Records, National Archives and Records Administration.

🌀 *Bannerman's Legacy* 🌀

By 1949, SY had achieved the basic organizational structure that it would have for the next two decades. The division consisted of three branches: Investigations, which conducted background investigations of Department employees and maintained liaisons with other agencies; Evaluations, which evaluated the results of the investigations; and Physical Security, which managed protective security of Department personnel and property in Washington and overseas. Physical Security also drafted and administered Department security regulations, and trained Department employees in these procedures. The branches and functions reflected the three-part program

developed by Bannerman in June 1945. Like Bannerman's Security Office, the Division of Security (SY) handled all security and loyalty screenings for the Department, conducting more than 7,200 investigations in Fiscal Years 1948 and 1949, and rendering evaluations for each screening, and making recommendations. SY also retained the Office of the Chief Special Agent's responsibilities for protecting the Secretary and foreign dignitaries and investigating passport and visa fraud cases.¹²⁸

Bannerman's small Security Office transformed the much larger Office of the Chief Special Agent, and that transformation resulted, in part, from Bannerman's fortuitous timing. The *Amerasia* case, Congress' questions about loyalty and Soviet espionage in the Department of State, the United States' rise as a superpower, and the emergence of the Cold War combined to force the Department to create and implement a formal security program. As the Klaus Report and subsequent Klaus Committee reveal, Departmental resistance to a comprehensive security program was strong, and the merger of Bannerman's office with the Division of Investigations, and Bannerman's move to the CIA resulted from it. Moreover, intense Congressional and public pressure pushed a reluctant Department of State to continually upgrade, expand, and professionalize its security program. Bannerman's three-part program (screenings, overseas security program, and training) provided the foundation for the security program – and Security office—that the Department needed in 1945 and would need for the Cold War. The Division of Security (SY) with its multiple objectives was the expanded Security Office that Robert L. Bannerman had hoped to create. It was his legacy; and it is upon this foundation that later developments in diplomatic security, including the Bureau of Diplomatic Security, were built.

Endnotes

- ¹ Robert L. Bannerman, "A Brief History of the Office of the Chief Special Agent, Department of State, Part F," p. 2, enclosed with Oral History Interview, Robert [L.] Bannerman, conducted by George Payne, 20 August 1991, Folder – Diplomatic Security History, Box – Archives H-N, Bureau of Diplomatic Security Training Center, Dunn Loring, Virginia (hereafter cited as DS TRACEN). The cover document lists Robert C. Bannerman, but George Payne interviewed Robert L. Bannerman. Apparently, in preparation for the Bureau of Diplomatic Security's 75th Anniversary" Bannerman wrote a short history/memoir of his years with the Chief Special Agent and Security Offices. Part F covers the post-1945 period and his time as Security Officer.
- ² Departmental Order 1218, 15 January 1944, reprinted in Department of State *Bulletin*, Volume XI/ Number 238 (15 January 1944), pp. 45-65. Diagram of the reorganized Department appears on pp. 66-67. Departmental Order 1301, 20 December 1944, reprinted in Department of State *Bulletin*, Volume XI / Number 286A (17 December 1944) Supplement, pp. 778-813, particularly pp. 806-807, 813. Diagram of the reorganized Department appears on pp. 794-795. Graham H. Stuart, *The Department of State: A History of its Procedure and Personnel* (New York: Macmillan, 1949), pp. 391-411. For personnel numbers, see Stuart, *American Diplomatic and Consular Practice*, Second edition (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1952), p. 21; and Department of State, *Report on the Organization of the Department of State, January-June 1946* (Washington DC: Department of State, 1946), p. 11.
- ³ Tab 2 "A History of Security Organization," in "Study by Reorganization Task Force on Security of the Department of State," 23 March 1949, [No Folder], Box 13, Security Files 1932-1963, Records of the Division of A/SY/Evaluations, Record Group 59 - Lot 96D584, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park Maryland (hereafter cited as Security

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- 4 Memorandum “Security,” Ross to Raymond Geist, Chief of Division of Central Services, and William D. Wright, Associate Chief of Division of Central Services, 15 January 1945, attached to Memorandum “Security,” Ross to Boykin,” 15 January 1945; and Memorandum, Ross to Wright, 3 February 1945; both Folder – Security, Box 9, Boykin Reading Files.
 - 5 Report “FBI Security Survey of the Department of State,” 8 March 1945, enclosed with Memorandum, J. Edgar Hoover, Director of Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), to Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., 9 March 1945, Folder – Miscellaneous Security Material, 1945-1952, Box 7, Boykin Reading Files. Memorandum “FBI Security Survey of the Department of State – March 8, 1945,” Elmer R. Hipsley to Otto F. Otepka, Chief of Division of Evaluations, Office of Security, 12 May 1958, Folder – Correspondence 1960, Box 7, Security Files 1932-1963, A/SY/Evaluations.
 - 6 Harvey Klehr and Ronald Radosh, *The Amerasia Spy Case: Prelude to McCarthyism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 3-7.
 - 7 Klehr and Radosh, *The Amerasia Spy Case*, pp. 3-7, 218-219.
 - 8 “Arrest of State Department Employee and Foreign Service Officer,” Department of State *Bulletin*, 10 June 1945, p. 1088. Klehr and Radosh, *The Amerasia Spy Case*, 71-77, 218-219, 98. Quotation on page 98. Lansing Warren, “Inquiry on ‘Leaks’ is Pushed; Grew Indicates More Arrests,” *New York Times*, 8 June 1945, p. 1
 - 9 Tab 2 “A History of Security Organization,” Study by Reorganization Task Force on Security of the Department of State, 23 March 1949. Bannerman, “A Brief History of the Chief Special Agent, Part F,” p. 2. “Appointment of Officers,” Department of State *Bulletin*, 1 July 1945, p. 40.
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 - 11 Bannerman, “A Brief History of the Office of the Chief Special Agent, Part F,” p. 2.
 - 12 Bannerman, “A Brief History of the Office of the Chief Special Agent, Part F,” pp. 2-9.
 - 13 In addition to the Office of War Information (OWI), President Truman abolished the Foreign Economic Administration, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the Army-Navy Liquidation Commission, and the Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA). The Office of Inter-American Affairs was a wartime agency created to promote and increase inter-American solidarity and cooperation during World War II, through public and cultural diplomacy, commercial relations, and educational exchanges. OIAA was separate from the Division of American Republics (ARA), which managed U.S. bilateral diplomatic relationships with Latin American nations.
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- 25 "Klaus Report," Klaus, 3 August 1946, pp. 1-2. Memorandum "History of State Department Security," Bannerman [?], n.d. [April? 1947]. Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 213.
- 26 Memorandum "Physical Security in the Department of State," Stanley R. Goodrich, Management Consultant of Division of Management Planning, to Panuch, 15 August 1946, Folder – S.R. Goodrich – Security Survey, 1945-1948, Box 4, Boykin Reading Files.

