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MAY 1978

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by Lester R. Brown

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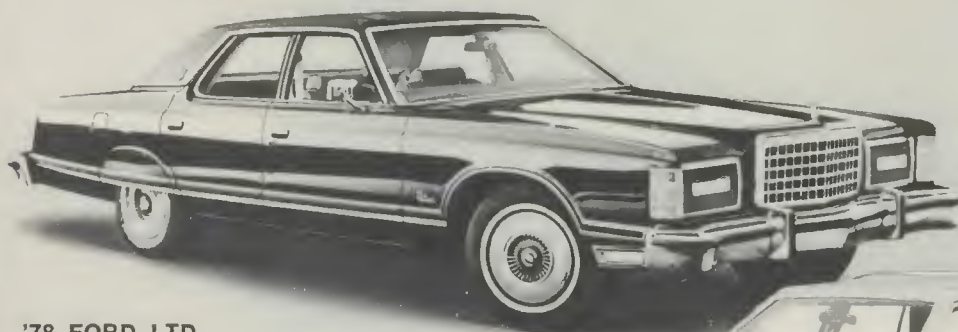
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Slips that Pass in the Type


 The printing of my article in the current issue of the *Journal* was perfect except for the second sentence of the final paragraph (page 30) which reads: "It cannot visibly support . . ." It should read: "It cannot viably support . . ." as will be found in my typed draft.

As this considerably changes the meaning of the sentence and renders it ambiguous, I suggest a clarification in the next issue.

PARKER T. HART

Washington

Affirmative Action

 AFSA's editorial on "Management's Affirmative Action Proposals" reflects a very clear members-interest trade union approach, but represents neither the national interest or the long-range approach which would serve our country and our trade union.

As a white male, examination-entry FSO, I've enjoyed and lamented for 28 years the ups and downs of our personnel system. I also served for almost two years in the civil rights section of another federal agency and saw us as minorities see us. Without this perspective the following would never have been written.

My comments are keyed to the paragraphs on the Task Force.


1. *The Task Force.* A physician doesn't always try to heal himself. EEO has become a field for professionals and the Task Force included EEO professionals. Can't we expect that the FSO members presented the Foreign Service clearly and persuasively even though as a minority of the Task Force. Aren't we talking about minority groups?
2. *No special advantages?* "Special attention" is what EEO is all about and the idea is not that we're anti-minority but that our selection system is not the sole God-given method of finding and appointing the best. My view of the Foreign Service, from the vantage point of another agency, is that our median is very high but as individuals we often suffer by comparison with

civil servants in other agencies who are chosen and developed by other means. We who are whites from middle or upper class families began with a special advantage.

3. *Mid-level hiring.* I don't recall any time in my 28 years in the Foreign Service when one grade group hasn't been at a disadvantage and I've been in a couple of those grade group bulges myself. Historically, minorities were first asked to educate themselves, then prove themselves. Now there are sufficient who have done both. Must they always start at the bottom? Isn't this a chance for us to acquire executives of proven quality to leaven our representation?
4. *Climate of intimidation?* I don't know what this means. May be what I learned in Freshman logic as "poisoning the wells" argumentation.
5. *Bias, conscious or unconscious.* The days when overt bias in hiring or promotion could be detected or proven are pretty well over and it is certainly the last thing any FSO, given our generally liberal bias and exposure to foreign cultures, would ever admit to. But how often haven't I heard my peers in the Foreign Service dismiss the whole racial issue with one phrase, "Education is the answer." Did they mean educate "us" or educate "them"?
6. *The best women and minorities.* If we think we can get only super-women-minority-members we're being unrealistic. Some super-blacks will join us and some super-women but let's look around. How many of us are Chip Bohlens or Bob Murphys? How many of us would look to an American TV audience like a model of a modern major American diplomat?
7. *Protect the interests of our membership.* This at least puts it on the line. I need not identify to our members the special interest groups at home or abroad which have protected their particular interests right up until the dam burst. The very best American trade unions recognize a national interest in furthering the interest of minorities. I hope our Association can too.

