

An abstract painting with a dense, textured surface. The color palette is dominated by warm tones: various shades of orange, ochre, and yellow, interspersed with dark brown and black strokes. The brushwork is visible and expressive, creating a sense of movement and depth. The overall effect is one of organic complexity and vibrant energy.

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Is Anyone Listening?

■ Please advise me whether there is some minority group which I could join or found. I have not been promoted as rapidly as I would have wished, and this, in my opinion, is clearly evidence of discrimination against me for being white, male, Protestant, middle-aged, beardless, and happily married. Further evidence of discrimination may be found in the fact that: 1) I am up for reassignment; 2) I am in the Political Cone; and 3) I am facing a probably indefinitely long stay in the limbo world of non-assignment. To whom may I appeal for redress?

DONALD S. HARRIS

Berlin

Free Trade?

■ I would like to call to the attention of your readers an excellent article in the Sunday, March 26 Washington POST Outlook section by Barbara Sharkey.

Ms. Sharkey presents a compelling argument in favor of the United States adopting a protectionist position *rather than* one of "free" trade. While this is not exactly the situation as I myself see it, we are going to see in the future more views similar to those of Ms. Sharkey.

If the Department intends to continue its support for "liberalized" trade, we will have to develop appealing counter-arguments; ones with the authority and imagination of the writer, but which avoid presenting assumptions as facts.

RICHARD F. KING

Falls Church

Provisions of Bayh Bill

■ Only recently have I become aware of the Bayh Bill now pending in Congress, and I am not familiar with all of its provisions. What I have heard, however, is that it would establish some sort of special board empowered to hear and decide any and all complaints about personnel actions in the Foreign Service. Further, the bill is said to authorize complaints in regard to any personnel action *whatsoever*: assignments, promotions, failure to

assign, failure to promote, etc., etc., and to suspend all action until the complaint is adjudicated.

I have just read in the latest Foreign Service JOURNAL that the Foreign Service Association actively supports the Bayh Bill, and this has given me pause. We all accept the desirability of having machinery to remedy justified grievances. But this is not the same thing as machinery which will permit anyone, for whatever reason or whim, to hold up the functioning of the Foreign Service.

It seems to me that the AFSA and some of its members are getting rather far away from the original concept of the Foreign Service as a disciplined, elite corps dedicated to the furtherance of the international interests of the United States and prepared to serve anywhere at any time. Instead, I gather that the emphasis is now predominantly on the interest of the individual officer and employee and on protecting him from undesirable jobs, hardship posts, and selection out. The question is not "where can I do the most good?" But, "how can I get the most?"

It is hard for me to see how esprit de corps can exist in a body which is so dominated by the individual wishes of its members. One can hardly take pride in being a Foreign Service officer when one's colleagues are busily engaged in avoiding undesirable assignments and in wrangling with the senior officers of the Service ("Management"!) over privileges and perquisites.

As I said at the beginning, I am not fully familiar with the provisions of the Bayh Bill, and I hope that the gloomy conclusions I have jumped to are unjustified. If so, I shall be happy to hear from someone who can clarify the picture.

JOHN D. JERNEGAN

Norfolk

EDITOR'S NOTE: The provisions are: Foreign Service employees will have a right to file for redress under the Bayh-Cooper bill for any management action which is discriminatory, arbitrary, or violates regulations. This is true if the action affects promotion, assignment or shipment of goods, etc. The bill does not give anyone any rights to a particular assignment or promotion. It only provides for redress when there has been administrative abuse

and injunctions will be issued only if the grievance board feels it necessary to prevent an injustice.

Scramble for Cones

■ Once upon a time, when I joined the Foreign Service fourteen years ago, we were told that *all* FSOs in a given class would be rank-ordered by a selection board and, within the limits of available jobs and funds, would be promoted in strict accordance with that rank ordering. This was called, not inappropriately, the merit system, and it seemed to work quite well.

Now, however, the merit system has been deformed, if not destroyed, by the cone system, under which officers may be promoted out of class-wide rank order to satisfy the exigencies of a job-classification structure. We thus have the unpleasant result that officers who would easily rank in the top 50 within their class are passed over for promotion in favor of colleagues who would be ranked well below them on a class-wide basis, simply because the lower-ranked colleagues have opted for the cone which has a current scarcity value. On the most recent promotion list, a number of highly-qualified political officers were held back in favor of colleagues in the economic and administrative cones. Should large numbers of political officers now rush to the favored cones of the moment, the economic and administrative officers might well suffer similar discriminatory treatment next year. When promotion depends to so substantial a degree on the fortuitous choice of today's favored cone, little remains of the merit system.

If all the officers in a given grade were distributed among the cones in exact relationship to the number of openings at the next higher grade, then presumably the cone system could co-exist more comfortably with what remains of the merit system—though it would be a merit system stripped of the class-wide rank-ordering feature which long stood as its strongest element. But even this uncomfortable co-existence would require considerably more openness than we have yet seen on the part of Departmental officials. Some of the selection boards, for example, knew at the start of their

(Continued on page 42)

To Our Stockholders

The challenges of 1971 for all business were the most demanding we have faced as a nation, as individuals, and as a corporation in many years: an adverse national economy, slowdowns in many foreign markets, unprecedented currency changes this time affecting the value of the United States dollar itself, domestic wage-price controls, and a general tension in international trading relations.

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In retrospect, it is also interesting that this record has now been maintained through three such test periods of United States national recession—1958-59, 1961-62, and 1970-71.

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our unique open management style, for we now become widely known, give maximum response to field conditions, and support talented and widespread personnel in our operations. It is from these strengths that Company's unusual abilities to follow a diversified risks in selected fields of opportunity, and to do so with increased and controlled exposures. It is, indeed, management abilities that have enabled us to look policies and reasonable control objectives on a global basis—and yet our stockholders' objectives under conditions of 1971.

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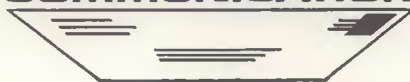
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THE FOREIGN SERVICE ILLUSION

OTHER observers have treated with varying degrees of intelligence the objective or quantifiable problems of the modern Foreign Service; i.e., problems of management, problems of staffing and personnel development, problems of the use of modern and scientific techniques to improve in-house operations. However, there lurks behind this superstructure of quantifiable, and thus immi-

nently solvable problems, a substructure of feelings, traditions, and rarely whispered conventional wisdoms which, insofar as they do not lead themselves readily to "management-reform" solutions, may subvert any attempt to genuinely reform the Foreign Service from within and may, in this officer's opinion, make it difficult for the State Department ever to regain the pre-eminent



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voice in foreign policy decision-making. It is this sentimentally determined substructure from which derives the "Foreign Service illusion."

The Foreign Service illusion represents a collection of diverse, subjectively determined feelings shared by many Foreign Service officers which, sadly enough, tends to be based upon an ultimately hubristic view of their own merits and undertakings. Hubris, the ruinous sort of over-vaulting pride and insolence which the ancient Greeks scorned above all else, is ever present in much of what the Foreign Service does and thinks on a daily basis. Ostensibly, this is not difficult to understand if one takes into account the background of most Foreign Service officers. In spite of many, most laudable recruitment reforms in recent years, one is forced to acknowledge, however painful this may be, that Foreign Service officers, by virtue of their background, life styles and above all, education, still see themselves as an elite which has quite selflessly given up opportunities to succeed in other, more lucrative professions in order to render service to the nation. This tendency towards professional elitism is reinforced by the diplomatic routine itself, with its superficial glitter and sometimes inspiring glimpses of governmental power in action. The fact is that Foreign Service officers do often live a more interesting life than that, say, of a worker on an assembly line or even that of a member of one of our larger corporations. In addition, Foreign Service officers *do* sometimes come into contact with important United States or foreign political personalities, *do* have

access to confidential, governmental decision-making, and *do* have the feeling that they are part of an intrinsically important process—that of foreign policy formulation

However, these feelings, which in themselves are not necessarily harmful, are the groundwork for a more pervasive and, as implied, ruinous professional pride which is the essence of the Foreign Service illusion. It is professional pride tinged and oftentimes transformed by, the meanest sort of self-righteous sectarianism and hubristic insolence that is the bane of today's Foreign Service. These feelings often translate into the assertion that, if only the State Department and its officers had the power and influence *which they rightly deserve*, the solution of most of this nation's foreign policy problems would be rapidly forthcoming. It is this over-vaulting confidence in its own ultimate wisdom that is the essential weakness of the Foreign Service and which, incidentally, has made power shifts to the White House staff, the Treasury, and others, all the more difficult to bear. Not only professional pride has been hurt, but the hubristic basis of the Foreign Service mentality has also been stung to the quick.

The reality and routine of the Foreign Service is, however, often somewhat different than most Foreign Service officers would be inclined to admit publicly, although many privately realize this to be the case. Except for the most exceptional circumstances and, perhaps, for the most senior officers, the Foreign Service routine is, when stripped of its glamorous illusions, just



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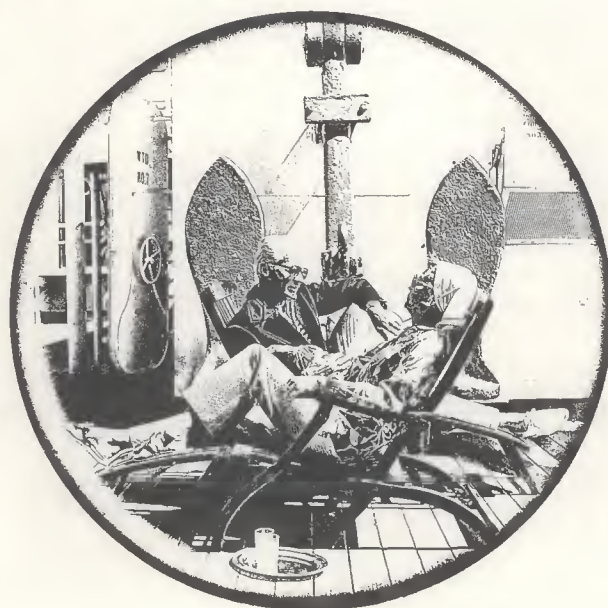
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that—a routine, little more. Reports are prepared, contacts are made, changes in position are noticed—and are compiled to form part of the professional gossip of the telegram traffic which crosses the Foreign Service officer's desk each morning. Abroad, much of what the Foreign Service officer does is make work, designed merely to insure his continued bureaucratic livelihood, or, through various ruses, is designed to catch the eye of someone in Washington. Probably all of us, at one time or another, have been part of the upward classification ritual—a sign, par excellence, of professional hubris. Or we have witnessed the pathetic instance of an officer, his telegram repeating essentially what is already public knowledge, searching for some piece of gossip or not widely known speculation to include as commentary to “spice up” his efforts. Or should we not, in our heart of hearts, recognize that much of the typical Foreign Service officer's time is spent serving others in the bureaucratic structure, plowing through the normal mass of extraneous paper crossing his desk, or facilitating visits, exchanges, etc.—activities somewhat estranged from the superficial glamour of the diplomatic life.

The tragedy is *not* that the typical Foreign Service officer's actions are, for the most part, routine; this can only be expected to be the case in any bureaucratic structure whether it be that of the Department of State, the CIA, or even the White House staff. It is, however, tragic that so many Foreign Service officers should take their jobs and the contribution that they feel they make so seriously. It is this misplaced seriousness and inflated

opinion of self that has contributed forcefully to the ruinous pride that is the hallmark of today's Foreign Service. It is this particular form of personalized hubris that must be eliminated if the State Department is ever to play a significant role in the formulation of this nation's foreign policy.

The shattering of the Foreign Service illusion cannot be brought about by normal bureaucratic solutions. Clever personnel or management reforms will not get to the heart of what is subjectively wrong with today's Foreign Service. Rather, in psychological terms, what is needed is a form of collective catharsis that will force each officer to place his individual contribution and that of the Foreign Service as a whole in the proper perspective in terms of the formulation of United States foreign policy. The Foreign Service must first, as a collective body, acknowledge that it is not in possession of ultimate wisdom in foreign policy and that there may be some, indeed very substantial reasons, besides the personal Nixon-Kissinger relationship, for the gradual accumulation of influence by the NSC staff. It may be necessary to recognize that, both individually and collectively, the Foreign Service has been responsible neither to the needs of the President nor to the needs of a modern foreign policy. Finally, each officer should strive to strip away the pretentiousness which, in all likelihood, has increasingly pervaded his conception of his daily routine and his place in the web of interacting individuals and agencies that formulate US foreign policy. There is, in short, a need for individual humility if the Foreign Service

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Ironically, it may be that the wounds of pride and the perceived loss of general influence will do more than any vague prescriptions for improvement to stimulate mental catharsis and the transformation of the Foreign Service. This is to be hoped. If the State Department is ever to be a viable contributor to foreign policy formulation, the hubristic bases of the Foreign Service illusion must, ultimately, be shattered.

JAMES G. HUFF

Foreign Service and "Hubris"

JAMES G. HUFF has cut very close to the bone with his communication on "professional hubris." Taking a different approach from that of "organizational ineffectiveness," which has been worked over so exhaustively, he concentrates on a subjective or "personal ineffectiveness" view of the individual FSO, who lives, in Mr. Huff's view, under an illusion.

Yet, I think Mr. Huff misses the point entirely. His central assumption, that an individual is psychologically hampered by the belief that he is part of an important but neglected "elite," runs quite contrary to historical experience and hardly explains the effective performance of such super-elites as the British Colonial Service, our Submarine Service (particularly during World War II) or, for that matter, the Marine Corps. And what "elite" has not had to struggle against other elements in its bureaucratic environment, being occasionally thrust aside or put down in the course of events?

Nor would an FSO's view of the Service's "eliteness" necessarily be mistaken. Although the Foreign Service does not possess "ultimate wisdom" about foreign affairs, the fact remains that a good FSO does possess a deeper expertise on India, Pakistan, or whatever his specialty than most if not all others about town.

The real problem is: why does the FSO not *act* as though he were part of an elite? Why does he so often run scared?

It could be that precisely the opposite of what Mr. Huff alleges is actually the case. The feeling of "eliteness" may be running a bit too anemic. The mirror-image opposite of Mr. Huff's "professional hubris" is "esprit de corps," and in an "elitist" outfit, like everything else in the universe, one should expect to find both such matter and anti-matter.

Just to begin with, it is too clear that the Service today lacks the loyalty-up-and-down characteristic of organizations with true esprit de corps. To put it bluntly, how many officers can be truly effective knowing that neither the System nor, often, their immediate superiors, will back them up?

In effect, the "pretentiousness" which Mr. Huff observes is probably defensive, a face-saving device, rather than manifestation of an "elitist" mentality. He is right in that the Service needs a "collective catharsis," but what it needs, on the individual level, is not another dose of "humility" but a tonic to raise the individual from a supine position.

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A Foreign Service Fable

H. CHRISTOPHER MARTIN

THERE was once a 39-year-old FSO-2, named B. B. Schott, possessed of more drive and ambition than ability and wisdom, who concluded he was not getting ahead fast enough in the Foreign Service. He consulted a sagacious-appearing career counselor in Personnel who advised him to work even harder and especially to display leadership in his next assignment. Armed with this advice and full of resolve, young Schott departed for his first assignment as a DCM.

The assignment was in a country noted for its charm and the beauty of its women. The Embassy was presided over by a political ap-
(Continued on page 38)

Chris Martin, a graduate of the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown, has served in Trieste, Frankfurt, Monrovia and Bathurst with a number of tours in the Department. He is being transferred to Geneva in July. This is Mr. Martin's first contribution to the JOURNAL but he has contributed to the NEW YORKER.

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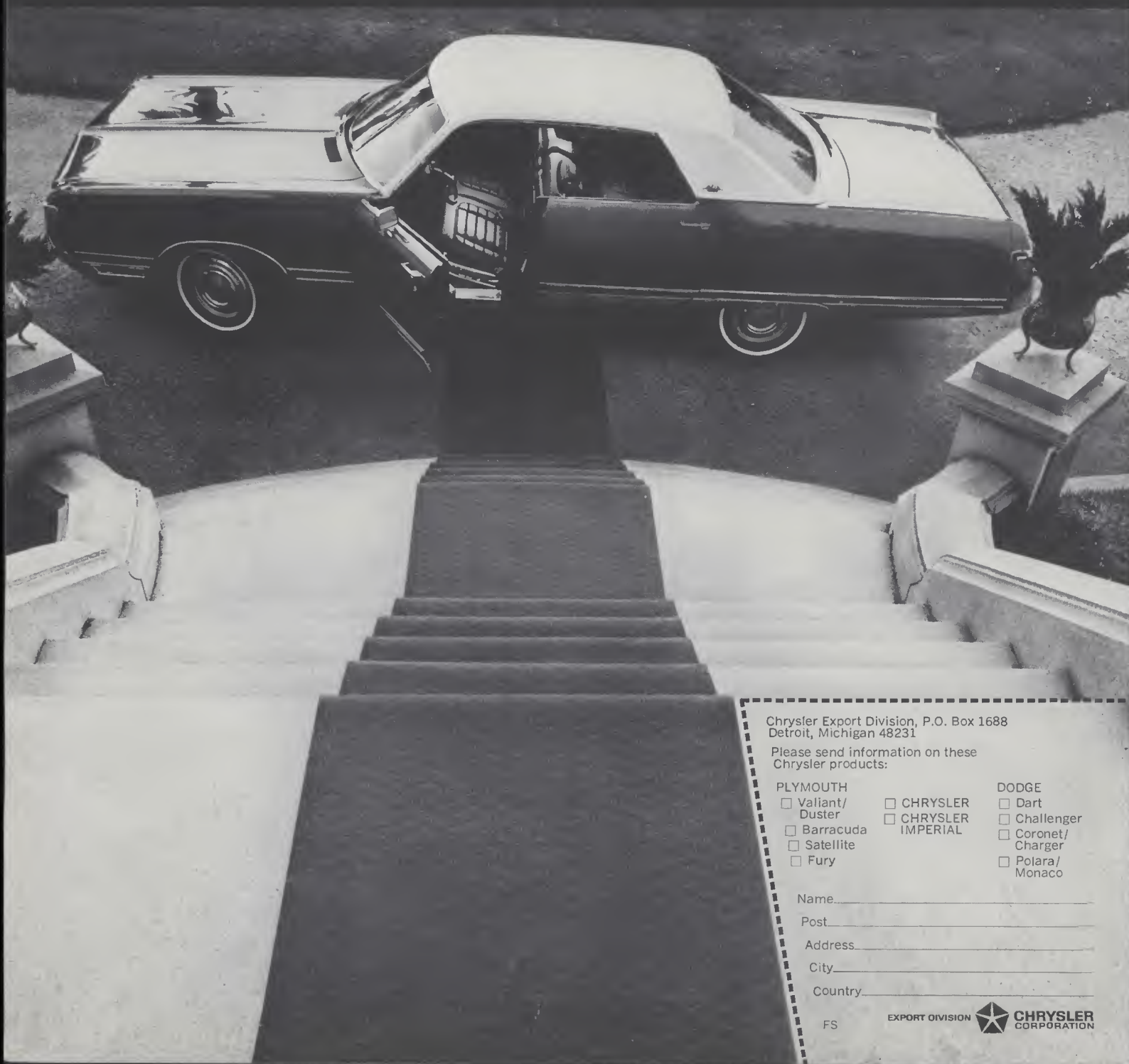
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Science and the Shrinking Ocean

CHARLES MAECHLING



SINCE World War II the prospect of new riches from the oceans and seabed—and the fear that others might appropriate them first—has led to a succession of unilateral encroachments upon the free spaces of the ocean without precedent in international law. Politico-legal norms that were once the exclusive concern of the great maritime powers are now undergoing clamorous challenge by the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Just how fundamental oceanographic research will fare in the forthcoming United Nations Law-of-the-Sea Conference, to be held in 1973, should be of vital concern not only to the scientific community but to everyone concerned with the rational use and development of the marine environment.