- 27 Memorandum “History of State Department Security,” [Bannerman], n.d. [April? 1947]. Memorandum, John W. Sipes, Security Counsel, Office of the Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration, to McLeod, 12 January 1954, enclosed with Memorandum, Sipes to Loy W Henderson, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration, 1 February 1955, Folder – Miscellaneous – March 1953-56, Box 19; “Report on the Loyalty Security Program of the Department of State,” n.d. [February? 1953], enclosed with Note, John F. Barnard, Management Staff, Office of the Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration to Sipes, 16 February 1953, Folder – Loyalty Security Board, Miscellaneous 3/1952 – 3/1953, Box 4, p. 4-5; and Memorandum “History of Security in the Department of State,” [Division of Security?], n.d. [1948], Folder – Division of Security, Box 9; all Security Files 1932-63, A/SY/Evaluations.
- 28 Table A “Summary of Employee Cases Docketed with Advisory Committee on Personnel Security through June 30, 1947,” attached to Memorandum on loyalty and security program in the Department of State, Office of Security, n.d. [1950], Folder – Loyalty and Security in the Department: Charts, Commentary, and History of . . .,” Box 16, Security Files 1932-63, A/SY/Evaluations. Memorandum “History of State Department Security,” Bannerman, n.d. [April? 1947].
- 29 Memorandum “History of State Department Security,” [Bannerman], n.d. [April? 1947].
- 30 Bannerman, “A Brief History of the Office of the Chief Special Agent, Part F,” p. 3. Memorandum “Department of State Security Responsibilities in Mission Abroad,” Office of Security, n.d. [1950?], Folder – SY Security Missions Overseas, Box 1; Memorandum “Proposed Operations of Security Officers in the Foreign Service,” Bannerman and Robert B. Freeman, n.d. [8? July 1946], enclosed with Memorandum, Bannerman to Julian F. Harrington, Director of Office of the Foreign Service, and Cecil W. Gray, Chief of Division of Foreign Service Personnel, 8 July 1946, Folder – Foreign Service Security Program, Box 9; Memorandum “Request for 34 Temporary Positions . . .,” Dennis Flinn, Deputy Director of the Office of Controls, to Bannerman, 25 November 1946, Folder – Reorganization – FS Security, Box 9; all Security Files 1932-63, A/SY/Evaluations.
- 31 Department of State Press Release No. 846, 22 October 1947; and Memorandum for Information 63 “Revised Terms of Reference for the State War Navy Coordinating Subcommittee for Security Control,” 4 November 1946; both Box 10, Boykin Reading Files. “Minimum Standards for Handling Classified Information,” Department of State *Bulletin*, XVII/436 (9 November 1947): 917.
- 32 Stanley R. Goodrich, “The New Security Program,” *The American Foreign Service Journal* 24/1 (January 1947): 20-21. Bannerman, “A Brief History of the Office of the Chief Special Agent, Part F,” p. 8.
- 33 Proposed Budget Statement, February 2, 1947, Box 4; and Program of Security Indoctrination Meetings, Box 10; both Boykin Reading Files.
- 34 Emphasis in original. *Dos and Don'ts of Security*, pamphlet created by Department of State for distribution to employees, Box 1, Program Administration Files, 1954-56, RG 59-Lot 58D368, NA. Memorandum “Office and Division Security Officers,” Donald S. Russell, Assistant Secretary of State for Administration, to Directors of Offices and Chiefs of Divisions, 3 January 1947, Box 10, Boykin Reading Files.
- 35 Department of State *Security Handbook*, Box 1, Program Administration Files, 1954-56.
- 36 Memorandum “Foreign Service Security Section, CSA: Past, Present, and Anticipated Future Activities,” Bannerman to Thomas F. Fitch, 14 April 1947, Folder – Reorganization FS Security, Box 9, Security Files 1932-63, A/SY/ Evaluations. SWNCC Security Advisory Board, Box 146, Records of the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee, RG353-Lot 98D468, NA.
- 37 Memorandum “Physical Security in the Department of State,” Goodrich to Panuch, 15 August 1946. Memorandum “History of State Department Security,” Bannerman [?], n.d. [April? 1947].
- 38 Memorandum “Physical Security in the Department of State,” Goodrich to Panuch, 15 August 1945. Memorandum, George H. Steurt, Jr., Executive Officer, Office of Controls, and Just Lunning, Chief of Division of Management Planning,

- to Panuch, 13 December 1946, Folder – Mr. Goodrich Work Folder 1944-47, Box 4, Boykin Reading Files. Memorandum “Proposal for Improvement of Administration and Operations of CSA and Elimination of Current Backlog,” Lyon to John E. Peurifoy, Deputy to the Assistant Secretary of State for Administration, Folder – SY/Administration 1946-1951, Box 1, Subject Files of the Security Division, 1946-1953, RG 59 – Lot 53D223, NA. Hereafter cited as SY Subject Files, 1946-53. Memorandum, “A History of State Department Security,” Bannerman [?], n.d. [April (?) 1947].
- ³⁹ Bannerman, “A Brief History of the Office of the Chief Special Agent, Part F,” pp. 3-4. Memorandum “Curriculum – Special Course for Security Officers – State Department,” n.d. [1948?], Folder – Reorganization – FS Security, Box 9, Security Files 1932-63, A/SY/Evaluations.
- ⁴⁰ Bannerman says that the first overseas security officers departed in 1946; however, documents show that it was July 1947. Bannerman, “A Brief History of the Office of the Chief Special Agent, Part F,” p. 3-4. Airgram A-81, Robert A. Lovett, Acting Secretary of State (Bannerman) to U.S. Consul, Port of Spain, Trinidad, British West Indies, 21 August 1947; and Memorandum, Hamilton Robinson, Director of Office of Controls, to Fitch, 28 April 1947; both Folder – Foreign Service Security Program, Box 9, Security Files 1932-63, A/SY/Evaluations. For embassies assigned a security officer, the Ambassador received a letter from Deputy Assistant Secretary for Administration Peurifoy about 10 days before the circular instruction. See Letter, Peurifoy to John C. Wiley, U.S. Ambassador to Portugal, 10 July 1947, Folder – Foreign Service Security Program, Box 9, Security Files 1932-63, A/SY/Evaluations.
- ⁴¹ At the CIA, Bannerman became the Deputy Director and then Director of Security, and headed the United States Intelligence Board’s Security Committee. He received many awards and commendations. Memorandum “Robert L. Bannerman,” n.d. [1961]; and Memorandum “Nomination of Mr. Robert L. Bannerman for Career Service Award,” n.d. [1961], both enclosed with Letter, Nicholas Kelley, President, National Civil Service League, to John A. McCone, Director, CIA, Folder 23, Box 2, General CIA Files 84-00313R, NA. Bannerman, “A Brief History of the Office of the Chief Special Agent, Part F,” p. 3-4. Memorandum “Department of State Security Responsibilities in Missions Abroad,” n.d. [1950?]. David McCabe, Telephone Conversation with Mark Hove, 15 March 2006.
- ⁴² Interview with Samuel D. Boykin, 7 May 1991, conducted by Charles Stuart Kennedy, The Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training Foreign Affairs Oral History Project, Library of Congress, <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/diplomacy/index.html> (hereafter cited as ADST, LOC). Memorandum, Boykin, Acting Director of Office of Controls, to Fitch, 14 June 1948; and Memorandum “Special Security and Protective Assignments,” Boykin (Travis L. Fletcher) to Peurifoy, 22 June 1950, both Box 1, SY Subject Files, 1946-53.
- ⁴³ Memorandum “Proposed Program for Division of Foreign Activity Correlation, CON,” Robinson to Peurifoy, 13 May 1947, Box 2, SCA Decimal Files, 1945-53, RG 59-Lot 53D223, NA. Hereafter cited as SCA DF 1945-53. Memorandum “Survey of Division of Foreign Activity Correlation,” Frederick W. Darnell and John H. Moore, Division of Organization and Budget, 20 January 1948; and Report “Survey of Division of Foreign Activity Correlation,” Darnell and Moore, 19 January 1948; both Folder – Survey of Office of Foreign Activity Correlation, Box 13, Security Files 1932-63, A/SY/ Evaluations.
- ⁴⁴ Memorandum “Dissolution of FC and Transfer of Certain of Its Functions,” Robinson to Peurifoy, 17 February 1948, Folder – Implementation of Security Recommendations Made by Senators Green and Lodge (Copy No. 2), Box 6, Security Files 1932-63, A/SY/ Evaluations. Departmental Announcement 115, “Assignment of Responsibility for Intelligence and Security Functions,” Department of State, 27 August 1948, Box 1, SY Subject Files. “Division of Security (SY),” 1948 [?], Box 12, SCA DF 1945-53. See also Memorandum “Distribution of FC Functions,” Fischer Howe, Deputy to the Special Assistant of the Bureau of Research and Intelligence, to Charles M. Hulten, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Administration, Stanley T. Orear, Chief of Division of Organization and Budget, and Boykin, 3 September 1948, Folder – Survey of Office of Foreign Activity Correlation, Box 13, Security Files 1932-63, A/SY/Evaluations.
- ⁴⁵ Memorandum “Division of Security, Department of State,” n.d. [1948], Folder – Miscellaneous 1961-1963, Box 2; and Memorandum “Division of Security (SY),” n.d. [1948], Folder – FC and CSA Merger, Box 6; both Security Files 1932-63, A/SY/Evaluations.

- ⁴⁶ Executive Order 9835 quoted in Statement of Loyalty Review Board contained in *Federal Personnel Manual*, 22 April 1948, Box 5, Boykin Reading Files. Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes*, 209-211.
- ⁴⁷ Memorandum, John W. Hanes, Jr., Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, to R. W. Scott McLeod, Administrator of Bureau of Security, Consular Affairs, and Personnel (SCA), 21 January 1954, Box 13, SCA DF 1953-60.
- ⁴⁸ Memorandum, Sipes to McLeod, 12 January 1954, p. 2-3. Memorandum on loyalty and security program in the Department of State, [Office of Security], n.d. [1950], pp. 3-4. Memorandum "History of Security in the Department of State," Division of Security, n.d. [1948?]. "Report on the Loyalty Security Program of the Department of State," [Barnard?], n.d. [February? 1953], pp. 4-6. For the differences in handling of the two types of cases, see Memorandum on Procedures for Determining Loyalty in the Department of State, Robinson to Hulten, 19 May 1947, Folder – Memos 3/17/47 – 7/30/47, Box 5; and Memorandum "Coordination of Security Cases," Robinson to Ruth B. Shipley, Chief of Passport Division, Albert E. Clattenburg, Jr., Chief of Special Projects Division, Hervé J. L'Heureux, Chief of Visa Division, Elmer T. Cummins, Chief of Munitions Division, (MD), Thomas F. Fitch, Chief of Division of Investigations and Security, and Jack D. Neal, Chief of Division of Foreign Activity Correlation, 18 September 1947, attached to Memorandum "Security Check Announcement," Neal to James A. Donovan, Division of Foreign Activity Correlation, 18 September 1947, Folder – FC – Security Coordination, Box 17; both Security Files 1932-63, A/SY/Evaluations. Department of State Press Release 804, Box 6, Boykin Reading Files.
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- ⁵⁰ Memorandum on loyalty and security program in the Department of State, [Office of Security], n.d. [1950?], pp. 4-6. Bert Andrews, *Washington Witch Hunt* (New York: Random House, 1948), 4, 208. Memorandum "History of Security in the Department of State," [Division of Security], n.d. [1948?], p. 3. Memorandum "History of 108 Cases," Office of Security, 6 April 1950, Folder – Administrative Folder, Box 5; and Memorandum "Report on Loyalty Security Performance – 1947-1952," Conrad E. Snow, Chairman of the Loyalty Security Board, to Acheson, Secretary of State, 8 January 1953, Folder – Loyalty Security Board, Miscellaneous 3/1952 – 3/1953, Box 4; both Security Files 1932-63, A/SY/Evaluations.
- ⁵¹ Telegram 725, George V. Allen, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, to John C. Wiley, U.S. Ambassador to Iran, 30 July 1948, 124.916/7-3048, Folder [4], Box 1226; Despatch 146 "Loyalty and Security Programs: Transmitting Required Data concerning Mrs. Frances Juanita Milam, Locally-hired American Employee," Albert F. Nufer, U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador (Dubreuil) to Secretary of State, 5 April 1949, 124.163/4-549, Folder [5], Box 1014; Telegram 4204, McCloy to Secretary of State, 22 November 1949, 124.62/11-2249, Folder [1], Box 1164; and Telegram 3076, Acheson (J. A. Bush) to High Command of Germany (HICOG), 1 December 1949, 124.62/11-2249, Folder [1], Box 1164; all DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- ⁵² For expedited investigations and immediate employment during investigation, see Telegram 1198, Wiley to Secretary of State, 26 September 1949, 124.913/9-2449; and Telegram 1422, Wiley to Secretary of State, 4 November 1949, 124.913/11-449; both Folder [3], Box 1225, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA. For denials by department, see Instruction A-19, Acheson (G. deLong) to U.S. Representative Tel Aviv, 8 February 1949, 124.67n3/2-149, Folder [4], Box 1187; Instruction A-106, Acheson (M Rule) to U.S. Embassy San Salvador, 29 June 1949, 124.163/6-2949, Folder [5], Box 1014; and Telegram 1049, Acheson (R. Bright) to U.S. Embassy Tehran, 21 November 1949, 124.913/11-2149, Folder [3], Box 1225; all DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- ⁵³ Diagrams "Enforcing the President's Loyalty Program," "Screening Non-Civil Service and Foreign Service Applicants," "Eliminating Security Risks," "Composition of Loyalty and Security Board," and "State Department Loyalty and Security Board," Department of State, n.d. [1949?], Folder – Loyalty and Security in the Dept: Charts, Commentary, and History of ..., Box 16, Security Files 1932-63, A/SY/Evaluations.

- ⁵⁴ Diagrams “Enforcing the President’s Loyalty Program,” “Screening Non-Civil Service and Foreign Service Applicants,” “Eliminating Security Risks,” “Composition of Loyalty and Security Board,” and “State Department Loyalty and Security Board,” Department of State, n.d. [1949?]. Letter, Carlisle Humelsine, Deputy Under Secretary for Administration (Acting), to Representative Anthony Tauriello, 27 June 1950, Box 487, DF 1950-54, RG 59, NA.
- ⁵⁵ Statement “Loyalty of State Department Employees,” Secretary of State George C. Marshall, 10 March 1948, reprinted in Department of State *Bulletin* XVIII/455 (21 March 1948): 390.
- ⁵⁶ Bert Andrews offers a description of events, his role, and the trip to Chambers’ pumpkin patch. See Bert Andrews and Peter Andrews, *A Tragedy of History* (Washington DC: Luce, 1962), 170-180. The Dewey and Andrews quotes appear on pages 169 and 177 respectively.
- ⁵⁷ As an example, see Despatch 979 “Plans for Emergency Action, Berlin,” Robert Murphy (A. McIver) to Secretary of State, 23 June 1948, 124.626/6-2348, Folder [5], Box 1167; Despatch 1238 “Emergency Security Plan, U.S. Embassy, Paris,” Jefferson Caffery, U.S. Ambassador to France (P. J. Hoylen) to Secretary of State, 7 October 1948, 124.516/10-748; and Despatch 1063 “Emergency Plan for Paris,” Caffery to Secretary of State, 3 August 1948, 124.516/8-348; both Folder [5], Box 1109, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- ⁵⁸ Despatch 574 “Plans for Emergency Action of American Embassy at Santiago, Chile,” Claude G. Bowers, U.S. Ambassador to Chile (E. T. Long) to Secretary of State, 1 September 1948, 124.256/9-148, Folder [5], Box 1036; Despatch 312 “Plans for Emergency Action,” Nufer (M. W. Williams and L. A. Squires) to Secretary of State, 22 July 1948, 124.166/7-2248, Folder [2], Box 1015; Despatch 136 “Emergency Plan for Public Disorder and Civil War,” Lowell C. Pinkerton, U.S. Minister to Lebanon (J. M. Bowie) to Secretary of State, 18 May 1948, 124.90e6/5-1848, folder [1], Box 1215; Airgram A-652, Edward S. Crocker, Counselor of U.S. Embassy Warsaw, to Secretary of State, 24 May 1948, 124.60c6/5-1348, Folder [3], Box 1147; Despatch 320 “Preliminary Observations on the Problems Involved in Formulating a Plan for Emergency Action,” Rudolf E. Schoenfeld, U.S. Minister to Romania (J.C. Hill) to Secretary of State, 4 June 1948, 124.646/6-448, Folder [1], Box 1175; and Airgram A-294, Selden Chapin, U.S. Minister to Hungary, to Secretary of State, 10 May 1948, 124.646/4-2948, Folder [1], Box 1175; all DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- ⁵⁹ William Barnes and John Heath Morgan, *The Foreign Service of the United States: Origins, Development, and Functions* (Washington DC: Historical Office of the Department of State, 1961), 240-241, 254-255. Stuart, *American Diplomatic and Consular Practice*, p. 22. Memorandum, Paul H. Alling, Diplomatic Agent to Tangier, to Loy Henderson, Director of Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs (NEA), and Henry S. Villard, Deputy Director of NEA, 9 October 1946, attached to Memorandum “Personnel Shortage In Tangier,” Henderson to Russell, 23 October 1946, 124.913/10-2346, Folder [2], Box 1225, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- ⁶⁰ Telegram 36, Laurence Steinhardt, U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, to Secretary of State, 13 January 1947, 124.60f3/1-2347, Folder – [3], Box 1151, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA. David F. Trask with David M. Baehler and Evan M. Duncan, *A Short History of the U.S. Department of State, 1781-1981* (Washington DC: GPO; 1981), 42.
- ⁶¹ Telegram 2692, Caffery (Murphy) to Secretary of State, 16 May 1945, 124.623/5-1645, Folder [4], Box 1165; Telegram 295, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes (H. B. Day) to U. S. Political Advisor for Germany (USPOLAD) in Berlin, 13 August 1945, 124.623/7-1645, Folder [4], Box 1165; Telegram 501, Acheson (H. B. Day) to USPOLAD Berlin, 18 September 1945, 124.623/9-845, Folder [4], Box 1165; Telegram 214, Byrnes (H. B. Day) to AUSPOLAD Vienna, 17 October 1945, 124.623/10-545, Folder [4], Box 1165; and Airgram A62, George V. Allen, U.S. Ambassador to Iran (Docher) to Secretary of State, 26 March 1947, 124.913/3-2648, Folder [2], Box 1225; all DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- ⁶² Telegram 2224, Murphy (Berlin) to Secretary of State, 21 September 1946, 124.623/9-2146, Folder [1], Box 1166; Telegram 424, Acheson (Tewell) to U.S. Consulate Berlin, 8 September 1945, 124.623/8-3145, Folder [4], Box 1165; Airgram A-218, Murphy to Secretary of State, 10 October 1945, 124.623/10-1045, Folder [4], Box 1166; Personnel Bulletin B-12, Brigadier General Bryan L. Milburn, Chief of Staff, Office of the Military Government for Germany, 14 December 1945, enclosed with Despatch 1633, Shults (USPOLAD) to Department of State, 8 January 1946, 124.623/1-