The world community has a special stake in the forthcoming conference by reason of the International Decade of Ocean Exploration. This cooperative international research effort, inaugurated by the UN in 1970, has as its primary goal expansion of man's knowledge of marine resources and the marine environment. The programs being conducted by different universities and oceanographic institutions all over the world include collection of accurate base-line data on global levels of marine pollution, mapping of the seabed and assessment of its resources, and analysis of ocean currents and their effects on weather and climate. These studies have already yielded invaluable information about the seabed and oceans. Nevertheless, the data gathered will be defective and incomplete if derived from deep ocean areas alone. Science requires maximum access to every corner of the ocean, and this is being denied.

For the last decade, research close inshore and over continental shelves has encountered mounting resistance from the developing countries. Research vessels of the advanced industrial countries—

especially the United States—are viewed by many coastal states as mere harbingers of selfish exploitation. Twenty years ago an oceanographic research vessel had free run of the high seas up to territorial limits—in most cases three to six miles from shore. Today, the same vessel risks harassment or detention if it comes within 200 miles of shore or collects data from continental shelves without fulfilling consent requirements imposed by the coastal state. Even when permission is normally granted, advance notification requirements have grown more rigorous, and red-tape has imposed prohibitive delays. Brazil, with its lengthy coastline, requires foreign applications for continental shelf research to be submitted six months in advance accompanied by impossibly detailed routing information. In over a dozen instances US oceanographic expeditions, all engaged in non-commercial research intended for open publication, have actually been refused permission to operate over foreign continental shelves.

Until World War II the juridical status of the oceans and seabed had remained comparatively stable for 300 years. The freedom of the seas

Charles Maechling, Jr. is legal adviser for international matters to the National Science Foundation and the National Academy of Sciences. He was Director for Internal Defense and Special Assistant to Undersecretary Averell Harriman in the Department of State, 1961-67.

beyond territorial waters was universally accepted, subject of course to the exigencies of warfare. Most coastal states adhered to a three-mile limit for their territorial waters, thereby leaving free passage in international waters through all but a few straits and archipelagoes. The coastal seabed had no economic significance except for fishermen, oystermen, and crabbers. National jurisdiction over the seabed was thought to coincide with jurisdiction over the superjacent waters; when in 1953 Congress passed the Submerged Lands Act, reversing the Supreme Court decision which took away title to submerged lands below the territorial sea from the states, the effect of the Act was generally confined to no more than three miles from the coast.

In September 1945, however, President Truman issued a proclamation asserting US sovereignty over the natural resources of the United States continental shelf—which an accompanying press release defined as an area contiguous to the coast, extending to a depth of 600 feet. The Truman Proclamation was rationalized on the ground that the national interest justified a claim that the submerged extension of the continental land mass was the rightful property of the coastal state. The Proclamation was implemented by enactment of the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act which picked up exclusive jurisdiction for the Federal Government where the offshore jurisdictions of the states left off, and carried it seaward to an undefined limit. The Act also set up a system for Federal leasing of mineral rights in the vast new area.

The 1952 Declaration of Santiago, in which Peru, Ecuador, and Chile proclaimed exclusive jurisdiction over ocean and seabed to a distance of 200 miles from the coast, was the direct and avowed consequence of the Truman Proclamation. Shortly thereafter occurred the first seizures of foreign whalers and tuna boats. Various countries extended their territorial waters first to six and then to 12 miles. Other countries began to assert exclusive fishing rights well beyond these limits. Henceforth, the principle—first enunciated by the world's greatest sea power—that national interest alone is sufficient to sanction uni-

lateral appropriation of the free spaces of the ocean or seabed was increasingly relied upon by nationalistic coastal states to justify the most extravagant assertions of sovereignty.

From a law-of-the-sea conference held in 1958 there emerged four international agreements—on the High Seas; the Continental Shelf; the Territorial Sea and Contiguous Zone; and Fishing and Conservation of Living Resources—which codified large areas of international law. Nevertheless, the most significant effects of the conference flowed from its failures. By one vote the conferees failed to reach agreement on a six-mile territorial sea, thereby leaving the way open for another wave of unilateral extensions. And in the Convention on the Continental Shelf the conferees failed to set a seabed boundary rigorously defined in terms of depth or distance. Instead, the Convention set the seaward limits of national jurisdiction at 200 meters, "or beyond that limit to where the depth of the superjacent waters admits of the exploitation of the said areas." New deep-sea drilling techniques soon made this definition open-ended. No one could say what the ultimate boundary of the legal continental shelf would be, except that it would march seaward as technology progressed.

The 1958 Continental Shelf Convention also attempted to safeguard scientific research. Section 1 of Article V of the Convention prohibits "any interference with fundamental oceanographic or other scientific research carried out with the intention of open publication." However, this language is qualified by Section 8 of the same article which inserts a requirement for coastal state consent and, in the case of research conducted by a qualified institution, the right of the coastal state to "participate or to be represented in the research." Within a few years this ostensibly blameless, and even praiseworthy, provision opened the door to the most pernicious kinds of bureaucratic delay, interference and obstruction on the part of nationalistic regimes.

Meanwhile, freedom of the superjacent waters also deteriorated. Early in 1967, Egypt closed the Straits of Aqaba, thereby precipitat-

ing the Six-Day War. Six more Latin American countries joined the 200-milers, and India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Ghana claimed 100-mile exclusive fishing zones. More American fishing boats were confiscated on the high seas. The island nations of Indonesia and the Philippines enclosed their archipelagoes within territorial waters. Canada enacted the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act of 1970, unilaterally asserting the right to establish anti-pollution standards in international waters north of the 60th parallel. By 1971 only 26 countries, including the United States, still adhered to the three-mile limit; nearly 50 countries had shifted to 12 miles. Everywhere in the world the free spaces of the ocean were shrinking, and with it the opportunities for advancing man's knowledge of the marine environment.

The concern of a vast number of nations, both developed and less developed, over the threat of unbridled exploitation of marine resources, unrestrained assertions of sovereignty, and use of the seabed for the placement of nuclear weapons came to a head in the summer of 1967 when Malta asked the United Nations to consider a proposal reserving the deep ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction for peaceful purposes and for the benefit of all mankind. A special UN Seabed Committee convened to study the matter agreed that the resources of the deep ocean floor beyond national jurisdiction should be the "common heritage" of mankind, but was unable to resolve two key questions: what should be the appropriate limits of coastal state jurisdiction, and how should the mineral resources seaward of these limits be administered for the benefit of the world community?

After three years of internal debate the position of the United States on these issues was announced in a lengthy statement on ocean policy delivered by President Nixon on May 23, 1970. In August 1970 this was supplemented by a more specific US proposal in the form of a draft Convention for the international seabed area which was tabled as a "working paper" at the Geneva meeting of the UN Seabed Committee.

The US proposal called for renunciation by all nations of claims to seabed resources beyond the depth of 200 meters; for these resources to be the "common heritage" of mankind; and for an international trusteeship zone for mineral exploitation from the 200-meter depth to the edge of the continental margin in which exploration and exploitation of resources would be under the effective regulatory control of the coastal state as trustee for the international community. It made provision for allocation of substantial mineral royalties from the trusteeship zone to an economic assistance fund for the less developed countries, while beyond the continental margin all mineral exploration and exploitation would be under the control of a new international seabed authority. In the interim, coastal state leasing would continue.

In a parallel move, the United States for the first time accepted the 12-mile territorial sea as the only compromise realistically attainable, but subject to the condition that there be free transit through straits that would otherwise cease to be international waters. We also accepted in principle the concept of preferential fishing rights for coastal states beyond the 12-mile territorial sea.

The United States draft treaty also sought to safeguard scientific research. Article 3 of the draft treaty declared the international seabed area open to use by all states except as otherwise provided in the text—a catch-all provision intended to provide access for all uses, including military, not connected with commercial exploitation. Article 24 of the draft treaty provided that each contracting party would agree "to encourage, and to obviate interference with, scientific research." Scientific research, however, was deliberately left undefined—and the key words "conducted with the intent of open publication" were omitted. With the vital distinction now blurred as between open research on the one hand, and military research and commercial exploration on the other, Article 24 was left open to the most invidious interpretations by the developing countries—and with good reason!

The draft treaty was an ingenious

attempt by the United States to terminate unilateral assertions of national jurisdiction over the high seas and seabed; to stabilize the limits of territorial waters and seabed at 12 miles and 200 meters, respectively; and to satisfy the concerns of the less developed countries by awarding them a monetary share in any proceeds from mineral exploitation seaward of 200 meters. It was hoped that the prospect of substantial revenues would make the less developed countries more amenable to compromise on the key issues of boundary, international straits, and the right to assert unilateral claims. On this score the United States was soon to be disappointed.

From 1970 to 1972 United States ocean policy suffered a series of rebuffs. Continuing seizures of American fishing boats by Peru and Ecuador demonstrated once again the incapacity of the United States to safeguard its vessels on the high seas, either by diplomacy or naval protection. An ill-conceived move by the State Department, under goading by the Pentagon, to force Canada into a conference on the Arctic aimed at internationalizing its Arctic anti-pollution legislation, was coolly checkmated. A United States effort to get the United Nations to agree on a set of principles to govern the seabed negotiations, which should have included freedom of scientific research, terminated in passage by the General Assembly of a pallid resolution (A/Res/2754, of December 17, 1970) which merely endorsed international cooperation in scientific research.

The UN preparatory meetings for the 1973 Conference, held in New York and Geneva in 1971 and 1972, provided an ominous augury for both the US position on freedom of the seas and non-interference with oceanographic research. In the general sessions, most important coastal states continued to insist that even with the territorial sea extended to twelve miles, vessels passing through straits, archipelagoes and coastal waters must observe the requirements of "innocent passage" (i.e. coastal state control) rather than have the right of free transit. Brazil, Peru, Chile, and other Latin American and African states only modified their extravagant jurisdictional claims to the extent of reas-

serting them in different form—as an "exclusive economic zone," which would include control over scientific research. Subcommittee III of the UN Seabed Committee, which is responsible for scientific research and marine pollution, gave little attention to safeguards for the former and spent most of its time on the jurisdictional aspects of pollution, a subject of more immediate popular concern and one that ties in directly with the territorial sea question.

To most governments, including that of the United States, the expansion of scientific knowledge seems peripheral to the central issues of the forthcoming Law-of-the-Sea conference, especially seabed boundary, seabed regime and conditions of passage through international straits. For this reason, its legal status runs considerable danger of being bargained away. Hence, every aspect of the forthcoming negotiations which impinges on the very qualified freedom which research now enjoys under international law deserves anxious attention.

As regards the US position, the protection accorded to oceanographic research can hardly be described as satisfactory. To the extent that the US draft treaty already alluded to is still a factor, Article 3 is entirely too vague, while Article 24 does not contain the same absolute prohibition against interference with scientific research as is set forth in Section 1 of Article V of the Continental Shelf Convention. The absence of a clear line of demarcation between open research and all other kinds of research and exploration positively invites rejection of Article 24 by the developing countries.

Nor does the United States seem prepared to make a strong defense for freedom of scientific research. The generalities from time to time expressed by US spokesmen on this point offer only marginal comfort. At the time of passage by the UN of Resolution 2749, which contained the anodyne language endorsing international cooperation in scientific research already alluded to, the US representative, in voting for the Resolution, stated that implicit in the obligation to promote cooperation was an undertaking on the part of states not to interfere with

(Continued on page 40)

The Stockholm Conference— What Does It Mean?

FITZHUGH GREEN

THIS month marks a first in man's long history—he (most of the nation states) will gather at Stockholm to discuss how to preserve the delicate supply of air, water and earth we call our biosphere—something we all share and mistreat.

Foreign Service people on duty overseas have heard natterings about the Stockholm Conference on our threatened environment. We resident Americans have been treated to press comment about it for the past two years. Indeed, the news media lead us on the home front to look to Stockholm as a meld of Armageddon (against pollution) and the Second Coming (of clean seas and skies).

Thoughtful Americans at home and abroad are wondering—what does it all mean? Will, or can Stockholm conferees take decisions that will put a stop to planetary pollution? Are American idealists going to be cut down by cynical diplomats who see the depollution movement as a rich-nation plot to impede economic growth of the poor countries? Is the United States itself really committed to a clean environment? Or only to a fad that will fade?

The prospects for Stockholm sound a little like the Versailles Conference and the League of Nations. Suppose we persuade reluctant nations to join our ecology kick, as we did our League kick. Will opposition from big city and

Fitzhugh Green is a former Foreign Service Information Officer, businessman, oceanography adviser to a United States Senator, Congressional candidate and freelance writer. Now Associate Administrator of the United States Environmental Protection Agency, he is an official participant in the US Delegation to the Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment. Not surprisingly with this wide background he has given JOURNAL readers an authoritative, multi-dimensional glimpse at the complex environmental doings in Sweden this month.



big industry polluters in the United States then kill this dream as the Senate snuffed out President Wilson's? I don't believe so, but the recollection of Versailles leads me to start this brief assessment of Stockholm with a caution—don't expect too much; you may be disillusioned.

Let's be practical. What, for example, are national attitudes toward the alleged threat to our biosphere? How well prepared are national governments to take corrective action, both political and technical? What can we expect to happen at Stockholm, and afterwards?

In short, what is the prognosis for this huge, humanitarian conclave, which, if some don't back out in protest over East Germany's non-attendance, will draw 130 participant nations?

Sweden suggested the Conference in 1968 to focus government and public attention on the budding environmental crises. The Swedes also sought to coordinate the multiple, sprawling activity of several UN Specialized Agencies—each of which was trying to assume the total role of purifying the environment.

The UN General Assembly unanimously endorsed the Conference

and decreed a 27-nation Preparatory Committee (PrepCom) to get it rolling. (America's PrepCom Delegation has been led by the able Assistant to the Secretary of State [for Environment] Christian A. Herter, Jr.)

The PrepCom has met four times, and its subcommittees more often. Conference Secretary General Maurice Strong's staff has collected 12,000 pages of scientific comment. In the process, the world has bared numerous clues to its attitudes and abilities regarding pollution abatement.

In the United States, as we begin to understand the price of protecting nature against man, a confrontation is shaping up between ecologists and those responsible for economic health both in business and government. The United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) says that corrective measures in the first half of this decade will run higher than \$105 billion. Noting the cost/benefit ratio, EPA also stresses that air pollution damage alone adds up to an annual \$16 billion in ruined crops, destruction of materials, deterioration of buildings, and man-days lost through pollution-related illness—not including medical expenses.

However the ultimate cost balance turns out, America has already acquired a hearty appetite for refurbishing our natural habitat. At least we have a solid core of eco-freaks. One tiny indicator resulted from an ad about ecology in *TIME* magazine's domestic and European editions. Purportedly, in the week after the issue appeared, 400 letters came from American readers; in Europe the response totaled two letters.

Thousands of citizens' ecology groups have been generated. You don't find such private interest anywhere else—except for the United Kingdom and Scandinavia. Housewives, fraternal organizations, professional conservationists, teenagers, even primary school children have boarded the bandwagon. Evidently they have found the cause that creatures of the Judaic-Christian ethic demand to satisfy their souls. And they all want to go to Stockholm! Since the Conference is limited to government officials, that is impossible.

But to be sure our delegation

doesn't overlook any good ideas, Secretary of State William Rogers asked Senator Howard Baker of Kentucky to form a representative advisory committee. This he has done, and held hearings around the country to collect significant viewpoints as to what we should strive for at Stockholm.

Every nation has befouled its surroundings to some degree, or suffered from man's Yahoo depredations committed beyond their boundaries. Even in paradisaical Eleuthera, Bahamas, where I'm writing this piece, one little seaside village pumps raw sewage into its picturesque bay, whereupon the prevailing, on-shore breeze blows a dreadful scent back into the town, and the tourists out of it. And ever-present tar, sent gratis from thoughtful tanker captains flushing oil tanks at night, mars the lovely, pink coral sand.

Yet despite the commonality of such problems, only seven counterparts to EPA have been set up: In Canada, Japan, The United Kingdom, Sweden, Germany, France, and Holland. A more hopeful note comes from Dr. Lee Talbot of the Council on Environmental Quality who has visited over 90 nations. He says most of them have now established some sort of governmental machinery to deal with eco-upsets.

In the PrepCom sessions delegation members trampled each other to be first in bemoaning environmental ills. But when brought to the point of changing old policies or spending new money, many proved bearish.

Only a few governments have taken firm, forward steps such as Britain's \$3.5 billion river renovation program. Or Canada's \$250 million pledge to improve the Great Lakes. Or the Soviet Union's recently announced \$1 billion project to scour industrial wastes from the Volga and Ural. And Japan's special Diet to weave a whole skin of environmental legislation. We even hear that Communist China forbids manufacturers to operate their plants until they can prevent toxic effluents and emissions. But all this only thumbnails the surface of what is really going on.

Skeptical statements by national spokesmen don't tell the whole story either. Brazilians in the UN have chivied supporters of Stockholm, in-

sisting it is fine for industrialized nations, but irrelevant for underdeveloped ones, except as a threat to economic growth.

Yet in Brazil one can find a broad constituency that palpably thinks otherwise. Last August a congressional commission staged a conference in the House of Representatives at Brasilia. More than 300 prominent citizens of many walks of life came and presented their positive views. I was privileged to speak for the United States and was then questioned by the audience for two hours.

The futuristic Brasilia itself shows eloquently how to avoid the urban mess that plagues us moderns. It stands unique in the world today as the only city with no visible air, water or solid waste pollution. And in São Paulo the government is now cracking down on industrial bad boys—to the extent of closing 50 factories that refused to obey municipal regulations.

This ambivalence doesn't typify the less prosperous nations. They complain they simply can't afford to waste development money fiddling around with a peripheral issue like dirty cities. Poverty hurts more than pollution, they aver. One speaker put it vividly: "Would you snatch a crust of bread from a starving child just to give him a breath of fresh air?"

We don't have all the answers to this poignant if misleading query. But we can all agree no one should have to make such a choice. Proper urban planning should provide not only the means to survive but also a quality of life worth living. This is an ambitious goal, particularly when you consider Maurice Strong's discovery that the present rate of urbanization in many emerging countries far outjumps the experience of older, industrialized societies. And pollution's cutting edge hits the inner city dweller first, in every nation. His children are bitten by rats attracted by uncollected garbage; his family breathes the worst quality air soiled by vehicular traffic and industry, and they have contaminated water to drink when the municipal service breaks down.

Criss-crossing the world for the past year and a half, Maurice Strong has talked to thousands of city, state and national opinion

leaders. He has done much to sweeten negative thinking on the road to Stockholm. This tireless young (43) ex-industrialist from Canada is a skillful salesman and organizer. His talents and devotion have maximized the Conference's chance of success.

America's official attitude toward care of the environment has been exemplary. In 1970 the President created EPA out of 15 on-going but disconnected Federal programs. He determined to deal in an integrated way with our biosphere, since it is a single, interrelating system. He appointed Assistant Attorney General William D. Ruckelshaus to run EPA, which now has nearly 9,000 employees with a budget of \$2.4 billion.

Early in 1970 the President submitted to the Congress 300 pages of legislative proposals to strengthen EPA's earth-keeping capacity. None have yet become law, but the controversial water quality control bill has reached the joint conference stage. Other key measures ripening toward final action concern ocean dumping, pesticides, noise abatement and toxic substances.

Along with these moves, the United States is hurrying to expand current limits of science and technology. Much research remains unfinished as to the extent and fixability of the pollution around us. There are conflicting doomsday reports by the Club of Rome and some London scientists, as well as the UN sponsored Study of Man's Impact on Climate (SMIC). Last year, for example, SMIC warned that man, by misusing natural resources, may be permanently altering the global climate, with dire results.