- 846, Folder [1], Box 1166; and “Security Survey of Alien Employees of the Consular Branch of the Office of the Political Advisor on German Affairs, Berlin,” [W. B. Lockling], 2 March 1948, enclosed with Despatch 371 “Transmission of Security Survey...,” Lockling to Department of State, 9 March 1948, 124.623 / 3-948, Folder [2], Box 1166; all DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- ⁶³ Memorandum, Henderson to Russell, 23 October 1946, 124.913/10-2346. Airgram A-2, Byrnes (A. L. Beall) to U.S. Embassy Santiago, 3 January 1947, 124.253-12-646, Folder [5], Box 1035; and Airgram A-2306, Clayton (Burriss) to U.S. Embassy San Salvador, 23 September 1946, 124.163/9-1046, Folder [4], Box 1014; both DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA. Telegram 281, Marshall to U.S. Consulate Saigon, 6 August 1947, Folder – 123-130 (1947), Box 3, Records of the Saigon Embassy and Consulate – Confidential File (1946-47, 1949), RG84, NA. See also, Telegram 393, Acheson (Walyce) to U.S. Embassy Tehran, 6 May 1946, 124.913/5-646, Folder [2], Box 1225, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- ⁶⁴ Airgram A-21, Murray (Ward and Spivack) to Secretary of State, 19 January 1946, 124.913/1-1946, Folder [2], Box 1225, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- ⁶⁵ Memorandum, W. M. Chase to U.S. Consular Offices at Munich, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Bremen, Hamburg, and Berlin, 31 August 1946, enclosed with Despatch 6490 “Transmitting Memorandum on European Theater Policy...,” 3 September 1946, 124.623/9-346, Folder [1], Box 1166; and Memorandum, Hildegard Holstein, U.S. Foreign Service Clerk, U.S. Embassy Prague, to Christian M. Ravndal, Director General of the Foreign Service, 13 February 1948, enclosed with Despatch 129 “Request of Hildegard Holstein,” John H. Bruins, Chargé d’Affaires ad interim, to Secretary of State, 13 February 1948, 124.60f3/2-1348, folder [4], Box 1151; and Despatch 393 “Request to Marry a Czechoslovak National Made by Miss Hildegard Holstein,” Steinhardt to Secretary of State, 3 June 1948, 124.60f3/6-348, Folder [4], Box 1151; all DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- ⁶⁶ Telegram 1606, Steinhardt to Secretary of State, 4 September 1946, 124.60f3/9-446, Folder [3], Box 1151; and Telegram 37, Acheson (Day) to U.S. Embassy Tehran, 16 January 1946, 124.913/1-746, Folder [1], Box 1225; both DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA. Memorandum “Proposed Circular on Marriages of American Officers and Employees of the Foreign Service to Aliens,” 22 July 1949, Folder – S.E.A. U.S. Missions 1949-1950, Box 1, Records of the Philippine and Southeast Asia Division, Regional Affairs, Subject Files, 1929-1953, RG 59-Lot, NA.
- ⁶⁷ Despatch 181 “Administrative Staffing Standards,” H. A. Buffalo, U.S. Legation Budapest, to Department of State, 14 March 1949, 124.646/3-1449, Folder [2], Box 1175, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- ⁶⁸ Telegram 166, Arthur Bliss Lane, U.S. Ambassador to Poland, to Secretary of State, 31 January 1947, 124.60c3/1-3047, Folder [3], Box 1145; Telegram 628, Schoenfeld, U.S. Embassy Bucharest, to Secretary of State, 124.713/8-2449, Folder [1], Box 1153; Telegram 482, Steinhardt to Secretary of State, 26 March 1948, 124.60f3/3-2548, Folder [4], Box 1151; Telegram 1567, Gallman, U.S. Ambassador to Poland, to Secretary of State, 28 November 1949, 124.60c3/11-2849, Folder [5], Box 1145; Airgram A-724, Ellis O. Briggs, U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, to Department of State, 3 December 1949, 124.60f6/12-349, Folder [1], Box 1153; all DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA. For harassment of persons working for U.S. posts before and after the war, see Telegram 1639, James K. Penfield, Chargé d’Affaires ad interim, U.S. Embassy Prague, to Secretary of State, 26 October 1948, 124.60f3/10-2548; and Despatch 737 “Departure from Praha of Vendelin Kalenda,” Penfield to Secretary of State, 30 November 1948, 124.60f3/11-3048; both Folder [4], Box 1152, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- ⁶⁹ Despatch 550 “Intimidation by the Security Police of Polish Employees of the Embassy for Purpose of Obtaining Information,” Lane to Secretary of State, 25 June 1946, 124.60c/6-2546, Folder [1], Box 1142; Airgram A-265, Lane to Secretary of State, 15 April 1947, 124.60c3/4-1547, Folder [3], Box 1145; and Telegram 225, Jacobs, U.S. Embassy Prague, to Secretary of State, 17 February 1949, 124.60f3/2-1649, Folder [1], Box 1152; Telegram 1512, Chapin, U.S. Embassy Budapest, to Secretary of State, 22 September 1948, 124.646/9-2148, Folder [2], Box 1175; and Operations Memorandum “Secret Police Activity re: Penetration of Legation and...,” 14 June 1948, Chapin to Department of State, 124.646/6-1448, Folder [1], Box 1175; all DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.

- 70 Airgram A-476, Acheson (Dodger) to U.S. Embassy Warsaw, 13 August 1949, 124.60c3/8-849; and Despatch 465 "Fingerprinting of Local Employees," William P. McEaney, Attaché, U.S. Embassy Warsaw, to Department of State, 8 July 1949, 124.60c3/7-849; both Folder [5], Box 1145, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- 71 Telegram 557, Acheson (C. Burke Elbrick, Assistant Chief, Division of Eastern European Affairs) to U.S. Embassy Warsaw, 20 June 1946, 124.60c/6-446, enclosed with Memorandum, Elbrick to Llewellyn E. Thompson, Jr. Chief of Division of Eastern European Affairs, 15 June 1946, Folder [1], Box 1142; and Telegram 964, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- 72 Airgram A-10, James K. Penfield, Chargé d'Affaires ad interim, to Secretary of State, 12 January 1949, 124.60f3/1-449; and Telegram 77, Lovett (Leon L. Cowles, Division of Foreign Service Personnel) to U.S. Embassy Prague, 18 January 1949, 124.60f3/1-449, Folder [1], Box 1152, DF 19445-49, RG 59, NA.
- 73 Instruction 1534, Peurifoy (Charles E. Hulick, Jr., Division of Foreign Service Planning) to Steinhardt, Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, 26 December 1947, 124.60f3/12-2647, Folder [2], Box 1151; Airgram A-841, Penfield to Secretary of State, 17 November 1948, 124.60f3/11-1748, Folder [4], Box 1151; Despatch 737 "Departure from Praha of Vendelin Kalenda," Penfield to Secretary of State, 30 November 1948, 124.60f3/11-3048, Folder [4], Box 1152; and Telegram 1417, Lovett (Cowles) to U.S. Embassy Prague, 27 October 1948, 124.60f3/10-2548; and Despatch 535 "Protection of Loyal Non-American Employees: Armand Lyask," McEaney to Department of State, 11 August 1949, 124.60c3/12-1147, Folder [5], Box 1145; all DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- 74 Memorandum "U.S.-Bulgarian Relations," John C. Campbell, Officer in Charge of Balkan Affairs, and Hulick to George W. Perkins, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, and Llewellyn E. Thompson, Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, 20 October 1949, 124.743/10-2049, *Foreign Relations of the United States [hereafter FRUS] 1949*(Washington D.C.: USGPO, 1976) V: 354-359.
- 75 Editorial Note, *FRUS 1950* Volume IV: 517-518. Telegram 266, Donald R. Heath, U.S. Minister to Bulgaria, to Secretary of State, 21 February 1950, 611.69/2-2150, *FRUS 1950* IV: 522-523. Telegram 278, Heath to Secretary of State, 23 February 1950, 611.69/2-2350, *FRUS 1950* IV: 523-524. Editorial Note, *FRUS 1950* IV: 525.
- 76 Department of State Press Release "U.S. Suspends Diplomatic Relations with Bulgaria," , Department of State *Bulletin*, XXII/557 (6 March 1950): 351-352. For Heath's broadcast over WTOP in Washington, see Address "Flagrant Communist Activities in Bulgaria Produced Break," Heath, 11 March 1950, State Department *Bulletin*, XXII/559 (20 March 1950): 442-443.
- 77 Telegram 397, Stanton Griffis, U.S. Ambassador to Poland, to Secretary of State, 18 March 1948, 124.60c/3-1848, Folder [2], Box 1142; Telegram 1705, Griffis to Secretary of State, 21 October 1947, 124.60c3/10-2047, Folder [3], Box 1145; Despatch 1413, "Statement of Mrs. Irene Dmochowska concerning Treatment during Imprisonment," Gerald Keith, Chargé d'Affaires ad interim, to Secretary of State, 2 April 1947, 124.60c3/4-247, Folder [3], Box 1145; Despatch 1518 "Status of Application for Exit Permit for Irene Dmochowska," Edmund J. Dorsz, First Secretary, U.S. Embassy Warsaw, to Secretary of State, 29 April 1947, 124.60c3/4-2947, Folder [3], Box 1145; all DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- 78 Telegram 1040, Waldemar J. Gallman, U.S. Ambassador to Poland, to Secretary of State, 21 July 1949, 124.60c3/7-2149, Folder [5], Box 1145; Telegram 456, Acheson (Fred K. Salter, Officer in Charge, Polish, Baltic and Czechoslovak Affairs) to U.S. Embassy Warsaw, 21 July 1949, 124.60c3/7-2149, Folder [5], Box 1145; and Telegram 1559, Gallman to Secretary of State, 28 November 1949, 124.60c/11-2849, Folder [2], Box 1142; all DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- 79 Despatch 260 "Activities of Joseph Tomaszek, Former Polish Employee of Embassy," [Edward S. Crocker], Chargé d'Affaires ad interim to Department of State, 21 April 1948, 124.60c3/4-2148; Telegram 429, Griffis, to Secretary of State, 23 March 1948, 124.60c3/3-2348; and Airgram A-911, Crocker (Salter) to Secretary of State, 25 June 1948, 124.60c3/6-2548; all Folder [4], Box 1145, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.

- 80 Telegram 321, Joseph E. Jacobs, U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, to Secretary of State, 11 March 1949, 124.60f3/3-1149; and Telegram 333, Acheson (Harold C. Vedeler, Acting Assistant Chief of Division of Austrian Affairs) to U.S. Embassy Prague, 19 March 1949, 124.60f3/3-1149; both Folder [1], Box 1152, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- 81 Despatch 399 "Rumanian Press Article Charging American Diplomatic Missions in Eastern Europe with Having Directed Plots against 'People's Democratic Regimes'," Rudolf E. Schoenfeld, U.S. Ambassador to Romania, to Secretary of State, 13 October 1949, 124.646/10-1349; and Airgram A-469 "Potential Attacks Against Personnel of U.S. Legation," William P. Cochran, Jr., Counselor, U.S. Embassy Budapest, to Secretary of State, 24 June 1949, 124.646/6-2449; both Folder [2], Box 1175, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- 82 Despatch, Joseph E., Jacobs, U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, to G. Frederick Reinhardt, Chief of Division of Eastern European Affairs, 7 May 1949, 124.60f3/5-749, Folder [1], Box 1152; Memorandum "Discovery of Sound Pick-Up Equipment," Rollin H. White, Jr., Area Security Officer, to Merrill M. Blevins, Chief of Foreign Service and Domestic Security, 20 May 1949, enclosed with Despatch 343 "Transmittal of Report...", White to Department of State, 20 May 1949, 124.60f6/5-2049, Folder [1], Box 1153; Telegram 185, George C. Marshall, Secretary of State (Charles M. Dulin, Division of Security) to U.S. Legation Budapest, 20 February 1948, 124.646/2-1348, folder [1], Box 1175; Telegram 413, Chapin to Secretary of State, 17 March 1948, 124.646/3-1648, Folder [1], Box 1175; all DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA. For discoveries of other listening devices in Eastern bloc nations over the next few years, see photographs from U.S. Embassies in Bucharest, Warsaw, and Prague, Folder – Hidden Microphones, Box Archives H – N, DS TRACEN.
- 83 Telegram 455, Robert B. Macatee, U.S. Consul General in Jerusalem, to Secretary of State, 19 October 1947, *FRUS, 1947*, V: 1188, 1188n.. Telegram 589, Macatee to Secretary of State, 10 December 1947, 125.4916/12-1047, Folder [5], Box 1340, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- 84 Telegram 21, Macatee to Secretary of State, 7 January 1948, 125.4916/1-748; Telegram 45, Macatee to Secretary of State, 13 January 1948, 125.4916/1-1348; Telegram 31, Marshall (Loy Henderson) to Macatee, 14 January 1948, 125.4916/1-1348; and Telegram 59, Macatee to Secretary of State, 16 January 1948, 125.4916/1-1548; all Folder [5], Box 1340, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- 85 Airgram A-274, Macatee to Secretary of State, 31 December 1947, *FRUS 1947*, V: 1326-1327. Memorandum "Reduction in Activities of Consulate General Jerusalem," Henderson to Lovett, 12 January 1948, FW 125.4916/1-748, attached to Telegram, Lovett to Macatee, 23 January 1948, 125.4916/1-748; and Telegram 145, Macatee to Secretary of State, 6 February 1948, 125.4916/2-548; both Folder [5], Box 1340, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- 86 Memorandum "Reduction in Activities...", Henderson to Lovett, 12 January 1948, FW125.4916/1-748. Telegram 444, Thomas C. Wasson, U.S. Consul General in Jerusalem (John M. Bowie, Attaché, U.S. Consulate Jerusalem) to John Doerr, Division of Security, 17 April 1948, 125.4916/4-1648; Telegram 106, Marshall (Loy Henderson) to Macatee, 2 February 1948, 125.4916/2-548; Telegram 339, Macatee to Secretary of State, 22 March 1948, 125.4916/3-2248; all Folder [5], Box 1340, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- 87 Evan M. Wilson, *Decision on Palestine: How the U.S. Came to Recognize Israel* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1979), 144. Telegram 1233, James G. MacDonald, U.S. Special Representative to Israel, to Secretary of State, 28 August 1948, 125.4916/8-2848, Folder [5], Box 1340; Airgram A-106, MacDonald (William C. Burdett, Jr., Vice Consul, U.S. Consulate Jerusalem) to Secretary of State, 30 August 1948, 125.4916/8-3048, Folder [5], Box 1340; Telegram 275, McDonald, U.S. Ambassador to Israel, to Secretary of State, 12 April 1949, 124.67n6/4-1249, Folder [1], Box 1188; and Despatch 73 "Physical Security Survey of the American Consulate General, Jerusalem," William C. Burdett, Consul, U.S. Consulate Jerusalem, to Secretary of State, 24 October 1949, 125.4916/10-2449, Folder [5], Box 1340, p. 10; all DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- 88 Despatch 93 "Difficulties in Securing Office Space, Facilities, and Personnel at Tel-Aviv," Charles F. Knox, Counselor of U.S. Embassy Tel Aviv, to Department of State, 2 November 1948, 124.67n6/11-248, Folder [1], Box 1188; Airgram