The United States is working to encourage the rest of the world to share our concern about environmental degradation. Director Frank Shakespeare has applied some of USIA's worldwide communications horsepower to this effort. Foreign interest is increasing. In fact hundreds of visitors now come annually from other lands for briefings by our specialists.

At present we seem to rank ahead of most nations in pollution control capability, even those in the thoroughly industrialized category.

Nevertheless, we do learn from

others, like Britain in water management, France in noise abatement, Germany in correcting river basin soilage and the Soviet Union in reduction of particulates caused by steel manufacture.

Outside of the United States American experts serve on technical panels of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, NATO's Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society, the UN Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization, to name a few.

Russell Train, Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, makes numerous overseas initiatives. He is popular and influential both at home and in foreign capitals as an architect of America's environment-saving movement. Not surprisingly he will head the US Delegation to Stockholm. The Stockholm Conference is a kind of world-wide examination for which the students have not properly prepared themselves. As you can see from this short round-up of what national governments are presently doing and thinking about environmental worries, the record to date is spotty. But nations are percolating with change both in attitude and know-how about the subject.

Ready or not, participants will sit down to an agenda that encompasses every conceivable environmental woe: human settlements, natural resources, identification and control of pollutants, information and education to build favorable public opinion, economic development and the environment, and institutional arrangements necessary to preserve the biosphere.

And the delegations have to ponder more than 100 action recommendations on these agenda items, which were submitted by member nations.

The most significant action proposals include: an international convention on ocean dumping; a global monitoring network for both air and water pollution; a world heritage trust to maintain art and architectural treasures; and a declaration of general intent on environmental care-taking.

The chances for passage for this whole package seem slim. One hundred and thirty sovereign delegations of six people each can hardly

concur on what time to hold the coffee break, much less such weighty matters as the survival of mankind. But it is hard to prognosticate. There is a tide for accomplishment at this meeting, despite the counter-currents I have mentioned. It's not pessimistic to guess that none of these ideas may be implemented, nor is it pollyannaish to bet that one or two might win a green light.

If total agreement to act can't be reached, regional pacts on one or more topics are possible. At the very least, contacts among delegates can lead to bilateral activities on a person-to-person or agency-to-agency basis that may be the most practical result.

Just to have the world's top environmentalists palaver together will be useful. And mass communications media will project the ideas, people, and happenings of this great colloquy into the homes of human beings everywhere. The coverage, regardless of what is done in the Conference, will be a giant step toward educating people on this vital subject.

How can we maintain the fine momentum of interest which the Conference has already produced? President Nixon has advocated a \$100 million, jointly financed fund within the UN to ensure a followup of decisions and directions taken at Stockholm. There are many thoughts on what institutional set-up should handle post-Conference moves for global action. My own view is that Maurice Strong's superlative leadership should be retained along with the Conference's tiny but effective secretariat.

United States Foreign Service officers and staffers also will have an opportunity to give a fair breeze to whatever Stockholm directives there may be. They can do so by learning as much as possible about the subject and disseminating knowledge and enthusiasm in their countries of assignment. Books, pamphlets, films and a constant current of news articles and features should be available through USIS for this purpose.

The end of the Conference will, we hope, mark the beginning of a real pledge by man to stop mistreating his one and only life support apparatus on the planet Earth.

Baghdad nights and Baghdad days were punctuated with gunfire and loaded with suspense—in 1941



The Ides of May— Baghdad, 1941

WILLIAM J. PORTER, in Collaboration with GORDON H. MATTISON and WILLIAM S. FARRELL

One of the little known crises of World War II developed in Iraq in 1941. Overshadowed by larger clashes of other armies and the march of events on other fronts, the Rashid Ali coup d'etat in May of 1941 attracted little attention, despite the fact that if it had succeeded the Axis forces would have had bases on the Persian Gulf, the British lifeline to India could have been severed, and Allied forces in Egypt completely out-flanked.

The importance of these events has remained obscure, and even more so the key role played by United States diplomacy in support of the British position and the successful termination of a minor war which might well have turned the tide in favor of the Axis powers. The story, "The Ides of May—Baghdad 1941," is the first-hand account of these events as written by three of the Foreign Service officers who were stationed in Baghdad at that time.

THE early months of 1941 witnessed the alarming development of pro-Nazi tendencies among the population of Iraq, fanned and fomented by Arabic broadcasts from Berlin and by secret German and Italian agents on the spot. A British Ambassador who bore little repute among his own colleagues and less among others had frittered away time when time was of the essence. He had been replaced by a strong

Ambassador, Sir Kinahan Cornwallis, when events had already moved beyond the point of recall. The pro-Nazi Iraqi Rashid Ali, of dubious mental stability, had seized power on April 2.

Our knowledge of this had indeed been first hand. We started work early on April 2—summer hours they were called—but in times of crisis, extra long hours. A horse-drawn vehicle (*arabanah*) entered the Legation compound and drove up to the Chancery entrance. A

woman clad in the traditional *abaya* and thick black veil descended and was taken in by the *kavass* to Mr. Lawrence, the Legation's dragoman (a talented Iraqi Christian). Soon Lawrence appeared, as one of our members aptly put it, "quivering like a jelly fish." He gasped, "The Regent is here and wishes to see His Excellency the Minister immediately." In a few moments Lawrence's well-founded fears were further enhanced, and he reappeared, this time literally green in color and reported, "Sir, there are men with guns crawling across the wall."

This got our undivided attention, and there was a quick rush to our arms cabinet. Fortunately, the men were members of the Regent's loyal personal bodyguard, who had not wished their entrance to the Legation to be observed.

The Regent had his problems, and had placed them right in our lap. He had been forewarned of Rashid Ali's coup d'etat (engineered by four army officers—a quadrumvirate which came to be known as the "Golden Square") and that his life was in grave danger. Having spent the night clandestinely on the west bank of the Tigris River, he dared not cross the heavily guarded bridges, and had therefore sought refuge in the American Legation. Minister Paul Knabenshue, in his planning, had not antic-

William J. Porter, now heading up the Paris peace talks, has served as Ambassador to Korea and Algeria and as Deputy Ambassador to Vietnam. Ambassador Porter entered the Foreign Service in 1937, after serving as secretary to the American minister to Hungary in 1936-37.

William S. Farrell joined the Foreign Service in 1929 and served at Mexico City, Addis Ababa, Aden, Beirut, Sofia, Istanbul, Teheran and Cairo before the assignment to Baghdad described in this article.

Gordon Mattison entered the Foreign Service in 1937 and retired at the end of 1969. His principal area of service was the Near East, with posts in Baghdad, Basra, Cairo, Beirut, Damascus, Teheran and Calcutta.

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ipated this dilemma, but notwithstanding this, his improvisations were remarkable. He had to let the British Embassy (which had radio facilities) know that the Regent was, at least temporarily, safe. With the Axis-oriented Iraqi army now in firm control, it was essential that the Regent be taken to safety outside of Iraq. And above all, the Regent's presence at our Legation must remain a dead secret. Communication with the British Embassy was established in carefully phrased telephone conversations. It was soon established that the Embassy was so closely covered by the Iraqi military that it was impossible for them to make any move that would safely accomplish our joint objectives. Therefore, anything that was to be accomplished had perforce to be a totally American effort. Our resources were slim, but Knabenshue used them. The United States Government did not provide a car for the Legation. Our Minister provided his own and drove it himself except for ceremonial occasions. So it was not an uncommon sight for him to be seen at the wheel in Baghdad traffic. Shortly after noon the Minister drove out through the Legation gates, flag flying, with Mrs. Knabenshue in the back seat (perfectly normal by Arab standards if the husband were driving). The only unusual item was the large lap robe which covered Mrs. Knabenshue's legs, for it was a very warm April day. Beneath the robe at Mrs. Knabenshue's feet was Prince Abdul Ilah, Regent of Iraq. The robe, furthermore, was garnished with bouquets of flowers, ostensibly for presentation to the Knabenshues' "luncheon host," the Air Vice Marshal at their destination, and was thus intended to represent a normal and innocuous social occasion—"Definitely," Farrell quipped, "a *sub rosa* situation."

This camouflage, though somewhat of a departure from the norm, passed unnoticed. Knabenshue, as he said later, "drove like hell" (he enjoyed driving) but slowed down at the many Iraqi army check points en route to the British Air Force base at Habbaniyah. He did not dramatize in his telegram to the Department: "We passed unchallenged units of the army along road which were stopping and searching

other cars." The drive back, he told us later at the Legation, was uneventful. He knew that he had been more vulnerable on the return trip, for if the ruse had been discovered, the frustrations of the Iraqi military would have transcended any of the slightly known and negligibly observed bounds of diplomatic practice.

Knabenshue was not a forthcoming man to talk to. We had the impression that he intended to write it all up later. Unfortunately, tragic circumstances intervened, leading to his untimely death at the zenith of his career.

The new British Ambassador, Sir Kinahan Cornwallis, arrived in Baghdad that evening and faced a virtually impossible diplomatic situation.

Sir Kinahan's assets derived from his previous incarnation as an advisor to the Iraqi Government (his Arabic was excellent) as early as 1921 when it emerged from the defeated Ottoman Empire. Indeed, he had accompanied King Faisal when the latter assumed the throne in that year. The Ambassador had also a strong personality and good common sense. He and Knabenshue were old friends. (Knabenshue had been stationed in Baghdad from the time Iraq had become independent, a matter of some six years.)

The month of April continued with tensions unabated. With the exception of the Japanese and Italian Governments a policy of non-recognition was pursued by major powers represented at Baghdad. The British Government responded to the strong urgings of its new Ambassador and succeeded in the ticklish task of landing limited forces in Southern Iraq "to protect the lines of communication in accordance with the terms of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty." But the Iraqi army, numbering some 50,000, under the professed guise of assisting the British to protect their lines of communication, took up positions which actually constituted a threat to the British forces. Their units were small and not in sufficient strength to react with force until the arrival of more substantial contingents scheduled for the middle of the month—the Ides of May. The Gailani Government and its Axis advisors were quick to realize that

its base of support among the people was not strong, and that once the British established themselves in force, the rebel government would be toppled. Therefore the chances of precipitate Iraqi action were increased.

Under this tenuous and delicate situation the decision was taken to evacuate British and American women and children. This was accomplished on the afternoon of April 29. Evacuation centered on the RAF base at Habbaniyah, whence they were to be flown out to Basra in southern Iraq the following day.

The evening of April 29, Farrell, Mattison and Porter made a reconnaissance of downtown Baghdad to get reaction to the evacuation move. Another purpose of this excursion was to check Baghdad's principal hotels to see if there were any transient Americans not known to the Legation who might need assistance if the going got rough. While checking out the Tigris Palace Hotel, which boasted a bartender named Jesus (though his bar was not stocked with *Lacrimae Christi*!), we became conscious of a continuous rumbling, roaring noise in the streets outside.

Iraqi tanks, armored troop carriers and guns were on the move. Were they setting up posts in the city as a security measure? Had the army switched its allegiance? Was there another coup d'état in the making? These and many other questions demanded an answer. We slipped our car between a tank and a field gun and joined the column wending its way through Baghdad's streets, across the Tigris to where the road turned off to Habbaniyah. There we were stopped but we had our answer. Iraqi armor was en route to Habbaniyah. We hastened back to our Legation. Knabenshue, roused from his bed, immediately called Pat Domville, the RAF intelligence officer, who lived nearby, conveniently across from the Italian Legation. Domville got to his Embassy and sent a signal to Habbaniyah. Strangely enough it was the first news that the RAF had of the approaching Iraqi armored column.

On his arrival at the Legation about 7:00 a.m. the next day, Mattison was greeted by Knabenshue

with the words, "I have just been tipped off that they are out to get Domville—take my car, fly the flag and bring him to the Legation."

A very tired and sleepy Domville debated whether to make an attempt to reach his own Embassy, but decided to accept our hospitality.

Word was received that the Iraqi army column had appeared on the escarpment which dominated Habbaniyah Air Force Base. The commander of the Iraqi forces had notified the RAF commander that they would open fire if any planes took off. The reply was that this would be an act of war.

With the imminence of such danger, tensions in the Baghdad streets became so acute that Knabenshue reported that "a mixed lot of Americans and miscellaneous foreigners and some Iraqi subjects numbering about 100 (later verified as 162) fearing mob violence have taken refuge in the Legation." Actually these were predominantly British, and they came in accordance with a carefully prearranged plan. Equal facilities were granted at the British Embassy to American citizens who lived on that opposite (east) bank of the Tigris.

They came singly and in groups bringing with them a minimum of bedding, emergency food supplies, reading material, strictly utilitarian clothing, and most of them with supreme confidence that the RAF and the British Army in Basra would soon have the situation in hand. But the news that the Iraqis had surrounded the Habbaniyah Air Base, before the women and children could be evacuated, quickly cut through the layer of optimism.

By nightfall the gates were thoroughly barricaded. The barriers had been predesigned and built by the Legation Jack-of-all-trades—a talented Assyrian Christian who was ready to take on the Iraqi army singlehanded.

Our internal "commander" was Col. Page from the British Military Mission. Watches and a guard system were set up. Arabic-speaking liaison officers with the Iraqi police were designated. (Police detachments had encamped around the Legation compound, allegedly for our protection. However, it was

Iraqi tanks, armored troop carriers and guns were on the move. Were they setting up posts in the city as a security measure? Had the army switched its allegiance?

soon noted that their machine guns were pointed directly toward the Legation gates, not in the direction that would have covered a mob attacking the Legation.)

That night Domville went over the wall in an Arab costume. The risk was great, but he felt that he had no other alternative. His duties as RAF Intelligence Officer required that he get to the British Embassy. He was a good man at his job, and he made it.

Before he left, Farrell and he put their heads together to work out some means of communication between the Legation and the British Embassy. Domville had a small network of Iraqis that he was confident would stand fast, and he felt assured that it would be possible to slip messages over the wall. But we had no codes in common. A simple code was devised. Farrell went it one better. He would transliterate it into Amharic characters which would phonetically represent English words. (This alphabet and language he had acquired, self-taught, while in Addis Ababa.) He knew a fellow Amharic scholar in the British Embassy who could handle it. So any messages would be only a well-dirtied scrap of paper handwritten in Amharic letters, totally alien to the Arabic script.

We did have a small voice radio transmitter which Porter, of our staff, who was adept at such things, had "borrowed" from the local RCA dealer. This had been tested and it worked. It was one of the early casualties. We had to surrender it to the Iraqi authorities who found out that we had it after "sweating" the local RCA dealer.

Our balloon really went up on May 4. According to the Iraqis the British had sent an ultimatum that unless Iraqi forces were removed from the vicinity of Habbaniyah by 12 noon the British Air Force would commence bombing public buildings in Baghdad. The Iraqi government sent a counter-ultimatum stating that they would bomb subjects wherever they might be found. It was made clear to us that this in-

cluded the US Legation.

The United States was not at war, but we at the Legation felt very close to it at that moment. Principles of International Law and the arrogance of the Iraqi threat did not concern us at the moment—it was our lives and those of our refugees to whom we had offered protection. Also at stake were the reputation and career of our Minister-Resident, Paul Knabenshue. He had taken a hard-nosed line in full support of the British position, with cautious support from the Department. But he had also been warned not to so closely identify the US with the British as to endanger US lives. Our British "guests" recognized the predicament, met as a community group, and decided to leave the Legation before the 12 noon deadline, hoping to make their way through the hostile populace to the British Embassy.

Knabenshue refused to allow them to do this. His own intuition, based on nearly thirty years of experience in the Near East, told him that the Iraqis would not carry out their threat, and that the greatest danger lay with the mobs, and that the British departure might well trigger a tidal wave of mob atrocities which would engulf any who remained in the Legation.

The British received Knabenshue's refusal with cheers, and immediate air raid precautions were rushed. Unfortunately, the cellars of the Legation were useless, being flooded with knee-deep filthy water teeming with water vermin (it was the flood season).

Later in the day Knabenshue's judgment proved sound. While not withdrawing the bombing threat, the Iraqi government demanded that all British subjects be surrendered to it. Knabenshue countered that he would comply immediately upon receipt of an official note guaranteeing the proper treatment of British subjects "in the present circumstances in accordance with the accepted principles of International Law." Still later in the day word was received that British sub-

"Our diet of stale rice and Tigris salmon was varied by the vivacity or rigor mortis of insects in the former, and by the size of bone and proportion of fish heads to fish torsos in the wholesale chopped batches of the latter."

jects would be removed when a suitable internment camp was prepared.

The day ended, hot as ever, dusty as ever but these discomforts went unnoticed. The evening ration, or "tot" as it was called, was served. What had been a conglomeration of refugee seekers now became a group, not unified but at least cohesive because it had survived another day. With all the adversity, and the uncertain fate of families under bombardment in Habbaniyah, there was still the spark of hope that things must turn out right.

It soon became apparent that an easy quick victory over the Iraqi rebels was not in the cards. From the BBC we learned that a small column of Jordanian troops under Glubb Pasha had set out to "relieve" Habbaniyah. The British forces in Basra were not moving toward Baghdad. Indeed, the commander was organizing his lines of retreat.

Inside our walls, food was our first preoccupation. Our initial supplies of canned goods had dwindled to the point at which they were really "emergency" in nature. We were fortunate in two respects: one was that Betty Sulman, King Faisal II's governess, who had taken refuge with us, was also a trained dietitian. The second was that one of our British refugees had, in the early days of Iraqi independence, been in charge of the police training mission. He still had the confidence and respect of the Iraqi police. He was able to negotiate with them an arrangement whereby a local produce dealer would come each morning and take our order. We soon noted that we had a different dealer each day and found that the police were shaking down each merchant upon his departure. We had little sympathy with the merchants who were gouging us, and felt that the resultant income for the police kept them interested in our welfarc.

Porter recalls that there was some

fancy dickering with the police in the dark of the night, about whiskey as well as victuals. The influence of the British Police Advisor brought many a donkey-load of Scotch to our wall, where willing hands lifted it up and over and the next load was ordered. There was a minor riot one night, though, when the British discovered to their horror that what was coming over the wall was something called "Danny Deever, Scotch-type whiskey made in Holland!" Worse, it was mixed with cases of "X.T.C. (Ecstasy) Scotch-type whiskey" from the same country. Muffled imprecations and efforts to heave the boxes back over the wall resulted, and at one point a Britisher almost throttled a friend whom he had mistaken in the gloom for the offending merchant.

The food we lived on was not good. As Farrell later described it, "Our diet of stale rice and Tigris salmon was varied by the vivacity or rigor mortis of insects in the former, and by the size of the bone and proportion of fish heads to fish torsos in the wholesale chopped batches of the latter." Our bread was the unleavened Iraqi "*khubz*," which was solid, dry and gritty. Our butter was rancid "*ghee*" or sheep's-tail fat. Leafy vegetables were, of course *verboden* (for fear of dysentery) and not purchased.

Strangely enough we had no serious illness among the group. Our one bout of trouble had its amusing side. One of our enterprising produce dealers had managed to secure a number of cases of Japanese "Cascade" beer. Everyone was allowed a half-bottle of beer at lunch time to mark the occasion. By two o'clock in the afternoon, there were waiting lines at the latrines, which had been dug in the garden. Acute diarrhea was rampant. Bad fish was suspected immediately, but some thinking non-drinkers checked with other non-drinkers. None of them had suffered. It was obviously the beer that had acted as a complete

purgative.

[There were a few hardened souls who tried the beer a second time and found that they had acquired immunity to the purgative effects. They kept their secret well and prospered since surplus laxative beer was not rationed.]