- A-38, McDonald (Knox) to Secretary of State, 25 September 1948, 124.67n1/9-2548, Folder [2], Box 1187; and Telegram, McDonald to Joseph C. Satterthwaite, Director of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, 24 February 1949, 124.67n1/2-2449, Folder [2], Box 1187, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- 89 Memorandum “Physical Security Survey of the U.S. Embassy, Tel Aviv,” Eugene L. Padberg, Jr., Post Security Officer, 30 September 1949, p. 11, attached to Despatch “Physical Security Survey of the American Embassy, Tel Aviv,” Richard Ford, Chargé ad interim, U.S. Embassy Tel Aviv, to Secretary of State, 30 September 1949, 125.67n6/9-3049, Folder [1], Box 1188; Memorandum, Eugene F. McMahon, Post Security Officer, to Knox, 29 September 1948, enclosed with Despatch 70 “Transmission of a Security Report...,” McMahon to Secretary of State, 2 October 1948, 124.67n6/10-248, Folder [1], Box 1188; and Despatch 122 “Present Status of Physical Security of Mission,” John J. McMahon, Jr. Assistant Chief of Building Projects Branch, Foreign Buildings Office, to Secretary of State, 6 December 1948, 124.67n6/12-648, Folder [1], Box 1188; all DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- 90 Airgram A-30, McDonald (McMahon), to Neal, Office of Security (SY), 13 September 1948, 124.67n6/9-1348, Folder [1], Box 1188; and Telegram 72, U.S. Mission Tel Aviv to Secretary of State, 4 February 1949, 124.67n6/2-449, Folder [3], Box 1187; both DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA. Despatch 122 “Present Status Physical Security of Mission,” McMahon to Secretary of State, 6 December 1948, 124.67n6/12-648.
- 91 Telegram 437, McDonald to Secretary of State, 8 June 1948, 124.67n2/[6-849], Folder [3], Box 1187, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA. Despatch 93 “Difficulties in Securing Office Space...,” Knox to Department of State, 2 November 1948, 124.67n6/11-248. “Physical Security Survey ... Tel Aviv,” Padberg, 30 September 1949, p. 11.
- 92 Memorandum, Knox to McMahon, 29 September 1948. Airgram A-38, McDonald (Knox) to Secretary of State, 25 September 1948, 124.67n1/9-2548. For Count Bernadotte’s mediation and assassination, see Michael J. Cohen, *Truman and Israel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 223-224, 232-238, 243.
- 93 Telegram 589, Macatee to Secretary of State, 10 December 1948, 125.4916/12-1047. Airgram A-274, Macatee to Secretary of State, 31 December 1947, *FRUS 1947*, V: 1327. Telegram 372, Marshall (Satterthwaite) to Wasson, 7 May 1948, 125.4916/5-348; and Telegram 568, Wasson to Secretary of State, 10 May 1948, 125.4916/5-1048; Telegram 528, Wasson to Secretary of State, 3 May 1948, 125.4916/5-348; and Despatch 73 “Physical Security Survey ... Jerusalem,” Burdett to Secretary of State, 24 October 1949, 125.4916/10-2449, p. 10.
- 94 Telegram 10, Knox to Secretary of State, 15 July 1948, 124.67n6/7-1548; Telegram 1036, Jefferson Patterson, Counselor of U.S. Embassy Cairo, to Secretary of State, 24 July 1948, 124.67n6/7-2448; Telegram 1130, McDonald to Secretary of State, 28 July 1948, 124.67n6/7-2848; all Folder [1], Box 1188, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA. Despatch 93 “Difficulties in Securing Office Space...,” Knox to Secretary of State, 2 November 1948, 124.67n6/11-248.
- 95 Telegram 257, Lovett to U.S. Mission Tel Aviv, 17 December 1948, 124.67n3/12-1748, Folder [4]; Telegram 32, McDonald to Neal, 11 January 1949, 124.67n3/1-1149, Folder [4]; and Telegram 232, McDonald to Secretary of State, 3 November 1948, 124.67n1/11-348, Folder [2]; all Box 1187, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- 96 Underlining in original. Airgram A-38, McDonald (Knox) to Secretary of State, 25 September 1948, 124.67n1/9-2548, Folder [2], Box 1187; and Telegram, McDonald to Satterthwaite, 24 February 1949, 124.67n1/2-2449; both DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- 97 Memorandum “Physical Security Survey... Tel Aviv,” Padberg, 30 September 1949. Airgram A-50, McDonald (Knox) to Secretary of State, 31 October 1948, 124.67n3/10-1348, Folder [4], Box 1187, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA. Despatch 93 “Difficulties in Securing Office Space” Knox to Department of State, 2 November 1948, 124.67n6/11-248.
- 98 For post pleas for additional personnel, see Airgram A-50, McDonald (Knox) to Secretary of State, 31 October 1948, 124.67n3/10-1348, Folder [4], Box 1187; Telegram 341, McDonald to Satterthwaite, 28 December 1948, 124.67n3/12-2848, Folder [4], Box 1187; Airgram A-19, McDonald to Secretary of State, 12 January 1949, 124.67n3/1-1249, Folder [4], Box 1187; and Telegram 275, McDonald to Satterthwaite, 14 April 1949, 124.67n6/4-1249, Folder [1], Box 1188;

- all DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA. For departmental denials, see Airgram A-34, Lovett to McDonald, 22 September 1948, 124.67n3/8-2248; and Airgram A-88, Lovett to McDonald, 23 December 1948, 124.67n3/12-648; both Folder [4], Box 1187, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA. On this last denial, the Department authorized and promised to send a new secretary and a file clerk, but by September 1949, neither had arrived. See "Physical Security Survey...Tel Aviv," Padberg, 30 September 1949, p. 11-12, 14-15.
- ⁹⁹ Telegram 341, McDonald to Satterthwaite, 28 December 1948, 241.67n3/12-2848. Airgram A-69, Knox to Secretary of State, 6 December 1948, 124.67n3/12-648, Folder [4], Box 1187, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA. "Physical Security Survey...Tel Aviv," Padberg, 30 September 1949.
- ¹⁰⁰ Telegram 293, Burdett to Secretary of State, 13 April 1949, attached to Telegram 125, McDonald to Secretary of State, 15 February 1949, 125.4916/2-1549, Folder [5], Box 1340, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA. "Physical Security Survey...Tel Aviv," Padberg, 30 September 1949, 124.67n6/9-3049. Despatch 73 "Physical Security Survey of the American Consulate General, Jerusalem," Burdett to Secretary of State, 24 October 1949, 125.4916/10-2449, Folder [5], Box 1340; Instruction, E. D. Lott to Macatee, 7 August 1947, 125.4916/8-747, Folder [5], Box 1340; and Airgram A-401, Acheson (John P. Mulligan) to U.S. Embassy Cairo, 9 July 1949, 124.836/7-949, Folder [3], Box 1209; all DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- ¹⁰¹ Telegram 70, Ford, U.S. Embassy Tel Aviv, to Arthur R. Day, Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, 14 October 1949, 124.67N/10-1449, Folder [1], Box 1187, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA. For U.S. civilians as guards and locals as night watchmen, see Airgram A-34, Lowell C. Pinkerton, U.S. Minister to Lebanon, to Secretary of State, 19 January 1948, 124.90e2/[1-1948], Folder [2], Box 1214; Memorandum "Security Survey of Guard Facilities at American Embassy, New Delhi," Howard Donovan, Counselor, U.S. Embassy New Delhi, 12 June 1948, enclosed with Despatch 674, Donovan to Secretary of State, 12 June 1948, 124.456/6-1248, Folder [2], Box 1079; and Airgram A-114, Wallace Murray, U.S. Ambassador to Iran, to Secretary of State, 21 May 1946, 124.912, Folder [3], Box 1224; all DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- ¹⁰² For night watchmen, see "Guard Survey," McEaney, Embassy Security Officer, n.d., enclosed with Despatch 266 "Transmitting Guard Survey of the Chancery [Warsaw]," McEaney to Department of State, 22 April 1948, 124.60C3/4-2248, Folder [4], Box 1145, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA. For local government providing guards, see Telegram A-151, Murray to Secretary of State, 21 September 1945, 124.913-2145; and Telegram 891, Murray to Secretary of State, 29 October 1945, 124.913/10-2945; both Folder [1], Box 1225, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA. Bowers, *Chile through Embassy Windows*.
- ¹⁰³ Telegram 346, James C. Dunn, U.S. Ambassador to Italy, to Secretary of State, 26 January 1948, 124.653/1-2648, Folder [3], Box 1180, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA. Leo J. Daugherty III, "These Fine Smart Detachments': A History of the United States Marine Corps and the Department of State, 1799-2004," manuscript, Part 1, p. 137.
- ¹⁰⁴ Telegram 457, Murray to Secretary of State, 5 July 1945, 124.913/7-545, Folder [1], Box 1225; Memorandum, Donald S. Russell, Assistant Secretary of State for Administration, to James V. Forrestal, Secretary of the Navy, 10 January 1947, 124.653/1-1047, Folder [1], Box 1180; Telegram 457, Murray to Secretary of State, 5 July 1945, 124.913/7-545, Folder [1], Box 1225; and Memorandum "Security Survey of Guard Facilities of the Office of the Political Advisor for Germany, Berlin," John F. Rieger, 5 December 1947, enclosed with Despatch 11460 "Transmittal of Security Survey at the Office of the Political Advisor on German Affairs," Reiger[?] to Department of State, 18 December 1947, 124.626/12-1847, Folder [5], Box 1167; all DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- ¹⁰⁵ Memorandum "Comments Concerning Use of United States Marine Security Guard Personnel versus United States Citizen Guard Personnel," William L. Uanna, Chief of Division of Physical Security, to Dennis A. Flinn, Director of Office of Security, 10 April 1956, Folder – [Marine Security Guards], Box 14, SCA DF 1953-60 Memorandum "Security Survey of Guard Facilities at American Embassy, New Delhi," Donovan, 12 June 1948, enclosed with Despatch 674, Donovan, to Secretary of State, 12 June 1948, 124.456/6-1248, Folder [2], Box 1079; and Despatch 528 "Questionnaire prepared for Mrs. Frances P. Bolton of Foreign Affairs Committee of House of Representatives," Evan M. Wilson, First Secretary, U.S. Embassy Tehran, to Secretary of State, 28 October 1947, 124.916/10-2847, Folder [4], Box 1226; both DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.

- ¹⁰⁶ Memorandum “Comments Concerning Use of United States Marine Security Guard Personnel versus United States Citizen Guard Personnel,” Uanna to Flinn, 10 April 1956.
- ¹⁰⁷ Airgram A-243, Byrnes (Marshall S. Berry, Assistant to the Secretary of State) to U.S. Embassy San Salvador, 31 October 1945, 124.163/10-1945, Folder [4], Box 1014, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA. Memorandum “Comments Concerning Use of United States Marine Security Guard Personnel versus United States Citizen Guard Personnel,” Uanna to Flinn, 10 April 1956. The case of Guard William Ellis at San Salvador was particularly ugly since embassy staff and the other guard demonstrated that Ellis had worked more than 50 hours per week for an extended period of time. The department ultimately granted him 9 days and 2 hours compensation but only after he had resigned. See Despatch 786 “Overtime asked by Guard William Ellis between February 12, 1945 and June 30, 1945,” John F. Simmons, U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador, to Department of State, 29 March 1946, 124.163/3-2946; Letter of Resignation, William F. Ellis to Secretary of State, 9 January 1946, 124.163/1-946; William E. DeCourcy, Chief of Division of Foreign Service Personnel, to Ellis, 23 April 1946, 124.163/2-1446; all three Folder [4], Box 1014, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA. For an example of drunkenness, see Despatch 310 “Thomas L. Been, FS-15 – Suspension,” Steinhardt to Secretary of State, 30 April 1948, 124.60f3/4.3048, Folder [4], Box 1151, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- ¹⁰⁸ Memorandum “Comments Concerning Use of United States Marine Security Guard Personnel versus United States Citizen Guard Personnel,” Uanna to Flinn, 10 April 1956. Telegram 36, Murphy to Secretary of State, 3 January 1947, 124.623/1-347, Folder [2], Box 1166; Telegram 649, Steinhardt to Secretary of State, 23 April 1948, 124.60f3/4-2348, Folder [4], Box 1151; Telegram 203 “Assignment of American Guards to Legation at Beirut,” Bertel E. Kuniholm, Chargé d’Affaires ad interim, to Secretary of State, 20 July 1948, 124.90e3/7-2048, Folder [3], Box 1214; Telegram 1151, Dunn to Secretary of State, 16 March 1948, 124.653/3-1648, Folder [3], Box 1180; Memorandum “Security Survey of Guard Facilities at American Embassy, New Delhi,” Donovan, 12 June 1948, enclosed with Despatch 674, Donovan to Secretary of State, 12 June 1948, 124.456/6-1248, Folder [2], Box 1079; “Guard Survey,” McEneaney, Embassy Security Officer, n.d., enclosed with Despatch 266 “Transmitting Guard Survey of the Chancery [Warsaw],” McEneaney to Department of State, 22 April 1948, 124.60c3/4-2248, Folder [4], Box 1145; and Airgram A-2, Byrnes (Beall) to U.S. Embassy Santiago, 3 January 1947, 124.253/12-646, Folder [5], Box 1035; all DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- ¹⁰⁹ Telegram 634, Marshall (WB) to U.S. Embassy Rome, 10 March 1948, 124.653/1-1048, Folder [3], Box 1180, DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA. Memorandum “Comments Concerning Use of United States Marine Security Guard Personnel versus United States Citizen Guard Personnel,” Uanna to Flinn, 10 April 1956.
- ¹¹⁰ Daugherty, “These Fine Smart Detachments,” 139-140. Memorandum, Russell to Forrestal, 10 January 1947, 124.653/1-1047.
- ¹¹¹ The Armed Forces were reorganized in 1947, but the Department of Defense did not emerge until 1949. Its immediate predecessor was the National Military Establishment.
- ¹¹² U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Armed Services, *Marine Security Guard System at Diplomatic Missions Abroad: Hearings before the Defense Policy Panel and the Military Personnel and Compensation Subcommittee*, 100th Congress, 1st session, 3 April, 23, 28, 29 July, and 5 August 1987 (Washington DC: USGPO, 1988), 38. Daugherty, “These Fine, Smart Detachments,” 139-140.
- ¹¹³ House Committee on Armed Services, *Marine Security Guard System at Diplomatic Missions Abroad*, 38.
- ¹¹⁴ House Committee on Armed Services, *Marine Security Guard System at Diplomatic Missions Abroad*, 38-43. Memorandum “Comments Concerning Use of United States Marine Security Guard Personnel versus United States Citizen Guard Personnel,” Uanna to Flinn, 10 April 1956. Memorandum “The Use of Marine Guards at Foreign Service Establishments,” Peurifoy to Certain American Diplomatic and Consular Officers, 11 February 1949, Box 9, Boykin Reading Files. For the Marine Corps’ difficulties after World War II, see House Committee on Armed Services, *Marine Security Guard System at Diplomatic Missions Abroad*, 38-43. U.S. Marine Corps History Division, “Historical Evolution of Marine Corps Basing and Deployment Patterns, 1945-1985,” http://hqinet001.hqmc.usmc.mil/HD/Historical/Frequently_Requested/Basing_Deployment_Patterns.htm. U.S. Department of Defense, “James V. Forrestal,” http://www.defenselink.mil/specials/secdef_histories/bios/forrestal.htm.