The trademark of the Axis impressed on the Rashid Ali government became even more apparent as the month rolled on. Radio Berlin spewed forth an avalanche of anti-British invective in Arabic and in all of its language services. Baghdad Radio did everything it could to outdo Berlin. Fake messages in code groups also were read out.

The situation in the air was not good. Habbaniyah was at that particular time a training base for the RAF. Its trainees were a mixed group, mainly volunteers, many of them Greeks. Their training planes were antique Gypsy Moths. They had no bombers as such. They were subject to Iraqi fire when taking off. (The Iraqis did not try to destroy the base. They were confident that it would fall into their hands like the proverbial ripe plum to serve as an operational base from which German and Italian planes could control the Persian Gulf.)

Against all these obstacles, the RAF mounted a magnificent offensive—not large, because it didn't have the planes, but nevertheless effective. We had a grandstand seat at the Legation. The principal Iraqi Air Force Base was at Rashid Camp, scarcely a mile distant. Mostly the action was by night or just at dawn.

About the 15th of May we sighted our first Axis planes. Baghdad Radio had been talking about them for nearly a week. One Italian plane flew very low in its landing pattern and passed within a few hundred feet of the Legation. Every Arab in Baghdad was firing his rifle at it, believing it to be a British flyer intent on carrying out yet another "massacre of women and children," for there had been many such, according to Baghdad Radio's fanciful anti-British propaganda. The Italians were returning the fire. We in our turn took cover. We learned later that the son of German General Blomberg had been killed by similar ground fire while landing a plane.

This was a time of high tension in world affairs. The magnificent defense of Crete after an all-out parachute attack on May 20 prevented a further commitment of Axis forces to Iraq. It gave the rallying British forces the opportunity to foil the Axis attempt to control the Persian Gulf—with all that such control meant—oil shipping routes, and ultimately the whole outcome of the war.

What was our way of life during this month? It was organized to the degree necessary to achieve our survival, but not over-organized. The two secretaries' houses in a separate compound at the rear of the main Legation compound were used for the women and children. They were off-limits except for the essential guards at the gates. Water was rationed as a precautionary measure. The blackout was enforced at night by the Iraqis—our power was turned off. It was cooler outside than it was in, so most of us slept out, either on the ground or on the wide stone terrace at the rear of the Legation building. The air raids were our nighttime entertainment. The persistent, inveterate and sometimes unbearable sand-flies with their red-poker sting made night a misery. Their real toll fortunately came after internment, when a number of cases of dengue fever developed among the erstwhile refugees, including Mattison.

Classes were held in a wide variety of subjects including Hindustani and lectures on the devil-worshippers of the Northern Iraq (Yazidis). There were regular religious services by Protestant and Catholic clergymen. We had a daily mimeographed newspaper of highly dubious literary quality.

After two weeks a Polish engineer refugee made representations to Knabenshue. He objected to the segregation of the sexes and wanted special arrangements made for him to set up housekeeping with his wife who was quartered in the ladies' compound. The engineer had been unwise and had discussed his hardships with many other persons before placing his problem of logistics before Knabenshue. The answer had to be no, of course, so his Polish spouse remained quartered with the British and other women. He continued as before for awhile

in enforced separation. The incident was spotlighted by the witty remark made by Judge Drower (Advisor of the Iraqi Judiciary): "Happiness and unhappiness are Poles apart."

Judge Drower was not quite aware of everything, however. With Knabenshue's consent, Porter arranged for the couple to share a room (in Mattison's house) for two hours on Saturday afternoons. Knabenshue, always a humanist, ordered this perhaps because Porter told him that the Pole was preparing to drown himself in the swimming pool—our reserve water supply—and "we can't have that." Porter personally stood guard at a discreet distance, and later reported to Knabenshue that the Pole had considerably brightened and that they were together trying to plan a radio system which would be a valuable reserve element. The episode provided a fresh and novel subject of conversation, a welcome variation from the repetitious "When is the bloody British Army going to get off its duff and do something?"

The days moved slowly. The bombings of Rashid Camp increased. And then the day came when a keen ear heard a different sound. It was artillery fire coming out from the west. Distances were calculated. We would be free the next day, it was widely proclaimed! But this interval of expectancy dragged out for two days, and nothing happened.

We had learned earlier from the BBC that Habbaniyah had been relieved by Glubb's column from Transjordan, but not before the British-officered Assyrian Levies from the base itself had seized the initiative and captured a key position at a flood gate on an irrigation canal.

The tardiness and delay in investing Baghdad, which irked us so much at the Legation in our impatient final hours of internment, was, as it turned out, well founded. The British force approaching the capital was so small that, while it could take the city against a disorganized Iraqi army, it could not possibly control it or police it. The column under General Clark which had finally moved northward from Basra on the Persian Gulf was still some days away. A complete breakdown of public order was not to the ad-

vantage of either the British or the Iraqis. So the British forces assumed an increasingly threatening posture, and hoped that something would give.

It did, but in a surprisingly unexpected quarter. The surrender of Baghdad did not come on the battlefield. At five o'clock or so on the afternoon of June 1, the long-dead telephone of the Legation came to life. The Lord Mayor of Baghdad wished to speak to His Excellency the American Minister. The Mayor, Arshad Al Umari, was a small, softspoken political moderate who had managed to weather many a storm and crisis because he seemed genuinely more interested in running the city than in running the nation.

"Your Excellency," he told Knabenshue, "I would like to call at your Legation and consult with you regarding the surrender of Baghdad and the peaceful entry of British troops."

Knabenshue knew his Arabs and realized that the call to him was a face-saving gesture designed to contrive an effect of third-power mediation. He accepted the mantle of peacemaker with good grace, telephoned the British Ambassador to give him the news, and requested him to call off a threatened attack on Baghdad scheduled for that afternoon. He changed into a clean but well worn sports shirt and received the Lord Mayor at the side gate. The barricade was taken down by willing volunteers; the siege of the Legation was lifted. Knabenshue conveyed the Lord Mayor to the British Embassy, where the terms were completed.

The "ration" was lifted that afternoon, and a mild celebration was staged. We discovered that our conversation was already nostalgic, we were not sure that we liked the shape of the world into which we were about to emerge. The loud conversation was drowned out by a squadron of RAF Wellington bombers which sailed majestically over Rashid Camp and dropped their entire load in unison, with earthquake-like effect on windows, glasses and anything that was loose. Knabenshue rushed to telephone the British Embassy, dismayed that the fragile peace which he had just au-

(Continued on page 39)

FSJ BOOK ESSAY

Unresolved Legacy of the Raj

DOES anyone remember the Sino-Indian border war of 1962, except in terms of the almost universally-accepted picture of a peaceful, unoffending India, brutally attacked by an aggressive expansionist China? Can we remember the wave of sympathy throughout the Western world for Prime Minister Nehru, desperately trying to rally the motherland against an unprovoked onslaught? If so, for a salutary corrective, read "India's China War," by Neville Maxwell, (Pantheon Books, 475 pp. with maps, 1971). Mr. Maxwell covered India for the TIMES of London throughout the years in question, and subsequently took two years off as a Fellow of the London School of Oriental and African Studies to pursue his researches into Indian Government papers, dispatches and reports, many of them unpublished, and to write this book.

The Sino-Indian border dispute was one of the many unresolved legacies of the British *raj*, in this case deriving from Anglo-Russian imperial rivalries of the late 19th century. Specifically, it consisted of two separate and distinct questions, the delimitation of an eastern boundary in the unsettled frontier region of Ladakh, and the validity of the so-called McMahon Line, which purported to delimit the Sino-Indian frontier from Bhutan to Burma.

The disputed region of Ladakh between northern Kashmir and Tibet is one of the most bleak and uninhabited areas on earth. Consisting of windswept upland plateaus bounded and intersected by the snow-covered peaks of the Karakoram, Kuen Lun, and Himalayan ranges, it was penetrated during the late 19th century by a few intrepid British explorers and survey parties. Later, in order to preempt Russian ambitions, the British administration in India at various times drew boundary lines on their maps to reflect these penetrations. The resultant boundary claims extended well beyond the farthest points of Indian

habitation and were never recognized by China.

In the east, a forward boundary line from Bhutan to Burma, which followed the edge of the Tibetan plateau, was also drawn unilaterally. However, this line, named after its framer, Sir Henry McMahon, became the subject of Sino-British negotiations, and was even initialed by Chinese representatives to a conference at Simla in 1914. Although never formally agreed upon, the McMahon Line was nevertheless given a degree of tacit acceptance by China, even though later British maps sometimes showed a boundary running well south of it.

Over the years, the Chinese position on both disputed regions, as repeatedly set forth in diplomatic notes and public pronouncements, was that these boundary disagreements were unresolved issues to be settled by negotiation. Alternatively, if no negotiations were possible, the Chinese were willing to settle for the *status quo*, with neither side attempting to disturb the thinly-occupied settlements and frontier posts of the other. But the Chinese would not accept a legal boundary imposed unilaterally. In these respects, the position of the Chinese Communist regime after 1949 coincided with its predecessors'.

The British generally accepted this *modus vivendi*. They would have liked to clean up the juridical status of both frontiers, but never regarded it as a pressing issue. Tibet was autonomous, China was weak, and in both regions the areas were so thinly populated that ethnic problems were minimal.

With Indian independence all this changed. Aloof, dispassionate imperial rule was replaced by autocratic leadership superimposed over a venal political class and an ignorant, apathetic electorate. This was called a democratic political system. It attacked an essentially technical question of conflicting boundary claims with all the hysteria of immature nationalism. In the minds of Indian politicians the vaguely delineated area of Ladakh was now an inalienable part of Mother India, and the McMahon Line to the east was as juridically sacrosanct as the

precincts of Calcutta. The self-righteous Nehru set the seal on both boundaries by declaring them to be non-negotiable.

Despite the turgid rhetoric and a hardened Indian position the dispute would still have remained academic had not, during the late 1950s, the Indians discovered that, in their quiet way, the Chinese were completing construction of a strategic road link between the Karakoram and Kuen Lun ranges that cut through a desert area of Ladakh called the Aksai Chin. One stretch of the road bisected the most extreme paper boundary claim bequeathed by the British, so it was immediately considered in New Delhi as being Indian. Goaded by a jingoistic Parliament and a hysterical press, Nehru now proceeded to compound self-righteous intransigence with a course of bluster and reckless folly.

Again disregarding Chinese offers to negotiate all difference on a peaceable basis, and rebuffing Chou En-lai when he visited New Delhi in the spring of 1960, Nehru and his colleagues of the Congress Party decided to adopt a so-called "forward policy." This consisted of moving small units of the Indian Army into areas occupied by the Chinese and planting them there in outposts and pickets.

In Ladakh, Indian units moved into positions that threatened the Aksai Chin road. In the east they prepared to move in force up to the McMahon Line. The troops were poorly armed, improperly clothed for the high altitudes and frigid weather, and unsupported by main force units and air power. The Chinese soon surrounded the Indian positions with their own well-clothed, well-armed forces but took no aggressive action. Instead, they reiterated their desire to negotiate.

The final act of folly came in October 1962 when a pliant Indian Commander decided to push *north* of the McMahon Line in order to oust Chinese forces forming in defensive positions along a ridge overlooking the Line. The Chinese waited to complete their own dispositions and then launched a concerted preemptive attack against Indian

forces in both east and west. They surrounded the Indian outposts, cut the Indian supply lines, and rolled up the isolated units.

The issue was never in doubt for a moment. Four weeks after the attack all of the Indian forces in both disputed areas were dead, prisoners, or in precipitate flight. Then, in a gesture of supreme contempt, the Chinese announced a unilateral cease-fire and withdrew their forces to precisely the lines they occupied before the Indian penetrations. The war was over.

This chronicle of Indian presumption and incompetence would seem incredible were it not for the painstaking documentation which Mr. Maxwell brings to bear on every phase of the conflict, mostly from Indian sources. But its chief lesson lies in the Pavlovian manner with which the West in general, and the United States in particular, reacted to the Chinese punitive foray. Indian screams of unprovoked aggression were accepted at face value. The appeals for immediate military aid by the professor of economics then serving as United States Ambassador to India (and, like his predecessor, privately doubling in a reverse capacity) found a receptive ear in the academic administrator then advising President Kennedy on national security affairs.

Since none of the three was remotely conversant with the complicated historical background of the boundary question, or accustomed (as the British were) to viewing Asiatic representations with a certain degree of skepticism, it is not surprising that no one bothered to scrutinize the record. The mere fact that one of the parties to the conflict was Communist China was sufficient to transfer the level of appraisal from objectivity to demonology.

In the final event, the traditional Chinese inclination to accommodate boundary settlements to a *de facto* situation—the Korean armistice is a prime example—coupled with a well-founded reluctance to project their exiguous forces into the Indian heartland, probably saved the United States from yet another destructive entanglement on the mainland of Asia. Otherwise, we might today be reading the fabrications of a “White Paper” on India, instead

of this fascinating and well-documented exposure of the fabrications of others. Mr. Maxwell's authoritative book ought to be required reading for the White House Staff—not to mention the Bureaus of South and East Asian Affairs.

—CHARLES MAECHLING, JR.

FSJ BOOKSHELF

Spruille Braden: Diplomat

DIPLOMATS AND DEMAGOGUES: *The Memoirs of Spruille Braden*. Arlington House, \$12.50.

SPRUILLE BRADEN was baptized in diplomacy at the Montevideo Conference of 1933, where he promptly demonstrated his skill in dealing with Latin Americans. He further displayed his gift for effective tactics at the Pan American Commercial Conference and was consequently offered the ambassadorship to Peru but got sidetracked to the Chaco war, which, in three and a half years of uphill and highly resourceful diplomacy, he helped to end. One of the few things that Cordell Hull and Sumner Welles shared was admiration for these performances and Mr. Braden served successively as ambassador to Colombia (1939-42), to Cuba (1942-45) and to Argentina, from which he was lifted after six months to become Assistant Secretary of State for American Republic Affairs. In two years he was out due to differences over policies, diplomatic tactics and organization.

The Truman Administration decided not to continue the opposition to Peron which Mr. Braden had initiated when in Buenos Aires and, as Assistant Secretary, worked hard to continue. He opposed the establishment of an office of intelligence and research in the Department, on the ground that this work could be done adequately by the geographic bureaus. He not only crossed Under Secretary Acheson on this issue but refused to be outflanked by Mr. Acheson, Alger Hiss and others of the Acheson team on others. Having had in the field some disconcerting experiences with communist penetration of the Department, he courageously faced this problem which Mr. Acheson was inclined to pooh-pooh and thus again ran afoul of an Under Secretary with as strong a

“take charge” mentality as Mr. Braden. Finally, he opposed extensive military assistance to the Latin American republics, which ranged the Pentagon against him, and when Secretary Marshall turned the question over to Maj. Gen. John H. Hildring, who had been brought into the State Department, and a bill, embodying Pentagon desires, was drafted by Hildring and sent to Congress without consultation with the Assistant Secretary for Latin American affairs, Mr. Braden got the message. He made a graceful exit, with none other than Mr. Acheson draping around his neck the Medal of Freedom.

Presidents are forever exhorting their diplomatic agents to “take charge” and as a “take charge” man Mr. Braden was popular with them. There was no question who was in charge of any mission which he headed and that went for the military attachés on his staff. He effectively asserted his own judgment when confronted by errant officials of the Department and other parts of our government, and there were many such in the New Deal and World War II periods, as those of us familiar with those years can attest. Like all mortals, Mr. Braden made his mistakes and his career colleagues feel he committed his most egregious by involving himself in such flamboyant opposition to Peron as to appear to be campaigning against him in Argentine politics. It is well to have Mr. Braden's side of this stated and to have both the principle at issue and the tactics employed set forth by the tactician. The principle is not one which, to my knowledge, has been seriously—much less satisfactorily—analyzed by any career officer. One cannot help but wonder if things would have turned out differently if Mr. Braden had displayed in his confrontation with Peron that consummate skill in quiet maneuver which had earned him victory over Saavedra Lamas in bringing the Chaco war to an end. In any case, the critics of Mr. Braden will have to read his book. Their appraisal to date has obviously been based largely, if not exclusively, upon his anti-Peron tactics and anti-communist stances rather than upon a full perspective of the man and his career.

—SMITH SIMPSON

The Real Immorality

THE RIVALS: *America and Russia Since World War II*, by Adam B. Ulam. Viking, \$10.95.

As a historian, Professor Ulam has a global outlook and broad sweep. As an author, he organizes his material well, and presents it with clarity, suavity and wit.

In "The Rivals" there is a minimum of straight reporting or recording of facts, figures and dates connected with Soviet-American relations after World War II. Rather, Professor Ulam analyzes the forces and personalities involved in the major events which actually took place, and ruminates on what developments might have been had either side in the rivalry acted differently. The result is some real insight, a great deal of the insight of hindsight, and considerable far-fetched speculation on "what might have been." He takes sharp issue with the so-called "revisionist" historians. Instead of the immoral malevolence they attribute to American policy, he sees emotionalism, naive moralism and a capacity for self-deception that made us seek the wrong objectives and miss repeated opportunities to press Moscow for concessions and settlements which would have produced a more orderly world. The real immorality involved, Professor Ulam concludes in his final chapter, is "The Immorality of Unrealism."

Many theses are advanced in "The Rivals" with which I would quarrel—for example, the attribution to Khrushchev of a profound and consistent "grand design" in conducting his "Sputnik diplomacy" from 1958 to 1962. Others, such as the author's analysis of Russian preoccupation with China, seem to me indisputable. All are presented with a logic and an informed intelligence which provokes the reader to thought. This, I assume, was one of Professor Ulam's major purposes in producing the study.

—FOY D. KOHLER

Russia and Space

THE KREMLIN AND THE COSMOS, by Nicholas Daniloff. Knopf.

NICHOLAS DANILOFF, a journalist with five years' experience in Mos-

cow who has been covering the Department of State since 1966, has written an engrossing and eminently readable book about Russia and space. Let none fear that he is in for tedious explanations of thrusts, and Machs, and telemetry, and such other exotic flora beyond the comprehension of any of us generalists. The necessary data are there but Daniloff is describing primarily the birth and maturity of an idea. The interaction between the Soviet and American space programs, between the Soviet military and the Soviet physicists, between a Soviet leadership intent upon accomplishment here and now and future-oriented scientists is all there in lucid form. So, too, are the main players in the drama: Tsiolkovsky, Tsander, Korolyev, Khrushchev and the others.

Not too surprisingly, this reviewer learned from the book that when you are second in a space race, you try much, much harder. Daniloff includes good evidence showing that it was precisely because the United States had an international bomber, an atomic bomb, and a number of veterans of the German V-I program, that the Soviet leadership gave the green light (along with the funds) to the Soviet rocketeers in the late nineteen forties. "Otherwise, we would have slept," a responsible Soviet official is quoted as saying. After Sputnik and Gagarin, the roles were reversed and this time the United States gave space the priority which led to the 1969 moon landing. For the future, Daniloff holds out less than confidently the perspective of an "arduous and, in the immediate years ahead, unspectacular" growth of Soviet-American space cooperation. After reading Daniloff's book, one hopes all the more that the isolation of Tsiolkovsky from Goddard and the other Western pioneers, and the subsequent space race belong to history to be replaced by cooperation.

—PETER SEMLER

A Diplomat of the Past

MEMOIRS OF A RUSSIAN DIPLOMAT, *Outposts of the Empire, 1893-1917*, by Andrew D. Kalmykow. Yale University Press, 1972.

HIS posts included Tabriz, Astarabad, Bangkok, Ashkabad, Tashkent, St. Petersburg, Uskub, and Smyrna.

He knew 14 languages, and in his career with the Imperial Tsar's Diplomatic Service from 1893 to 1917 he negotiated a border treaty between Siam and French Indochina which helped preserve the independence of Thailand, and prevented a massacre in the Balkans when Turkish civil and military authorities pulled out of a consular region which he supervised.

Andrew D. Kalmykow, a second-echelon figure in the Russian Foreign Service, came to America after the Russian Revolution and spent the next quarter-century as a language teacher and completing a book, "Memoirs of a Russian Diplomat, Outposts of the Empire, 1893-1917," which Yale University Press has recently published, and which represents something of a minor publishing coup.

Kalmykow's "Memoirs" is an extraordinary book, not for any new information it discloses about the diplomacy of tsarist Russia, but for the incredibly sensitive, beautifully written glimpses of life it provides of several posts where the author served. A respect for others and a thoughtfulness in human relations leaves the book remarkably free of cultural chauvinism; it is written with charm and humor, and the sections on the Russo-Japanese War, the Balkans, the coming of World War I and the personalities of various tsars and their Foreign ministers is refreshingly clear, honest, and candid.

Above all, the book is extremely well-written. The end result is like looking at tsarist Russia through a stereoscope and with a set of carefully preserved pictures of an age that has past.

—FRED QUINN

The Top Secret Stamp

PROJECT PAPERCLIP: *German Scientists and the Cold War*, by Clarence G. Lasby. Atheneum, \$8.95.

PROJECT PAPERCLIP describes the cloak-and-dagger-type operations undertaken at the end of World War II for the purpose of carrying off to the United States the leading German scientists who were later to play such a vital role in the success of our missile and space programs. This tricky maneuver not only de-

prived the Russians of the German expertise but also resulted in acrimonious rivalry between various interested departments of our government as well as such tight secrecy that at Potsdam President Truman innocently denied Stalin's accusation that the Americans were snatching German scientists out of the Russian zones.

An interesting sidelight is the incident of the "one man" (not named) in State who, singlehanded, held up the whole enterprise for some time.

"Paperclip" is unexpectedly timely, echoing as it does the recent reverberations of discord behind the scenes in government—the slap of the Top Secret stamp, the sharp voices of disagreement "leaking" through the curtain.

—REBECCA H. LATIMER

Collaborators Revisited

THE PATRIOTIC TRAITORS, *A History of Collaboration in German-Occupied Europe, 1940-45*, by David Littlejohn. Heinemann, £3.90.

BETTER Red than Dead" was a common aphorism of the 1950s, particularly to those in Europe who saw the future as a stark choice between Communism and nuclear holocaust. Fifteen years earlier at the beginning of World War II Europeans had faced a comparable choice: collaborate or suffer the devastation and deprivations of resistance to the might of the Nazi juggernaut. Mr. Littlejohn's book explores the history of the collaborationist movements in most of the countries of German-occupied Europe.

The names of Quisling, Petain and Laval are familiar to students of European history, but Scavenius in Denmark, Mussert in Holland, Degrelle in Belgium and Vlasov in Russia are perhaps less well known. The author catalogues and describes in detail the organizations, activities and policies of these shadowy figures. As such his work is an invaluable source of information otherwise not easily available to the general public.

However, for those interested in the philosophy of treason the book provides few insights. Although Mr. Littlejohn eschews an attitude of self-righteousness to the wartime non-resisters, in favor of dispassion-

ate description tinged at times, particularly in the case of France and Russia, with an understanding of the higher motives of the collaborationists, he does not explore the deeper psychological and political motivations for treason. The line between patriotism and treason is a perilously fine one at any time, and the book would have benefited had its analysis of the weak, ambitious, power-hungry men of Nazi Europe also explored more fully the higher aspirations of what later was to be seen as only unmitigated and base treachery.

—A. C. E. QUAINTON

Communicating Mao's Thoughts

COMMUNICATIONS AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN COMMUNIST CHINA, by Alan P. L. Liu. University of California Press, \$8.50.

ALAN P. L. LIU, now on the faculty of the University of California in Santa Barbara, has been studying and writing about the mass media in the People's Republic of China for almost a decade—first at MIT's Center for International Studies and later at the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of Michigan. He is a true expert in his field.

The book under review draws on Dr. Liu's earlier monographs on radio broadcasting, the press, book publishing and the film industry. He covers the structure and organization of the mass media and its propaganda role within the broader perspective of China's national goals and the changing political and social environment. The appendices present statistical data that show quantitative trends and include a content analysis of radio broadcasts, films and the PEOPLE'S DAILY.

Mao Tse-tung has always stressed the importance of oral and visual communication in a country such as China, where adult literacy is still far from universal. Thus, in the utilization of the mass media for the purpose of indoctrination, the emphasis has been on radio broadcasts via the loudspeaker system, on movies shown by mobile projection teams, and even on comic books designed to present a political message. The circulation of newspapers and magazines has always been limited; for the most part they are intended for collective reading by

cadres who then lead the peasants and workers in discussion of current policies and programs.

Unquestionably, in a totalitarian society mass communication plays a very special and a very vital role. According to Dr. Liu, this has been especially true in China where the mass media has been called on not only to indoctrinate the Chinese masses but also to instill in them national identity and political consciousness which have been so lacking in the past.

—LEO A. ORLEANS

The Need to Know

COMPUTERS, COMMUNICATIONS, AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST, ed. by Martin Greenberger. Johns Hopkins Press, \$12.50.

WORKS that originate from the edited record of a series of lectures with subsequent discussion periods seldom make smooth reading. This volume is no exception. Nevertheless, a variety of interesting and important questions are raised. What has the computer to offer the policy maker? How can the citizen's privacy best be protected from computerized governmental information systems? Most basic of all, how does man properly fit into a highly mechanized, information-rich world?

The foreign service reader will find a variety of familiar problems touched upon in a new context: the dangers of information overload (how to avoid missing the significant developments when wading through the telegraphic traffic), the scarcity of executive attention (how to get that memo to the top), access to information (who has the "need to know").

The answers are not here, nor would we expect them to be, for the answers will be as complex as the world to come and will be provided only as that world emerges.

—LEO J. MOSER

A Wife in Afghanistan

SPIES BEHIND THE PILLARS, BANDITS AT THE PASS, by Kathleen Trautman. McKay, \$6.95.

HAVING lived in Afghanistan at the same time as the author, I surely am biased, but I do think she "told it like it is." This is surprising, given

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the fact that she was there only a year and was not experienced in living outside the United States. Her diary-like stories are amazingly realistic and humorous, and show much compassion for a poor but wonderful small country.

—HELEN VOGEL

Inside the New York Times

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES, by Ruth Adler. Lippincott, \$6.95.

STILL another book about the newspaper that every desk jockey skims along with his morning coffee, to find out what's going on in his area. This one is an inside job. Ruth Adler, who edits the TIMES's house organ, has logged the activities of the multitudinous staff, at home and abroad, hour by hour and sometimes minute by minute through one "ordinary day, picked at random." The day was Feb. 28, 1969, and quite a lot happened to brighten up next day's front page.

Her account, compiled from jottings made by staff members alerted in advance, gives a fascinating picture of a great newspaper's immensely complex organization, and of the many chancy decisions that even an "ordinary day" demands. It should interest anybody who wonders how the TIMES does it, 365 days a year.

—TED OLSON

Exporting the Revolution

CHINA AND AFRICA 1949-1970: *The Foreign Policy of the People's Republic of China*, by Bruce D. Larkin. University of California Press, \$8.50.

THE sudden intense fascination with the diplomacy of the People's Republic of China will be at least partially gratified by this excellent study of China's relations with Africa from 1949-1970. Larkin sketches well the basic Chinese dilemma: export revolution and risk being shut out by annoyed and suspicious governments, or take advantage of traditional diplomatic methods to build strong bilateral relations, but risk losing the support of local revolutionaries and malcontents.

China fuzzes the question (who said Foggy Bottom had a monopoly

on obfuscation?) by adopting a policy of preparation—improve bilateral ties, but lay the groundwork for future revolutionary triumphs. Larkin rightly notes even if China's aims are never achieved (he rates this the almost certain outcome), her influence on Africa will be great. His set of hypotheses on page 190 bears reading by anyone interested in Africa or China.

—JOHN D. STEMPEL

Managing China

CHINA: MANAGEMENT OF A REVOLUTIONARY SOCIETY, edited by John M. H. Lindbeck. University of Washington Press, \$12.50.

THE Chinese Communists, who seem to have more effective control over the territory and people than any previous Chinese government, have also the formidable task of running the world's largest social system from a central government. They have, too, the continuing problem of translating their revolutionary goals into concrete policies and programs. In this book, ten scholars examine the ways in which the Chinese Communists have managed their vast and diverse society. More specifically, these papers (originally presented at a conference in the summer of 1969—sponsored by the Joint Committee on Contemporary China) deal with problems of authority, relation of the polity to the society, strategies and problems of restructuring Chinese society, management of foreign affairs, *et cetera*.

Students of the Chinese People's Republic and of comparative politics will find much of value in this erudite work, written by and for those highly competent in these fields. Others may feel that it demands too much of the average reader in terms of background in Chinese politics and political science concepts.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

The Law Is Not For Keeping

ELECTION CAMPAIGNING JAPANESE STYLE, by Gerald L. Curtis. Columbia University Press, \$10.00.

ROBERT SCALAPINO once offered a first-rate insight into Japanese politics: "Japan represents the paradox of an open society made up of closed components." Gerald Curtis here gives us as much light as we

are likely to get on one of those components—just how does a politician go about getting elected to the Diet. To do this he lived for 13 months before the 1967 Diet election in the home of a successful candidate and he had constant close contact with family, friends, campaign associates, etc. Given the make-up of both Japanese home life and political life, this in itself was a *tour de force*. The candidate is a Liberal Democrat from Beppu, a resort town in Kyushu that is probably no more typical than Asbury Park or Blackpool. But Japanese homogeneity is such that one would be wise not to challenge the study as atypical.

Professor Curtis does much to make Japanese politics intelligible to the outsider. None is more valuable than an explanation of what the Pharisaical Election Law really accomplishes. Unaccountably he waits until page 65 to introduce this problem, but his conclusions are solid: The detailed rigidity of the law brings the law itself into disrepute and disregard, while campaigns still end up "extraordinarily expensive."

The all important role of party endorsement (there are no primaries) and the fascinating way Japanese social psychology seems to require everything be done in and through groups are other well developed points.

The author is now back in Japan and we can look forward with interest to the results of his current research. Perhaps, he might look into the making of a Diet member from the bureaucratic class (that group makes up the largest single element in the legislature, over 30 percent. It may be important in the future to US-Japanese relations to know more about these men. The younger generation seems to have a strain of anti-US sentiment not reflected in the present leadership.

Not only is this an excellent study but it is well turned out by Columbia (which also did "How the Conservatives Rule Japan," a good companion to the Curtis book) with clear tables and an unfussy type face. To a reviewer who learned his economics before Professor Galbraith invented the affluent society, though, the price seems rugged.

—J. K. HOLLOWAY

de Gaulle's Memoirs

MEMOIRS OF HOPE, RENEWAL AND ENDEAVOR, by Charles de Gaulle; Simon and Schuster, \$10.00.

THE publisher is wrong when he says "seldom has any great statesman written so openly about his feelings, his intentions, his vision." This book is as candid and spontaneous as a lycée history text, and therein lies its strength and real disappointment. This, the last volume of de Gaulle's "Memoirs," begins by grounding recent French policy deep in Gallic history. All the old familiar themes are there, the question of frontiers, geography, resources, and the post World War II economic and political problems with their roots extending back to the stalemate society of the Third Republic.

In reading the chapters on "Overseas," "Algeria," "The Economy," "Europe," etc., the inescapable conclusion is that one is thumbing through old issues of *Le Monde*, or seeing a rerun of late 1950 newsreel films, or pondering texts of press conferences of a decade ago, carefully nuanced in the questions that

LBJ's Caribbean Blunder

In April 1965, over 22,000 combat-ready American troops landed in the Dominican Republic. This first direct U.S. military involvement to occur in a Latin American country in nearly forty years provoked a shocked and perplexed response from the observers of American policy. Mr. Lowenthal, who was living in the Dominican Republic at the time of the incident, gives a detailed account of what happened and an analysis of why it occurred. In addition to clarifying the events which took place, this definitive account sheds new light as well on the general process of U.S. foreign policy making.

The Dominican Intervention
by Abraham F. Lowenthal

\$10.95

Harvard University Press
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

were allowed to be asked and the replies given.

But there are moments of undeniable greatness too, as in the triumphal 1958 pre-independence tour of Africa or in the 1960 Algerian journey and the subsequent working out of this thorny problem for France.

All in all, this is the weakest volume of Gen. de Gaulle's "Memoirs" for three reasons, because there is no visible change in the author's perspective from the earlier volumes, because it contains little information that has not long been available to the public, and because times changed and their author-president didn't, making the final years of his presidency a distinct anticlimax and an anachronism.

—FREDERICK QUINN

Minor Revisionist Effort

COLD WAR CRITICS—*Alternatives to American Foreign Policy in the Truman Years*, edited by Thomas G. Paterson. Quadrangle Books, \$2.95.

THE idea was good—to assemble in one volume the voices that were

heard in opposition to American foreign policy during the critical years after World War II. So we have essays, with appropriate quotations, about what Walter Lippman, Henry A. Wallace, Senator Claude Pepper, Senator Robert A. Taft, I. F. Stone and others said and wrote at that time.

The trouble is that all these essays, by eight revisionist authors, are so uncritical. Some very sensible things were said by critics of US policy in those days, but also some horrendous nonsense. The authors picture the critics as farsighted and fair, and the policy-makers of the day as invariably blundering—when they weren't deliberately fomenting trouble.

—M.F.H.

A Correspondent Writes

NOT WITHOUT THE AMERICANS, *A Personal History*, by Keyes Beech. Doubleday.

THERE is a long and distinguished catalogue of books by correspondents which has enriched both the browser in and the specialist on

Asia. The *genre* is one which offers vast variety. Some have been important and perceptive, and some charming. This volume fits into neither category.

It is a personal history, as the title indicates. It is only peripherally personal and essentially anecdotal. Beech seldom comes across as a personality, which is unfortunate, because when he does, he is quite sympathetic. He covers the range of Asia from India to Japan. His vignettes of individual incidents and interviews with a broad spectrum of Asians, while often revealing in the individual case, are often so lacking in perspective that much is lost. Beech is basically optimistic about the past role of the United States in Asia, including the American involvement in Vietnam. Without questioning his basic thesis, the arguments are presented in such simplistic terms that they seriously negate the premise. The style contributes to the simplistic analysis. It is clear and concise, but without the subtleties his subjects deserve.

Keyes Beech has lived in Asia for over twenty years, and, according to



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his publishers, is considered the dean of Far East correspondents. If this is true, we can have more hope for enlightenment from the faculty of that school than from its administration.

—DAVID I. STEINBERG

Between Two Wars

PEACE AND COUNTER-PEACE FROM WILSON TO HITLER, by *Hamilton Fish Armstrong*. Harper & Row, \$12.95.

THE purpose of a book of memoirs is to add new documentation about a historical period or event, enlighten us about the personalities of the period, or about the author himself. Unfortunately, this book falls short on all three counts. Its subject matter is essentially Europe between the two wars, and as such is a competent and readable account, but not one going beyond the standard histories of the period. Its portraits of the European and American statesmen of the period are somewhat pale compared to those in Richard Watt's recently published "The Kings Depart." The chapter on Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House at Paris is built around some

interesting anecdotes, but its conclusions do not appear to take into consideration the rich body of literature which Arthur Link among others has contributed on this complex subject.

Finally, the author does not inject much of his personality or views in his memoirs. The personal observations are often reduced to a series of carefully-honed, cleverly told anecdotes, some of which are very funny, but almost all are told with a control and dispassion that leaves the reader fascinated but not at all sure about the author's real opinion.

—FREDERICK QUINN

On Administrative Routine

THE ADMINISTRATION OF UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY, by *Richard A. Johnson*. University of Texas Press, \$10.00.

THIS book by a retired FSO with some experience in the administrative area will be useful to students and other outsiders seeking information on the organization of the Department of State. It is not quite up-to-date, of course, for it was written before the implementation

of the so-called "Program of Management Reform" outlined in the task force reports printed in "Diplomacy for the 70's." Nevertheless, it clearly supersedes such earlier works as McCamy's "The Administration of American Foreign Affairs" and Stuart's "The Department of State."

—THOMAS A. DONOVAN

East Bengal Then

THE VILLAGE CULTURE IN TRANSITION, *A study of East Pakistan Rural Society*, by *S. M. Hafeez Zaidi*. East-West Center Press, \$6.00.

PROFESSOR ZAIDI was born in Urdu-speaking Northern India, educated at Aligarh University and the University of London, is now a resident of Karachi (West Pakistan), did most of the research for this book while working in Comilla in East Pakistan, and did the actual writing while serving as a Senior Specialist at the East-West Center, University of Hawaii. This book on East Pakistan, then, is the product of a West Pakistani scholar with a British-India background, aided by American financial generosity. Whether because of the recent

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tragic events in Pakistan, future works of this sort—with this kind of diverse and emotionally uncommitted background—are possible is problematical. Let us, therefore, be thankful for what we have: a straightforward account of village life in East Bengal; its stratification, structure and ethos.

Professor Zaidi's approach is scholarly and thorough, and he is refreshingly lucid for a social scientist. Of particular interest are his accounts of how different groups—Hindus, Muslims, high caste, low caste—react and adapt to change. Not always are the "progressive" elements most adaptable.

Although there is nothing startlingly new presented, the amount of thorough and fundamental information given the reader makes the book a worthwhile one for those with a more than passing interest in Bengal.

—SOL SCHINDLER

The Nordic Nations

SCANDINAVIAN POLITICAL STUDIES, VOLUME 5, edited by Olof Ruin. Columbia University Press, \$10.00.

THE fifth volume of the Scandi-

navian Political Studies, a joint effort by a group of Nordic political scientists, is not for anyone who is looking for a little light reading about developments in the North. It is worth reading for those who are seriously interested in the area or in the study of political science.

In addition to providing information about Scandinavian political developments, this volume contains some interesting observations on political phenomena in general. For example, Elina Haavio-Mannila's study "Sex Roles in Politics" (right on, Elina!) shows that women's voting and voting for women "are not one-dimensional phenomena" in all social circumstances, i.e., in some areas of Finland, voting activity by women is low but a high proportion of women are elected to office.

The articles on changing voting behavior in Sweden, party cohesion, and the Norwegian labor union elite as well as a descriptive review of the recent ill-fated attempt by the Nordic Nations to form a customs union (NORDEK) make this book worthwhile reading.

—WILLIAM BODDE, JR.

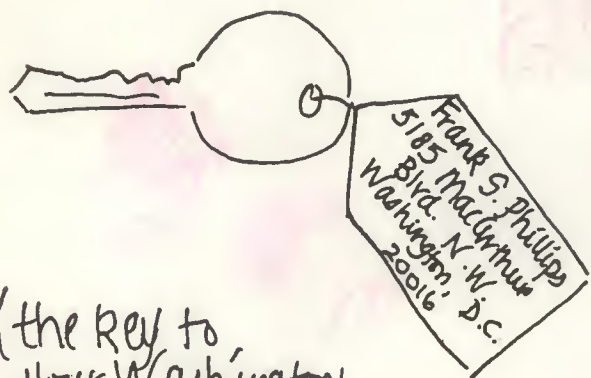
JOURNAL COMPETITION

by Anthony C. E. Quainton

The JOURNAL competition continues, with results of the initial one, announced in the April issue, to be printed in August. A prize of ten dollars will be awarded to the reader who submits the most original and humorous response to the competition. The winning entry and those of two runners-up will be published in subsequent issues.

This month, entries to be submitted by August 15, readers are asked to submit in no more than 50 words a draft telegram of congratulations to one of the following: the Queen of Sheba on her coronation; Pope Roderigo Borgia (Alexander VI) on the birth of a son; Henry VIII on his marriage.