- 115 Memorandum "The Use of Marine Guards at Foreign Service Establishments," Peurifoy to Certain American Diplomatic and Consular Officers, 11 February 1949.
- 116 Airgram A-326, Acheson (R. Bright) to U.S. Embassy Tehran, 22 December 1949, 124.913/12-2249, Folder [3], Box 1225; Airgram A-153, Acheson (G. E. Bland) to U.S. Embassy Warsaw, 28 February 1949, 124.60c3/2-2849, Folder [5], Box 1145; Telegram 88, Acheson (R. G. Brooks) to U.S. Embassy San Salvador, 1 December 1949, 124.163/11-1449, Folder [5], Box 1014; Airgram A-286, G. P. Shaw to Secretary of State, 16 November 1949, 124.163/11-1449, Folder [5], Box 1014; and Airgram A-91, Pinkerton to Secretary of State, 14 March 1949, 124.90e3/3-1449, Folder [3], Box 1214; all DF 1945-49, RG 59, NA.
- 117 Memorandum "The Use of Marine Guards at Foreign Service Establishments," Peurifoy to Certain American Diplomatic and Consular Officers, 11 February 1949. Bowers, *Chile through Embassy Windows*.
- 118 Memorandum "Comments Concerning Use of United States Marine Security Guard Personnel versus United States Citizen Guard Personnel," Uanna to Flinn, 10 April 1956, Folder – [Marine Security Guards], Box 14, SCA DF 1953-60, RG 59-Lot Files, NA. Anthony Lake, *Somoza Falling: A Case Study of Washington at Work* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1989), 95ff.
- 119 Despatch 116 "Assignment of Marine Guards to Posts within Security Region II, Middle East and Africa," Rollin H. White to Department of State, 30 January 1950, 121.1/1-3050; Airgram A-54, Webb (G. W. Rose) to U.S. Embassy Jidda, 26 October 1951, 121.1/10-2651; Despatch 998 "Security: Uniforms and Arms for Marine Guards," Jacob D. Beam, Chargé d'Affaires ad interim, to Department of State, 23 April 1952, 121.1/4-2352; all Folder [1], Box 543, DF 1950-54, RG 59, NA.
- 120 Jack Grover, "A Brief History of the U.S. Diplomatic Courier Service," *Foreign Service Newsletter*, No. 80 (October 1953), pp. 19-20. Grover, "None Swifter than These," *Foreign Service Journal* 31/2 (February 1954): 24-27, 48.
- 121 Foreign Service Serial No. 768 "Transmission via Diplomatic Pouch of State, War, and Navy Material," Department of State to American Diplomatic and Consular Officers, 25 September 1947, Box 142, Records of the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee, Subcommittee for Security Control, Security Advisory Board, RG 353-Entry 540, NA.
- 122 Memorandum "Operation of the 604 Procedure at Cairo," Harris Ball to Rollie White, Regional Security Supervisor, 24 December 1949, Box 500, DF 1950-54, RG 59, NA.
- 123 One was a Special Agent, and another was Robert Freeman, who represented the Foreign Service Institute. Freeman had worked for Bannerman in the Security Office and helped to develop the overseas security program. Report "Study by Reorganization Task Force on Security of the Department of State," 23 March 1949, [No Folder], Box 13, Security Files 1932-63, A/SY/ Evaluations, p. 113.
- 124 Report "Study by Reorganization Task Force on Security of the Department of State," 23 March 1949, p. 113. Memorandum, Peurifoy to George P. Shaw, U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador, 20 September 1949, 124.166/9-2049, Folder [2], Box 1015; Peurifoy to Donovan, U.S. Chargé d'Affaires ad interim for India, 22 September 1949, 124.456/9-2249, Folder [3], Box 1079; Peurifoy to Jacobs, U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, 19 September 1949, 124.60F6/9-1949, Folder [1], Box 1153; Telegram 807, Boykin to Donald R. Nicholson, Chief of Division of Security, 16 August 1949, 124.626/8-1249, Folder [1], Box 1168; Despatch 930 "Transmittal of Regional Security Report for the Month of September 1949," Caffery to Secretary of State, 21 October 1949, 124.836/10-2149, Folder [4], Box 1209; all DF 1945-1949, RG 59, NA.
- 125 *Foreign Service Newsletter*, No. 34, December 1949, p. 1. Report "Study by Reorganization Task Force on Security of the Department of State," 23 March 1949, pp. 12, 13.
- 126 Memorandum of Conversation "Employee Identification Passes," Otto F. Otepka, Chief of Division of Evaluations, Office of Security, 12 May 1960, Folder – C. Building Identification Cards, Box 2, Security Files, 1932-1963, A/SY/Evaluations.

Report "A Study of Security Practices and Requirements in the Department of State," Office of Security, 10 March 1950, Folder – A Study of Security Practices and Requirements in the Department of State, Box 1, A/SY/Domestic Ops Division – Subject, Working, and Reference Files, 1960-1972, RG 59-Lot 73D214, NA.

¹²⁷ Memorandum of Conversation "Employee Identification Passes," Otepka, 12 May 1960. Memorandum "Loss of Department of State Identification Passes," E. Tomlin Bailey, Director of Office of Security, to Roderic L. O'Connor, Administrator of Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, 18 December 1958, attached to Memorandum "New Employee Identification Cards," William J. Crockett, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Administration, to Belton O. Bryan, Deputy Administrator of Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, 27 March 1961, Box 2, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs – Subject Files 1961-1964, RG 59-Lot 68D175, NA.

¹²⁸ Appendix A "Problem No. 1: Discussion of Possible Decentralization of Security Functions by Utilization of Services within the Department," Security Task Force, 16 March 1949, enclosed in Report "Study by Reorganization Task Force on Security of the Department of State, 23 March 1949. For investigation statistics, see "Schedule A: Volume of Work" enclosed with Memorandum "Division of Security," Division of Security, n.d. [July? 1950], Folder – Division of Security, Box 16, Security Files 1932-63, A/SY/Evaluations.