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R.I.P.: Peace Corps & Vista

Excerpted from "R.I.P.: Peace Corps and Vista," by Wallace Roberts, SATURDAY REVIEW, April 1, 1972. Copyright 1972 Saturday Review, Inc.

PORTLAND, Oregon, April 1, 1973—Peace Corps and Vista, that charming couple of liberal hope who danced, sang, and chatted for millions of Americans during the Sixties, died last week in a Portland, Oregon, nursing home, penniless and without friends. The cause of death in both cases was reported to be lack of support, but it was understood that this attack was complicated by advanced stages of trivialization...

Asked to explain in layman's terms just what this disease did to the body, Dr. Economy said in a telephone interview that trivialization attacked the soul and, by fragmenting its relatively few parts into millions of tiny duplicates, made them, in effect, useless. This brought on, he said, severe side

effects, such as ennui, insecurity, frustration, and, in a few cases, despair or fear. "Together, all of these amounted to disenchantment, which in simple political terms means lack of support."

At that point in our conversation, Dr. Economy was recalled to the dinner party he was attending at the Portland County Country Club, but he referred this reporter to Professor False Dichotomy, who holds the Walt Disney Chair of Social Pathology at the University of California at Nevada City, for a more complete and thorough description of the effects and causes of trivialization.

Professor Dichotomy said, "Trivialization is a disease of the primary mythologizing system. Its basic cause is an obscure virus, hitherto regarded as benign in terms of human biochemistry. The common name of the virus is Soaring GNP, and the method of infection is

through media pollution, particularly on the *Six O'Clock Report* or in the 'modern living' sections of the newsweeklies..."

What then finally killed them? Why did they suddenly succumb? "I don't really know," Miss Idealism said. "No one does, and anyone who pretends to know is fooling himself. Trivialization is a strange disease. It can lie dormant for months and even appear to be defeated by treatments; then suddenly the patient just pops off, apparently in this case because the disease had progressed further than any of us expected. You just can't fight the ratings."

You just can't fight the ratings. To the generation that took The Greening of America to heart, those gentle democrats who believed there were rational solutions, Peace Corps and Vista were symbols of a way out, of Hope itself. Any public is fickle, but the politics industry is, perhaps, the most fickle of all. Whatever the coroner's verdict, the real cause of their deaths, and the obscurity that preceded them, is our own perception that they were only what we made them.



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FOREIGN SERVICE FABLE

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pointee who had made his fortune as a strip mine operator and who found in his new role of Ambassador a measure of respectability. This he expected to retain when his diplomatic assignment ended by retiring in the manner of Thomas Jefferson to his recently purchased estate near Charlottesville.

Soon after arrival at his new post, Schott noted that while the Ambassador worked at the chancery every Saturday morning, no other member of the staff except the Communications personnel did so. This he promptly changed by reporting for work at 8:30 a.m. the next Saturday, even though he had cleared his desk by 4:00 p.m. Friday.

Noting Schott's presence in the chancery the previous Saturday through a judiciously dropped remark on the part of Schott, the chief of the Political Section decided he had best make an appearance the following Saturday. When the chief of Economic Section learned of this,

he too began coming in on Saturdays although this meant giving up a long-standing regular golfing arrangement. However, both he and the chief of the Political Section began saving work from Friday so that they could be gainfully employed at the chancery on Saturday. When the Administrative Officer noted from checking the Marine Guards' sign-in book that the other chiefs of Sections were coming in on Saturdays, he surmised that more must be going on at the chancery on Saturdays than he had previously imagined and concluded that he too had better be aboard lest he be labeled a slacker. Finally, the poor Consular Officer, who had three young children and whose wife counted on his presence at home for weekend relief, dutifully joined the throng. It had by then grown considerably since no self-respecting Section chief could work without his secretary.

With a full staff dragooned aboard, new problems inevitably arose which, inevitably, DCM Schott was forced to bring to the

attention of the Ambassador. These were taken in relatively good humor at first, but as they persisted the Ambassador became increasingly testy. Unbeknownst to Schott, the Ambassador had been coming to the chancery on Saturdays only to pore over topographical maps and aerial photographs of his estate, to draft minute instructions to its manager, and to carry on an extensive correspondence with the Albermarle County (Va.) Historical Society concerning the earlier eminent owners of his estate. The tranquillity and satisfaction the Ambassador found in these pursuits on Saturday morning was now completely shattered by a querulous staff headed by a hard-driving DCM.

Mr. Schott obviously had to go. Three weeks later he received out of the blue a letter from the Department informing him of an urgent need for an officer of his experience and leadership in that "exciting" tropical country, Upper Ennui.

Moral: In the Foreign Service, as elsewhere, doing too much may do you in. ■

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IDES OF MAY

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thored was already shattered.

"Call them off," warned Knabenshue, "or I won't be responsible for the consequences." Hurried consultations with Habbaniyah revealed that the cease-fire signal had not been communicated in time to the Egypt-based bombers which had made the raid. Fortunately the Iraqi authorities had no alternative but to accept a statement of this fact as explanation.

Much to the disgust of the British community the official position was soon adopted—that of "forgive and forget."

The immediate fruits of this policy were not good. The "Golden Square" had fled to Mosul with the German and Italian technicians and advisors. But they had left their seeds of hate behind them. The very situation which all of our planning had envisaged—mob violence—broke out. The Iraqi police were disorganized and wavering.

The refugees which Knabenshue had released reluctantly the day be-

fore were quickly reassembled. Bill Porter volunteered to serve in this emergency and took Knabenshue's car into the worst of the riot area in the old city, where he rescued American missionaries who were in grave peril. He was pale and exhausted from what he had seen. The gutters were literally running with blood. The Iraqi "man-in-the-street" had been quick to exploit this phase of lawlessness to settle personal feuds, achieve vendettas. Helpless minority groups suffered severely.

The situation was soon resolved when the police were ordered to shoot to kill. Investigations and independent eyewitnesses established the fact that the riots had been planned and instigated by the departing Nazis and their agents.

Despite all of this, the British "grand strategy" paid off. Great Britain could not afford to hold out and maintain Iraq as occupied enemy territory with a large garrison. If the war in the western desert was to be won, the Vichy nest in Lebanon and Syria had to be cleared out.

Syrian airfields had been used by the Axis during the Iraqi campaign. They could also be used against Egypt. The main British fighting units, mostly Ghurkas and Australians, were scheduled to move on to the Syrian campaign.

We accompanied Knabenshue to greet the Regent on his return. The ceremony was simple, on the dusty, shell-torn road leading in from Habbaniyah. The Regent's smile and handshake for Knabenshue were particularly warm.

In summary and retrospect we all agree that, despite its difficulties and tensions, the month's internment of May 1941 was an experience we do not regret. We learned more about each other than we would have done in years of normal service. We certainly learned more about the British than we would have in a lifetime, and they in turn came to acquire a totally different attitude and approach toward Americans. Above all, we got a firsthand lesson in the advantages of practical, positive, "do-it-yourself" diplomacy in the field. ■

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SHRINKING OCEAN

from page 19

scientific research conducted with a view to open publication. A similar declaration in support of non-interference formed part of the US statement at the first meeting of Subcommittee III of the UN Seabeds Committee (covering marine pollution and research) held in Geneva on March 25, 1971. Neither of these pronouncements was followed up with concrete proposals.

The crucial test for scientific research in the forthcoming Law-of-the-Sea Conference and preliminary negotiations will not be whether the world community endorses pious banalities in favor of international cooperation, but whether it will adopt specific guarantees against non-interference. To achieve this, three steps are essential.

First, any future international agreements covering the seabed and oceans beyond territorial limits must draw an express and unequivocal distinction between fundamental or

other scientific research conducted with the intent of open publication and every other type of research or exploration.

Second, the agreement must contain an absolute prohibition against interference by any state with fundamental or other scientific research conducted with the intent of open publication anywhere on the oceans or seabed up to 12 miles from land.

Third, the concerns of the less developed countries must be catered to by (a) a program of cooperative oceanographic research under international auspices, and (b) a program of technical assistance for the coastal states of Latin America, Asia and Africa, also under international auspices, to enable them to develop oceanographic capabilities of their own. Knowledge itself is useless without the capacity to apply it.

Just how salable such a program would be is a legitimate question for debate. Suspicion and fear of western technology is now so deeply ingrained in the developing coun-

tries, and has become such a political issue, that the principle of non-interference is likely to encounter continuing hostile rejection unless they can be convinced that scientific knowledge is an important key to their future development.

What is needed is a decision by the governments of the United States, the Soviet Union, and other advanced maritime countries to take freedom of scientific research out of the bottom drawer and give it high priority in future negotiations. Governments of coastal states need to be convinced of the vital importance of open research conducted for the benefit of all and the necessity of protecting it. Open research needs to have its supranational character recognized and be emancipated from the strategic and political considerations—many of them obsolete—that determine negotiating instructions.

Open research is the key to man's rational use of the marine environment. It deserves maximum protection under international law. ■

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	Amount	\$ 421,625	\$ 602,875
Family Coverage,	Number	12	14
	Amount	\$ 26,000	\$ 43,000
Accidental Death,	Number	2	1
	Amount	\$ 45,000	\$ 17,500
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sessions how many officers could be promoted in each cone, but this information was never made available to the Service as a whole as it should have been. Perhaps the Department fears that many of its top officers would engage in an undignified scramble for a "better" cone—or worse, that they would take advantage of full information on their promotion prospects (dim for many top-flight political officers, it would seem) to seek alternative employment. If the management mind is thinking along these lines, it would be all too easy to decide that honesty is *not* the best policy . . .

I count on AFSA to *do* something to save the merit system from the total destruction to which it now appears doomed.

ANDREW L. STEIGMAN
Paris

Piling Pelion on Ossa

■ Those who love the Service have been profoundly saddened by Executive Order 11636. More accurately, they are saddened by the dismal decay of Service spirit which led to it.

In the late Sumner Welles' memoirs there was a sharp change of language coincident with the time his resignation as Under-Secretary was requested and accepted. Frequent references in the earlier part of the book to "the wise foreign policies of the United States Government" disappear and are replaced thereafter by "the stupid mistakes of the State Department."

I confess to a somewhat similar view, in no sense personal and with no sharp cut-off date, but rather with respect to the passing of an era.

Not too long ago the five geographic divisions of the Department (and they were "Divisions," with the responsibilities of the present Bureaus but staffs smaller than many contemporary country desks) were small enough for their officers to concentrate on important things. The oceans of trivia with which Professor Parkinson's disciples have inundated their successors never even crossed their minds, let alone their desks.

Coordination was often achieved

simply by letting another Division or two have a copy of your telegram after it had gone out. No one ever bothered to consult anyone from another Department and meetings were unheard of.

There was stiff competition, as well as cooperation, to get things done quickly and effectively. And everyone had enormous pride—pride in his job, in his Division, in his Service, in his Country.

Today we seemed to have piled the Pelion of organized mediocrity on the Ossa of bureaucratic obesity and strangulative coordination.

It would be most unsporting to kick the unfortunate able FSO after he has been mugged by the NSC, the CIA, and the JCS and is battered and bleeding on the pavement. I have no thought of doing so, but his weaker brethren apparently have.

Obviously American world-wide responsibilities are far wider, more complex and more important today than in the happy days I have described. Obviously it takes bigger and more complex human machinery to deal with them. But . . . we seem at times to go out of our way to create the proverbial camel—the horse designed by a committee—with Rube Goldberg as a consultant.

I know that the Service still contains many, many people with the guts, brains, determination, energy, and negotiating ability to fight their ideas, and their way, up through the gooey tangle of bureaucratic spaghetti. It's a lot tougher than it used to be. May its very toughness stimulate the able ones to even greater effort.

THEODORE C. ACHILLES
Washington

Wifely Traditions

■ Letters like the one from Solie Reinhardt, which appeared in the April issue of the JOURNAL, completely miss the point of the recent changes in the Department's policy regarding the wives of Foreign Service employees.

Neither the Department nor those who fought for the policy changes wish to remove "sharing" from marriage by administrative fiat. What they are fighting against, rather, is a situation in which the form of "sharing" considered appropriate to For-

eign Service life *was* largely spelled out, if not by official administrative fiat then by tradition and "the word."

Three cheers for those who enjoyed the responsibilities placed on "Foreign Service Wives" by the Old Order. I have the greatest respect for them, and assume that they will continue to live their lives in the Foreign Service in such a way as to derive a sense of satisfaction and fulfillment. What the policy changes recognize, however, is that not everyone shares their point of view; that many women prefer to spend their time in other ways than in the established forms of "Foreign Service Wifery"; that these women deserve as much respect as those who choose the traditional Foreign Service wife's role; and above all, that this decision should be made by each family individually rather than by the system. To suggest that couples in the Foreign Service community will stop "sharing" just because the Foreign Service no longer writes it up in an officer's efficiency report is an insult to women who were comfortable with the traditional role, to women who fought for the policy changes, and to their husbands.

TERESITA C. SCHAFFER
Washington

And an F.S. Wife

■ Perhaps you might be interested in how one foreign service wife reacted to Secretary Rogers' airgram on "Policy on Wives of the Foreign Service Employee."

Shortly after reading the airgram I was called by the principal of the American Collegiate Institute (a Junior and Senior High School for Turkish girls) and asked if the State Department had any feelings against wives working—and, if not, would I please help the school out of a critical English teacher shortage caused by the rather stringent academic background required of teachers and extremely low pay.

I accepted the position and I've since had a most exciting and rewarding time teaching, 10 hours a week. And, I can't help but feel the interchange has been mutually beneficial.

Naturally, I've had to delete a few things from my schedule—duplicate bridge, a few naps and an oc-

casional tea party.

However, I still may never have started teaching, if long before the airgram arrived, Consul General and Mrs. Thomas D. McKiernan had not created an atmosphere that not only permitted, but encouraged creativity in members of their staff.

MRS. DUDLEY SIPPRELLE

Izmir

Solution for USIA

■ The personality clash between Senator J. William Fulbright and USIA Director Frank Shakespeare should not obscure the policy issues underlying their confrontation.

Old-timers will recall that the educational and cultural program of the State Department, including funds for the Fulbright program, has been administered in the field since 1953 by USIA, the chief ideological arm of our Government. The unfortunate commingling of our overseas academic presence and our official propaganda agency has been repeatedly noted and deplored by studies of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Brookings Institution and Columbia's American Assembly, which have recommended a separation of the two functions. Because of involved personal relationships, inertia, and perhaps the superior bureaucratic footwork of USIA in comparison with the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (CU), the problem has festered for a generation.

There is no need to support the specific proposed reductions in USIA's media operations. But it should be quite clear that Senator Fulbright is trying to restore some balance in our communications with foreign publics. Contrary to the charge of AFGE, he has specifically exempted the Center Service of USIA and related programs from cuts. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has also voted a substantial raise in funds for the exchange program in 1973, which would bring it up to \$50,000,000. So a scalpel, not a meataxe is being applied.

For years the international credibility of American scholarship has been needlessly jeopardized because the chief US propagandist in every embassy is ultimately in control of

the budget for the Fulbright programs in his country. We American diplomats have been curiously insensitive on such matters, overly eager to delegate responsibility to lesser agencies, and thus generally indifferent to arguments that culture and information should be administratively differentiated. USIA infighters usually dismiss the logic of this distinction with pejorative references to culture's desire to be "pure." Meanwhile, tolerance of the present anomaly has pointlessly endangered the reputation of American academic activity abroad.

While President Nixon may have hard political reasons for giving the right-wingers in his party, like Shakespeare, their head, he is probably aware that Senator Fulbright is really strengthening the Nixon Doctrine itself. That is, by increasing the cultural component, quieting the propaganda decibels, and thus getting closer to the "de-ideologizing" of our foreign policy that Richard Nixon seems to want.

There is a simple solution to the problem: re-absorb USIA into the Department, put information activities under the Bureau of Public Affairs and all cultural programs (including centers and books) under CU, having the information officer (or PAO) and cultural officer report separately to the Ambassador and run distinct although not conflicting operations. Such an arrangement would not appreciably widen the CM's "span of control" problems. And it would underline a vital distinction.

"Structure is policy." The efficiency-minded administrators of the Nixon Administration have not got around to rationalizing the management of our intellectual relations with the rest of the world. Senator Fulbright is nudging the executive branch to do just that. Beneath the sound and fury of the Herschensohn affair and its sequel, let us not overlook this all-important fact.

JOHN R. KING

San Francisco

Solution for Pollution

■ A few years ago Foreign Service families traveling between Europe and the United States had a choice of going by air or by United States

passenger ships. Today there is no choice because there are no American passenger ships in operation, nor even freighters carrying passengers. Most families who crossed the Atlantic by sea enjoyed the trip. In any case, everyone appreciated having a choice.

We all know the reason why our travel is limited to jet. In a word, the regulations say you must travel by American carrier, and at first the regulations at least had a logical basis. They were fashioned to protect American financial and commercial interests.

In the light of what we are beginning to learn about our earth, the only known home of life, it is no longer logical or even moral to force people to travel by jet. We don't know enough today to say what is happening to our world's atmosphere and, until we do, it is up to each individual to decide to what extent he is willing to contribute to the "need" for faster flight and the "demand" for larger planes.

Without going into the specifics of jet pollution, I want to make the point that no matter what you read or believe, one thing is clear: we don't know precisely what the effect might be of hydrocarbons being released in great quantities into the atmosphere. Meanwhile, while we are learning about the ecosystem, it is up to every person to cut down on the amount of (just to name one thing) fossil fuel he uses or causes to be used. If the trip is necessary, the question we should ask ourselves is what is the cleanest way, not the fastest, or most convenient way to take it.

I believe that something can be done by you and me about the condition of our world, and that it is just as much each individual's business to get to work on it as it is the "big polluters." Who says we want bigger everything? Faster everything? We're transferred to Washington this summer, and I'm taking the ship. I'll have to pay for it myself, but for \$370 I'll have seven days at sea and the good feeling that I'm helping to clean up humanity's nest. The pollution per passenger of a ship must be infinitely less than the plane the "regulations" would require.

KAY FESSENDEN

Bonn

USIA's Unfinished Business

THE Senate vote on May 1 to restore USIA's full budget request of \$200 million was gratifying news. In recent years there have been important improvements in the level of the Agency's performance, its professionalism, and its sophistication. It remains the most effective American organization—public or private—for communicating with foreign governments and their peoples.

"That being said, it would be a serious error for the Foreign Service—and especially for us who are USIA Officers—to ignore the implications of the attempted budget cut." USIA won a reprieve, not a full pardon. There is, in short, some unfinished business to be attended to if the Agency is to perform its mission more effectively.

The first item is to work out procedures for preparing future Country Program Memoranda—the chief planning document of USIS posts overseas—in unclassified versions. This has been done in several instances, and has not imposed any obstacle to the efficiency of post operations. There is also a need to prune rigorously some traditional activities no longer useful and redirect the Agency's basic orientation from Washington to the field.

Another item of high priority is for USIA to revise the entire selection process—including hiring, assignment, promotion, and selection out—with the purpose of insuring that excellence of performance is always the basic consideration. The machinery has become creaky, and in far too many cases it neither results in the assigning and promotion of the most proficient officers, nor offers the individual employee full due process in the decisions that affect his life and livelihood. "State and other agencies are also in need of change, of course, but USIA has been able to point the way in several instances in personnel reform, and we would like to see this tradition continue."

A third item for re-assessment is in redefining the Agency's mission. Not only is there need for clarification of the long-ambivalent—and sometimes false—distinction between information and cultural activities, but USIA's relationship within the foreign affairs community should be re-assessed. It would be especially helpful if the Agency could improve its working-level contacts with the State Department, Defense, and White House. This might result in a better realization of the contributions that USIA is able to make and enable USIA to end its isolation. As Edward R. Murrow said years ago, if USIA must cope with the crash landings, it should be in on the take-offs.

Finally, much of the confusion about USIA's basic mission could be clarified by formulating realistic objectives and insuring that the Agency's products relate to them, rather than to what individual officers, some without overseas experience, think foreign audiences should know about the United States.

In short, the Senate action has presented USIA with a challenge and an opportunity to improve its performance. "The Foreign Service of USIA will accept the challenge if given the chance, and we are sure that *all* the Agency's employees will do no less." ■

Grievance Legislation: Agreement "in Principle?"

WE note the Department's recent conclusion, in letters addressed to the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee, that, although existing proposals for grievance legislation give the Department "the most serious concern," "legislation setting forth general principles for a grievance procedure along the lines discussed in Ambassador Johnson's letter would be desirable at this time." AFSA developed its proposals for grievance regulations well over a year ago and the Department has yet to give AFSA its comments on them. When legislation virtually identical to the AFSA proposals was introduced in Congress, the Department still had no comment, other than oblique references to the "inappropriateness" of *any* legislation on this subject. Now the Department has finally agreed that legislation is not only appropriate but "desirable" . . . in a general sort of way.

This endorsement by the Department of broad principles for grievance legislation is in response to a letter sent to Ambassador Johnson by several hundred Department officials. In the covering letter these individuals argue that pending grievance legislation would destroy the merit promotion system, "suspend and discredit" the formulation and implementation of substantive foreign policy and "disrupt the operations of the Department and adversely affect the rights of the great majority of Foreign Service employees." Serious charges, but all invalid: those knowledgeable in statutory interpretation and grievance procedures generally, as well as Senators and members of their staffs, agree that the current bill cannot be read to permit these results.

Conversely, seven of the eight "Principles" contained in the letter to Ambassador Johnson and indirectly endorsed by the Department are contained in the existing Senate bill: provision for informal procedures to resolve grievances was added by floor amendment on May 10; all five of the enumerated due process rights (and more) are so contained; the definition of grievance in the "Johnson letter" is *broader* than that contained in the bill (except that the bill does not address, and does not need to address, the "substantive foreign policy" straw-man). The only major discrepancy between the "Principles" and the pending bill lies in the creation of the grievance board: the "Principles" call for a board appointed by the Secretary "with the concurrence" of the exclusive employee organization, while the bill as now amended calls for a board composed of one member chosen by the Secretary, one chosen by the employee organization and a third chosen by the first two from a panel of twelve candidates agreed upon beforehand by the Secretary and the employee representative. This last difference scarcely justifies the extraordinary efforts the Department is making to kill the pending legislation.

In calling for the grievance board to establish its own organizational and procedural regulations, the current Senate bill admits that not all matters of detail can be handled by this, or any, legislation. But the pending legislation does create that essential framework for the resolution of grievances under rules of due process which the Foreign Service has needed, and gone without, for so many years. This Association will continue to support the legislation and work for its early passage. ■



SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

AFSA's annual general business meeting will be held Wednesday, June 28, 1972 in the International Conference Room, Department of State.

The agenda:

- 1) **Chairman's Report**
William C. Harrop
- 2) **Treasurer's Report**
David W. Loving
- 3) **Consideration and vote upon proposed amendments to the Certificate of Incorporation, as published in the June Foreign Service Journal.**
- 4) **Other business**

E. O. ELECTIONS

AFSA Petitions for Election at State

On May 15, our showing of interest topped 2025 cards and the AFSA Board submitted a petition calling for an election under E.O. 11636 among State Department Foreign Service employees. AFSA's petition is now supported by over 2200 showing of interest cards collected in Washington and overseas. We expect the showing of interest to exceed the required 25% in USIA and AID in the near future enabling us to petition for elections in these units as well.

The filing of an election petition triggers the democratic election process for exclusive representative and enables a variety of challenges. How much time elapses between our election petition and the election itself depends upon how much stalling AFGE and management intend to do, using legalistic roadblocks. Postponing the election only delays the time when AFSA can approach management as an equal to co-determine employee benefits and our personnel system.

HQ REPORT

A Grievance System for the Foreign Service

Given the reluctance of the Foreign Affairs Agencies to adopt an equitable grievance system, the AFSA Board became convinced that the only way that the Foreign Service could obtain such a system was through legislation such as the Bayh Bill or the Bayh-Cooper Bill. We have supported and we continue to support enactment of such legislation.

In late 1970, AFSA requested the Department to discard the inadequate 3 FAM 1820 grievance procedure, which expressly excluded cases involving major concerns such as promotion, assignment, or selection out. Under these procedures the Director of Personnel was in the unique position of being defendant, defense counsel, and judge simultaneously. This was as unfair to the Director of Personnel as it was to the individual grievant. Unfortunately, AFSA's request was rejected on the grounds that a broader grievance system would undermine the discipline of the Foreign Service.

Spurred by the repeated failure of grievants to obtain a fair hearing, AFSA drafted a new procedure which was submitted to the Secretary of State on March 31, 1971. This draft became the basis for the Bayh Bill and later Bayh-Cooper Bill. AFSA urged the management of the Foreign Affairs Agencies to adopt such a system and to negotiate any problems. The Department refused to consider seriously any reform in its grievance procedures; USIA merely acknowledged receipt of the AFSA draft.

In June 1971 a bill based on the ignored AFSA grievance proce-

dures was introduced in the Senate by Senator Birch Bayh and in the House by Representative Lee Hamilton. Agency management immediately indicated its opposition to grievance legislation. In response to pressure from Congress, the public, and AFSA, the Foreign Affairs Agencies belatedly instituted "Interim Grievance Procedures" for all Foreign Service personnel in August 1971. AFSA made nine formal recommendations to the Foreign Affairs Agencies and to the Board of the Foreign Service to improve the Interim Procedures, three of which were adopted.

On April 29, 1972, after the Bayh-Cooper Bill was reported out by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Secretary Rogers informed Senate and House leaders that, although he continued to oppose the Bayh-Cooper Bill, he had decided to support legislation "at this time," incorporating general principles for a grievance procedure along the lines of a draft submitted to Ambassador Johnson by certain concerned senior officers. These principles were a modification of a vaguely worded draft bill prepared by management.

Unfortunately, Department officials exerted heavy pressure on members of Congress and were instrumental in preventing the Bayh Bill or any grievance legislation from being reported out by the House Foreign Affairs Committee on May 4. House leaders have agreed to hold hearings at some future date, and the Department says that it will now work for the enactment of "general grievance legislation." But, we

have been told by our supporters in the House that there is little possibility of legislation in the current session after the Department's blocking action. AFSA will continue to urge the passage of legislation guaranteeing full and complete due process.

The Issues—"WHO DECIDES?"

The purpose of a grievance system is to remedy arbitrary action, discrimination, or violations of regulations. If an employee believes such has taken place, he or she is entitled to a hearing. The Department, with the best of intentions, cannot delineate in advance the areas of abuse. AFSA strongly believes that the grievance panel must decide whether an allegation of abuse has merit or not. This may allow the filing of frivolous grievances, but the AFSA Board believes that this is necessary to insure that no bona fide grievances are denied a fair hearing as in the past. We count upon a responsible panel to reject frivolous grievances and to establish a body of precedent which would discourage their submission. More importantly, we have confidence that the Foreign Service will not abuse an open system.

The Department holds that management should decide when it is reasonable to suspend an action which has been challenged. The stay power of the panel, like the injunctive power of the Courts, is an important discretionary authority to be used in extreme cases to prevent injustice and irreparable harm to an individual or his family.

The Department, although willing in minor matters to have the grievance board make binding decisions (e.g., allowances, travel vouchers), is not willing to accept, without an additional in-house substantive review, recommendations regarding promotion, assignment, or selection out. If the grievance panel system is to work, then the panels must have the authority to make binding decisions. Clearly, the Secretary must always have the ability to reverse any decision which he feels will hinder the foreign policy or national security interests of the United States.

It should be noted that the Pell amendment to Section 623 of the Foreign Service Act would require the establishing of regulations setting out the special circumstances under which the Secretary could promote Foreign Service Officers on the recommendation of a grievance panel. In codetermining these regulations with management, AFSA would urge that promotion would be available as a remedy in only the most severe and unusual cases.

Management's position is that an "impartial board" should be appointed by the Secretary of State, without specifying how. AFSA believes that the selection procedure should be done with the employees' representative having an equal say in determining the make up of the panel. The Bayh-Cooper "I choose, you choose, we choose" formula accomplishes this. Equally important to AFSA, grievance panel members should not be Foreign Service personnel who will be dependent on agency management for their next assignment and career development. Retired Foreign Service personnel would be appropriate, but no panel member should be subject to command influence, real or apparent, and personnel managers should not be faced with the temptation to exert such influence.

AFSA insists that the regulations issued by the Secretary promulgating the grievance system contain provisions for the informal resolution of grievances. The Bayh-Cooper Bill would permit such regulations. However, the informal procedure must be prompt and must in no way undermine the right to a hearing.

BOARD ACTIONS

AFSA Overseas Chapters are being formed or revitalized throughout the world in anticipation of the executive order elections and relationship. If your post does not have a Chapter and wishes to form one, please contact AFSA for sample bylaws and information. The Board would appreciate receiving the names of all AFSA Chapter officers to update its files.

Grievance Bill Amended in Senate

Senator Cooper with support from Senator Bayh added a number of amendments to the Foreign Service grievance legislation on the Senate floor on May 10. The most important amendment, which AFSA urged, establishes informal procedures for resolving grievances prior to a formal grievance hearing. The amendment limits such informal procedures to 60 days and extends the statute of limitations by the same period of time.

Several amendments were added regarding the grievance board itself. A new procedure was adopted for the choosing of the third board member; board members are to be paid on a per diem basis; each board shall elect a chairman; and the grievance board was specifically authorized to adopt its own regulations.

Several changes were made in the procedures. The interrogatories may be denied if the board finds them irrelevant or immaterial. The board must find any document to be furnished by the agency to the grievant not only relevant, but material, to the proceedings and the board may consider only materials which are a part of the record in making its decision.

Another amendment provides that the board's decision is final or not, depending on whether the relief, not the grievance as before, relates to promotion, assignment, or selection out.

The State Department tried to have a number of amendments introduced on the Senate floor to weaken the grievance bill. AFSA is working very hard to insure that the due process provisions of the grievance legislation are not watered down, and that prompt hearings on grievance legislation will be held in the House. (See editorial.)

NOTE: Please see AFSA Reform Bulletin No. 15 for the full AFSA position on the grievance system. If you have not seen this red border Reform Bulletin, please contact your Chapter head or Keyman, or write AFSA directly.

AID NEWS

AID Management Backs Foreign Service Retirement Plan

AID Administrator John Hannah is now pressing hard for inclusion of AID Foreign Service Personnel in the Foreign Service Retirement System established by the Foreign Service Act of 1946. In order to implement the proposed AID reforms, including reductions in the number of direct-hire Americans abroad, Dr. Hannah is intent upon reducing total personnel numbers. He now sees the Foreign Service retirement plan as the best means to achieve this end without a RIF.

Earlier this year, AFSA board members met with Dr. Hannah to urge him to make a strong bid for inclusion of AID Foreign Service employees under the preferred plan. At that time, although he supported such a move in principle, he was seeking more limited special legislation to facilitate a one-time early retirement of large numbers, both Civil and Foreign Service. Subsequent signals from key Congressmen have led Dr. Hannah to drop the special legislation request in favor of general application of the Foreign Service Act retirement plan. The proposal, which was last sought in June of 1969, would be added as an amendment this year to the security assistance authorization under the Foreign Assistance Act. AFSA has strongly supported such legislation for a number of years.

STAFF CORPS NEWS

Due to a number of abuses which have been called to AFSA's attention, the Staff Corps Advisory Committee (SCAC) is compiling a list of those Bureaus and posts where overtime payments are not being made as required by agency regulations. Since many AFSA members are reluctant to file grievances on these violations, the SCAC is collecting information to raise the issue as a class action on behalf of everyone. Your help is needed. If overtime payments are being made according to Agency regulations, this information would also be useful. Please write Staff Corps Advisory Committee, c/o AFSA.

AID Foreign Service employees are currently covered by the Civil Service annuity plan. An estimated 850 who are not now eligible for retirement would immediately become eligible under the Foreign Service plan. AID management expects that about half would actually retire.

The Foreign Service Retirement System and the Civil Service retirement system have three main differences:

1. Foreign service annuities are slightly higher. They are calculated on 2% of the highest three year base whereas civil service annuities average about 1-3/4% of the same base.
2. Foreign service personnel may retire after age 50 and 20 years of service without penalty. Civil service personnel may retire without penalty after they reach age 55 with 30 years service, age 60 with 20 years service, or 62 with 5 years service.
3. Foreign Service retirement is mandatory at age 60; civil service retirement is not mandatory until age 70.

USIA NEWS

FSIO-1 Promotion List Held Up

The USIA promotion list has been cleared by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. However, the promotions of ten FSIO-2 officers to Class One have not been approved because of the Committee's disapproval of this year's alphabetical listing of Class Two officers judged eligible for promotion to Class One.

AFSA strongly opposed USIA Director Shakespeare's by-passing the rank order merit system for Class Two officers but does not favor delaying any promotions for this year. AFSA continues to work for passage of an amendment to Section 623 of the Foreign Service Act to guarantee that all promotions would be made on the basis of the objective rank order findings of the selection boards. This amendment has been reported out of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and is awaiting action by the full Senate.

MEMBERS INTERESTS COMMITTEE

Packing and Shipping: The Age Of Containerization

As in so many other sectors of everyday living, Foreign Service employees and their families are finding that modernization and enhanced efficiency do not always eliminate problems. They merely change in shape and form. The containerization of household effects is the latest problem to come to our attention.

Household effects moving in both directions between Western Europe and the USA, and between some areas of the Far East and the USA, are now being packed in special containers which are made to fit into special container cargo ships. The advantages of containers are greater speed in shipment and lower cost. But there are some disadvantages from the point of view of the employee who owns the household effects being shipped.

Containers are expensive items that cannot be stored in warehouses. Like jet planes, they make money for their owners only when they are in motion carrying cargo between two points. Most Foreign Service employees are in no position to receive their effects immediately from the port of entry. They are usually unable to find permanent housing quickly enough. The containers must therefore be unpacked, and the effects palletized inside a warehouse awaiting final reception by the employee and his family. This is where the problems arise.

When the effects are unloaded from the container into a warehouse, the original inventory is checked by the receiving storage company. What happens if something is missing? The receiving storage company scratches the item from the new inventory it is making. Who is responsible for the missing item? That's the problem. The sending company says everything was there when they sealed the container. The receiving company says that it isn't their fault. Besides, the container may have

arrived without any seals or locks. The disappearance might have taken place anywhere enroute. One AFSA member lost a full set of new tires during a recent containerized shipment between Europe and Washington.

The effects must also be palletized. This is a warehouseman's euphemism for stacking things on top of each other. So, if the employee feels reasonably assured to see his effects packed nicely and tightly in the container, he may be surprised to see his furniture chipped and scratched as a result of "palletizing" at the other end.

What are the answers to these problems? First, there must be greater controls on the containers themselves. Management has agreed to have inspectors present at the opening of containers in Washington area warehouses to check the inventories against the actual contents. If enough inspectors can be made available, especially during the mid-summer rush, this should lower the possibility of theft by warehouse personnel who otherwise would be under no control. There is also no reason why containers should arrive at warehouses without seals and locks. Foreign Service effects coming into the USA from abroad are usually waved through by customs under the able management of the US Despatch Agent.

Second, effects packed into containers should first be packed as if there is no container. If you can get your packer to make a lift van that will fit into a container, so much the better. If not, at least have each item packed for maximum protection against scratching and theft. A lift van type of envelope around your effects inside a container does not count against your weight allowance, so take full advantage of as much physical protection as you can arrange for your family's possessions. The rule of thumb should be: Nothing should be placed into a container in its natural unpacked state.

Finally, we need better insurance protection from the Government. AFSA is working on reforms in this area.

Unionism's New Frontier

By A. H. RASKIN

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After a full generation of stagnation in unionism's traditional blue-collar strongholds, labor organization is suddenly racing ahead in fields where Samuel Gompers never would have dreamed of finding a union button.

The State Department's Foreign Service, once an "old-boy club" of career diplomats whose class identifications matched their work clothes of striped trousers and cutaways, is preparing for its first union election. Another group unused to overalls—Wall Street stockbrokers—proclaim themselves "fed up with being under the thumb of a feudal overlord, the New York Stock Exchange," and plan to turn their association into a collective bargaining instrument at a meeting tomorrow.

Hospital internes and staff doctors, engineers, chemists and a dozen other varieties of industrial scientists, college professors, lawyers, architects, museum curators, even a few artists and sculptors are following big league baseball and football stars toward unionization. To be sure, not all these groups are rushing headlong into the embrace of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. or other established labor bodies. But even the most mossbound of professional associations find themselves under intense internal pressure, especially from their younger members, to take on economic concerns in dealing with giant corporations, universities and that biggest boss of all—government.

Thus the annual meeting of the American Chemical Society in Boston last month authorized a new department to study salary scales and draw up a model code of employment standards. The American Association of University Professors, after years of shunning direct involvement in bread and butter matters, has just voted overwhelmingly to seek bargaining rights on campuses all over the country. The New York

State affiliates of the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers are urging their 190,000 members to approve a merger of these once legendary enemies—a merger that may eventually unite the two parent organizations and make the fused group the biggest union in the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

The militant forward push of teacher unionism in the last decade and the substantial advances it has brought both in salaries and in union voice in determining educational policies are major elements in the current surge toward union-type activity in the erstwhile bastions of professional elitism.

The second spur to professional unionism is the heavy shakeout of engineers and other holders of scientific degrees as a result of cutbacks in defense and space and in government-financed research projects. Jack Golodner, executive director of SPACE, the central council the A.F.L.-C.I.O. set up four years ago to coordinate recruiting efforts among scientific professional and cultural employees, puts it this way: "The balloon has popped. What with the economic depression in the technical professions, these people suddenly feel very naked. The old fear that unionization meant you'd have some Teamster telling you what to do is long gone. Now there is a great sense of their own impotence, a worry about whether they will have enough clout even if they do join a union."

Unionism's advent to the Foreign Service has brought anguished wails from some old stalwarts. Even before the American Foreign (Service) Association filed a formal election petition last week, Ellis O. Briggs, a retired career ambassador, resigned complaining that the organization was turning into a "foggy bottom local of the amalgamated bureaucrats of the Potomac," dedicated to letting drones take over under the watchword, "Mechanics of the motor pool, unite: let the ambassador put on his own damned chains."

A Grievance Law for Diplomats

*Reprinted from the Washington Post,
May 3, 1972 with permission.*

But William C. Harrop, chairman of the association's board, who has had sixteen years in foreign service posts in Europe and Africa and is currently attached to the State Department planning staff, feels confident that the organization can play a vigorous economic role while maintaining its concern for high professional standards. That is why the association helped negotiate the text of a special executive order signed by President Nixon last December to govern labor-management relations in the Foreign Service, as distinct from those in the rest of the sprawling Federal establishment.

The association's election rival will be the American Federation of Government Employees, whose unit chairman, Don Kienzle, says unreservedly: "We feel we can develop more clout in the economic and legislative process by having formal links to the 15-million workers in the A.F.L.-C.I.O."

For Wall Street tomorrow's scheduled vote by the Association of Investment Brokers on amending its bylaws to include collective bargaining on compensation, working conditions and grievance procedures is an even more startling departure than the moves toward unionizing the diplomatic service. Indeed, it may be a jolt for the command of organized labor if later on the association decides it wants to apply for a union charter.

However, with billions of dollars of union treasury and pension funds now invested in corporate securities, labor's view of stockholders has changed a bit from the days of the old Knights of Labor a century ago. The Knights were committed to organizing "all branches of honorable toil" into one big union. The only ones who couldn't get in were lawyers, doctors, bankers, stockbrokers, liquor sellers and professional gamblers. The brokers may be asking one day soon whether that "keep out" sign is still there.

The Foreign Service continues to be Washington's most troubled bureaucracy, and its troubles are now being brought, once again, to the floor of the Senate. The immediate issue is legislation to establish a new and independent grievance procedure for Foreign Service officers and the other employees of the foreign relations agencies. The Department of State strongly opposes this legislation, arguing, with considerable justice, that it has already corrected the worst abuses of the recent past. Unfortunately, the temper within the Foreign Service has become sufficiently distrustful and bitter that administrative reorganization by the State Department alone cannot cure it. What the Department has given, some of its employees fear, the Department can take away. These employees are entitled to legislation guaranteeing that the Department will apply its rules fairly, and will provide a right of appeal to an impartial referee. Both the American Foreign Service Association and the American Federation of Government Employees, the two chief organizations representing these employees, support the legislation now before the Senate. It is high time for Congress to enact it.

Grievances mainly involve, as one might expect, promotions and firings. These matters can be handled fairly smoothly in a corps of stable size and rank. But the State Department has been cut back about 20 per cent over the past five years, resulting in many firings of officers well into middle age, too old to change careers easily but too young for pensions. Mr. Macomber, the deputy secretary of state for management, has put a stop to the wholesale purges of people in mid-career. But the White House apparently believes that too many officers are clustered in the upper ranks of the Foreign Service, suggesting that there will be few promotions in coming years. The cuts in both positions and promotions has exacerbated all the familiar ques-

tions of fair play. The Foreign Service, like most other American institutions, is divided over questions of the proper limits to dissent. And those questions have a special edge in an organization whose business involves political analysis. What one man considers creativity may seem insubordination to another, and personnel disputes often revolve around precisely that distinction.

The Department, under Mr. Macomber, has made a series of important improvements in the personnel system recently. A grievance panel has been set up under a professional arbitrator, Mr. Simkin, former head of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. Employees are now given access to their personnel files. The old up-or-out firing system, which works well in the military services but badly in diplomacy, has been suspended. The Department says that it is prepared, in principle, to support grievance legislation.

But it argues that the bill before the Senate is much too broad. The bill's supporters, in contrast, say that it is limited to issues of due process, and would only require the Department to follow its own rules. The senators sponsoring the bill can perhaps make their intentions on this point explicit in the floor debate. The next question is who shall be the judge. The present bill suggests a three-seat panel, with one seat filled by the person bringing the complaint, one by the Department, and one by agreement or failing agreement by the Court of Appeals here. In this instance, Senator Bayh's Amendment seems preferable. He proposes filling all three seats with professional arbitrators.

The malaise in the Department goes a great deal deeper than the personnel rules. The Department is, in fact, going through one of its periodic bad times, and bad times for the Department are bad times for the men and women who have committed their careers to it. Many of their traditional re-

sponsibilities have been carried off to Dr. Kissinger's office at the White House, or to the Treasury. The Vietnam war has churned up all of the basic questions of foreign policy, and the organizations that deal with it. But the Department and its sister agencies have an unusual proportion of first-rate people highly trained and highly specialized. They are not dispensable to this country's central purposes. At a time when policy disputes are profound and vehement, grievance legislation can reassure these valuable people that their own superiors will deal with them equitably in their personal careers.

Foreign Service People

DEATHS

Arellano. Mary Slevin Arellano, FSS-ret, died February 23. The posts at which she served included La Paz, Monterrey, Mexico City, Vienna and San Jose.

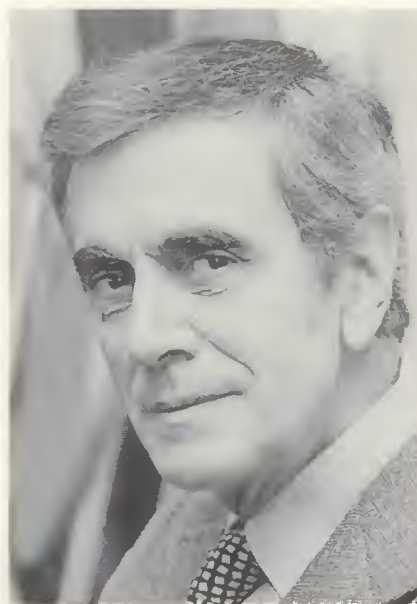
Cummins. Richard D. Cummins, FSO-6, died April 28 as the result of an accident in Washington. He was currently serving in the Executive Secretariat of the Department of State and had served in Vietnam and Greece. Mr. Cummins is survived by his mother, Mrs. Michael Cummins of the Embassy in Beirut.

Flexner. Magdalen G. H. Flexner, FSO-ret., died April 18 in Washington. After serving in the Legal Adviser's Office Mrs. Flexner joined the Foreign Service in 1954. Mrs. Flexner then served in Bordeaux, Cardiff, Paris and London before retiring in 1967. A sister, Mrs. Neil McLaren, P.O. Box 1105, Stuart, Fla. 33494, and two brothers survive.

Maillefert. Cathryn Maillefert, wife of FSO-ret. William B. Maillefert, died at her home in Westport, Connecticut on April 1. The Mailleferts had been assigned to Dacca, Khorramshahr and Calcutta. Mr. Maillefert may be reached at 146 Kings Highway North, Westport, Connecticut, Connecticut 06880.

McKelvey. Graham McKelvey, FSO-

BCIU APPOINTS



John Habberton, former Executive Director of the Business Council for International Understanding, has been promoted to President by Chairman George C. McGhee and the Board of Directors. John S. Walter is Executive Vice President and Charles Powleske is Vice President.

BCIU is a non-profit organization of 75 member companies. Its frequent seminars prepare international executives for doing more effective business in and with other cultures.

ret, died in Washington May 2. As labor attache, Mr. McKelvey had served in Australia, Singapore, Malaysia, Germany and the Philippines. He also had been deputy to the Special Assistant to the Secretary of State and coordinator of labor affairs. His wife, Nadine, of 3003 Van Ness St. N.W. Washington, D.C. 20008, and two sons survive.

Valentine. Rachel W. Valentine died May 4 in Washington. Mrs. Valentine was the mother of the Honorable Samuel Z. Westerfield Jr., Ambassador to Liberia. She also leaves two daughters, three sisters, and three grandchildren.

Wolf. "B" Wolf, the wife of Franklin Wolf, FSO-ret., died at her home in Little Silver, New Jersey on April 22. Mr. Wolf retired in the early '50s after serving in Montevideo and Karachi.

BOOK FAIR

Members of the Association of American Foreign Service Women are diligently collecting, sorting, and pricing donated books in preparation for their fall Bookfair to be held Oct. 17-20 at the State Department.

For over a decade, the Rare Book section in the Bookfair has been a great success. Again you can find unusual and exciting volumes with beautiful leather bound covers and gold inscriptions. This year books printed in 1712, 1740, 1768, AN VIII (revolutionary calendar in France, i.e., 1800) and the entire 19th century will be represented.

The Art Corner of the Bookfair is looking for art prints, paintings, picture frames in any condition, art portfolios and art magazines. They will gladly accept all types and media: old or new, modern or transitional, originals or copies, camp or funk.

Book donations of all kinds, plus worthwhile magazines such as American Heritage, National Geographic, scholarly and professional publications, etc. are needed. Proceeds of the Bookfair benefit the AAFSW scholarship and special education funds. Please donate your books and art items as early as possible.



Mrs. John McDonald displays a leather bound turn-of-the-century dictionary to her co-workers as they sort and price donated books for the Association of American Foreign Service Women's annual fall Bookfair.

DACOR NEWS

At the 21st annual members' meeting of DACOR on April 17, eight new Governors were elected for a three year term: Messrs. Maurice M. Bernbaum, Robert G. Cleveland, C. Burke Elbrick, John D. Hickerson, Jack K. McFall, John M. Steeves, T. Eliot Weil, and Robert F. Woodward. On April 27, the newly constituted Board of Governors held its first business meeting and elected the following officers for 1972-73: James Riddleberger, President; Richard Butrick, Vice President and Treasurer; Joseph Satterthwaite, Vice President; Robert Woodward, Vice President; Gerald Warner, Secretary; William Affeld, Jr., Executive Director; Theodore Hadraba, Assistant Secretary; and Cyril Theil, Assistant Treasurer. The business meeting also included discussion of legislation and liaison with AFSA and the Department of State regarding current personnel proposals. George Gregg Fuller be-

CLUB NEWS

Who is Cynthia, what is she, that all our swains commend her? (Apologies to W.S.)

Commend or not, our competent, dedicated Cindy O'Brien is deserting her post as manager of the Foreign Service Club to get her degree at the University of Michigan. As her replacement, we welcome back Duncan Lyon, former Club manager. Duncan will be remembered as the handsome delightfully English-accented young man who helped to make the Club run smoothly from early 1971 to late that year. We regret that ARA found other places that needed his talents then and we are delighted that Duncan so likes Foggy Bottom that he is willing to return to us.

came the second former Governor of DACOR to be elected an Honorary Governor in recognition of his dedication and many years of service to the organization.

Cover Artist

Zehra Rehmatulla Post, wife of Edward Post, our June cover artist, has exhibited in one-man shows in Rome, Bombay, Damascus, Delhi, Calcutta, Manila and Washington. Her exhibit last fall at the Foreign Service Club was widely admired. Mrs. Post is a native of Hyderabad and studied there and in Rome.

Biography Coming

Philip F. Dur, FSO-retired, has received a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities for the period June 1, 1972-May 31, 1973 to write a biography of Ambassador Jefferson Caffery. Professor Dur occupies the Jefferson Caffery chair of political science at the University of Southwestern Louisiana in Lafayette, Louisiana, 70501, and can be reached at that address. He would appreciate receiving anecdotes and personal reminiscences of the ambassador from the latter's friends and former colleagues in the Service.

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION OF AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION AND PROPOSED AMENDMENTS OF MAY 22, 1972*

The Board of Directors has undertaken a revision of the Certificate of Incorporation and the By-Laws of the Association. Our legal advisers have recommended that the Association be registered under a new and broader chapter of the District of Columbia Non-Profit Corporation Act. Certain changes in our Certificate and By-Laws are advisable due to the terms of Executive Order 11636.

A report of the By-Laws Revision Committee is currently under study by the Board, the Legal Committee and representatives of Covington and Burling, attorneys for the Association. Because of a number of technical problems the By-Laws are unfortunately not ready for consideration by the membership at this time.

The revision of the Certificate of Incorporation, however, which is of more immediate concern, has been cleared for membership consideration. The revision of the Certificate of Incorporation is included on the agenda and will be voted upon in a general business meeting scheduled for June 28 in accordance with a Board resolution of May 22, 1972. The resolution and the annotated proposed new Certificate are printed below.

Following its consideration by the members at the business meeting under Article XI of the Association By-Laws, the new text will be submitted to the entire voting membership. A two-thirds majority of the members casting ballots is required in order to approve the amendments.

The resolution adopted by the Board on May 22 follows:

"RESOLVED, that the Board of Directors of the American Foreign Service Association recommends to the membership that the Association elect to avail itself of the provisions of Chapter 10 of "The District of Columbia Non-Profit Corporation Act," (Act of August 6, 1962, Public Law 87-569, 76 Stat. 279) Title 29, District of Columbia Code (1967).

"Be it further resolved that the question of such acceptance be submitted to a vote at the annual general business meeting, to be held in the City of Washington, District of Columbia, on June 28, 1972.

"Be it further resolved that the Board of Directors adopts the following amendments to the Certificate of Incorporation for submission to a vote at said meeting of membership having voting rights being held in the City of Washington, District of Columbia, on June 28, 1972."

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that we do hereby associate ourselves to establish a corporation, not organized for profit and in which no capital stock is required or is to be issued, under and by virtue of Chapter 6 of Title 29 of the Code of Laws for the District of Columbia, and Acts amendatory thereof, for the purposes and under the corporate name hereinafter mentioned; and to that end we do by this, our Certificate, set forth as follows:

* All changes and new material herein appear in bold face type, italic type indicates a deletion in the wording of the original article.

Delete after "under and by virtue of" and substitute the following: the provisions of Chapter 10 ("The District of Columbia Non-Profit Corporation Act," Act of August 6, 1962, Title 29, District of Columbia Code (1967), for the purposes and under the corporate name hereinafter mentioned; and to that end we do by this, our Certificate, set forth as follows:

I

The name of the Association is to be AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION.
NO CHANGE

II

The principal office of the Association is to be located in the City of Washington, District of Columbia.
NO CHANGE

III

The term of existence of the Association shall be perpetual.
NO CHANGE

IV

The objectives and purposes for which the Association is organized as a corporation are, as follows:

(a) *To promote in all lawful, legitimate and appropriate ways the advancement of the welfare of the members of the Foreign Service of the United States Government, or as otherwise designated, in the American Foreign Service who shall become members of this Association including the welfare of their dependents or their designated beneficiaries; to foster among them an esprit de corps; to advance in every possible way the intelligent, efficient and skillful discharge of the duties of their occupation; to advance and safeguard their economic interests; and generally to encourage and promote better and more satisfactory employment conditions for them;*

Delete and substitute the following in sub-paragraph (a) on objectives and purposes:

(a) *To promote the intelligent, efficient and skillful discharge of the professional duties of the Foreign Service and of the missions of the Foreign Affairs Agencies in the service of the President of the United States; to advance and safeguard the careers, economic interests, conditions of employment, and welfare of the members of the Foreign Service, including the welfare of their dependents or designated beneficiaries; to foster among them an esprit de corps; to enhance understanding and rapport between the Foreign Service and the American foreign affairs community;*

(COMMENT: This new language would delete the present reference to Foreign Service members "who shall become members of this Association," which the Legal Committee has advised is too restrictive in view of AFSA's representation of all members of the Foreign Service. It would include a clause relating to our openness program as a central objective of the Association.)

(b) *To acquire such real and personal property as may be necessary for the purposes of the Association, and such other real and personal property, the income of which shall be applied to the purposes of the Association;*

NO CHANGE

(c) *To accept, administer, apply, and use any property acquired by gift, grant, devise, bequest, or otherwise, in accordance with any of the purposes of the Association that may be specified by the donor thereof subject, however, to the qualification and condition to be understood and accepted in all such cases that, if in the judgment and discretion of the Board of Directors of this Association, the purposes or objectives so specified become unattainable or are obsolete or are not reasonably susceptible of attainment, then the property involved in any such case shall be subject to other objectives and purposes of this Association;*

NO CHANGE

(d) *To do all and everything necessary, suitable, convenient, usual or proper for the accomplishment of the purposes herein expressed or incidental thereto and, generally, to exercise and enjoy all rights, powers and privileges now or hereafter granted by Chapter 6 of Title 29 of the Code of Laws for the District of Columbia, and Acts amendatory thereof, and any other rights, powers, and privileges now or hereafter granted by law; provided, however, that no part of the net earnings or of the principal or assets of this Association shall*

inure to the individual benefit of any donor, grantor, or testator, or his or her heirs, representatives, or assigns, or of any member of the Association or of any private shareholder or individual other than through payments of life, sick, accident, or other benefits which may be provided for the members of the Association and no part of the net earnings or of the principal or assets of this Association shall be diverted to carrying on propaganda or in otherwise attempting to influence legislation.

ARTICLE IV (d)

Line four delete the words "Chapter 6" and substitute "Chapter 10."

Delete everything after "Association," in the fourth from the last line, and substitute the following:

; except that the Association may pay compensation, including the employer's share toward any social security or pension scheme, to any Member, Associate, or Director in a reasonable amount for services rendered; and provided, further, that no substantial part of the net earnings or of the principal or assets of the Association shall be diverted to carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation.

(COMMENT: This language, virtually identical to that approved by the previous Board of Directors, would regularize the current practice of compensating AFSA Members who serve on the permanent staff as Executive Director or in other positions. It also makes clear the Association's authority to compensate an AFSA Member, normally a board member, for services rendered to the Association during a year's leave of absence from a Foreign Affairs Agency. A fixed formula for such compensation will be adopted by the Board. This amendment would also remove the absolute prohibition on propaganda and lobbying which was derived from the since changed Internal Revenue Code on exemption from taxation of non-profit organizations.)

V

The management and administration of the affairs of the Association for the first year of its existence shall be by a Board of Directors of five persons. For the next ensuing years of its existence, the management and administration of the affairs of the association shall be in a Board of Directors of not less than five and no more than eleven members, as the By-Laws of the Association from time to time prescribe.

ARTICLE V

Fifth line: delete remainder of paragraph after "Directors" and substitute the following:

as prescribed by the By-Laws of the Association.

(COMMENT: This language leaves more flexible the number of Directors the membership may wish to prescribe.)

VI

This Certificate of Incorporation shall constitute the Constitution of the American Foreign Service Association.

(COMMENT: There is a legal requirement that employee organizations "shall adopt a constitution and by-laws." AFSA's Certificate, with the addition of this clause, can serve a dual purpose.)

VII

Amendments to this Constitution may be proposed by the Board of Directors or by a petition signed by ten percent of the Members as of the date submitted. The Board of Directors will thereupon submit the proposal to all Members for ratification by ballot. If approved within 60 days by a two-thirds majority of the Members voting, the amendment will become effective.

(COMMENT: Provision for amending the Certificate of Incorporation presently appears in the By-laws; such provision should be in the Certificate itself.)

VIII

The Corporate seal of this Association shall have inscribed thereon the name of the Association, the year of its creation, and the words "District of Columbia." An impression thereof shall be affixed to this Certificate of Incorporation.

(COMMENT: This provision is transferred from By-laws.)



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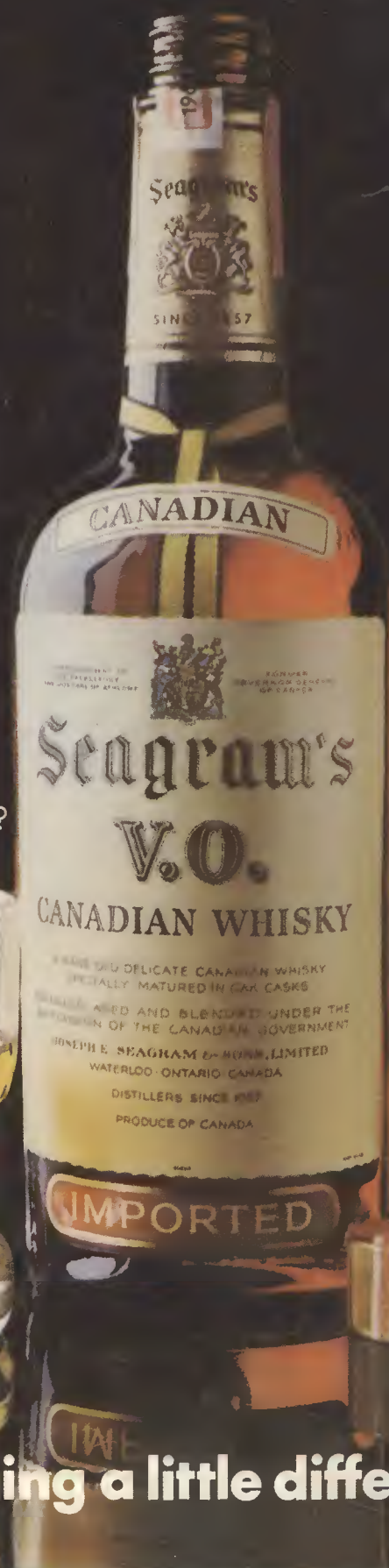
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