Salzburg C. J. QUINLAN

Affirmative Action

 A short note to congratulate you on your very fine February editorial on Equal Opportunity and Affirmative Action. Favoring certain individuals over others because of race, ethnic group or sex is clearly inconsistent with American values, and such a policy has no place in the United States Foreign Service.


In this vein, the inclusion by USIA of one's "commitment" to affirmative action in the October 7, 1977 promotion precepts constitutes ideological blackmail of the most despicable kind. Since the only operational means of "proving" one's "commitment" is by overt actions that favor some categories of employees over others, the message to supervisors is clear—if you are interested in being promoted, favor members of the appropriate "EEO category." Such a policy will prejudice both "non-EEO" category employees and the Service.

I suggest that as a first step towards dealing with the affirmative action problem, AFSA negotiate a deletion of "commitment" to affirmative action from the OER precepts. Although a "commitment to equal opportunity" yardstick is somewhat insulting (implying, as it does, that Foreign Service people need to be pressured *not* to be racist or sexist), I believe most of us could swallow hard and live with it. Being forced to choose between Affirmative Action's Orwellian "some categories are more equal than others," and one's career is another matter.

JOHN TREACY
FSIO-5

Madrid


Tribute to Lyle Copmann

 While this nation mourns the passing of the ebullient spokesman for the disadvantaged, Hubert Humphrey, another noted American—one of our foreign service own—just died. Lyle Copmann, into his third year as Chief of USIS Brazil, was stopped with a massive heart attack. He had just finished an ordinary long day at the Embassy in Brasilia.

Lyle was no ordinary person. Aside from his undisputed profes-

Continued on page 45

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**Our Not So Graceful
Exit from Vietnam**

SEAN KELLY

DECENT INTERVAL, by Frank Snepp. Random House, \$14.95.

55 DAYS, the Fall of South Vietnam, by Alan Dawson. Prentice-Hall, \$12.50.

OUR GREAT SPRING VICTORY, by General Van Tien Dung. Monthly Review Press, \$15.00.

GRASSHOPPERS AND ELEPHANTS, Why Vietnam Fell, by Wilfred Burchett. Urizen Books, \$4.95.

In the old Saigon airport terminal, the walls of the men's room were once covered with American graffiti. One particular item has remained with me over the years: "Will the last American to leave Vietnam please turn out the light?" Later, someone added: "at the end of the tunnel."

It has been three years now since the lights went out at the American Embassy in Saigon, and people have begun writing books about that event—more are on the way, including an official account soon

to be published (most likely in classified form) by Major Wayne A. Myers of the Air Force Academy. For Frank Snepp, who wrote his book in secret so that it could not be suppressed by the CIA, the memories are still very vivid. Alan Dawson actually stayed behind in Saigon for four months, until asked to leave by the new government. General Van Tien Dung and Wilfred Burchett were on the other side. General Dung directed the North Vietnamese offensive against Saigon, and Burchett subtitled his book "The Viet Cong Account of the Last 55 Days of the War."

All of the accounts, along with Tiziano Terzani's *Giai Phong! The Fall and Liberation of Saigon* which was written in 1976 (and reviewed in *FSJ* of July of that year) make fascinating reading—especially to someone who was there, not necessarily at the end, but at some point during America's long involvement in the Vietnamese conflict. Somehow or other, our experiences along the way should have helped prepare us for what happened at the end.


But they really didn't. Frank

Snepp's CIA insider's account of the last days in the American Embassy is bizarre to the point of being virtually beyond belief, except that much of it is second-sourced by Dawson and Dung who were on the outside, looking in. *New York Times* reviewer John Leonard calls Snepp's book "a botch-by-botch account of our failure to plan adequately for an evacuation of our forces and our friends from Saigon." Wilfred Burchett, in his own review (*Harper's*, March 1978) wrote that "Snepp's story is a sordid one, stretched out far too long in the telling."

Decent Interval runs nearly six hundred pages. In researching it, Snepp went considerably beyond his own personal experiences in Saigon and included details from other participants, both in Washington and in the field. The book tells, in Snepp's view, not only what happened, but—and this sets it apart from Alan Dawson's account—how and why.

One particular episode needs to be singled out for special comment. Early in his book (on page 33, to be precise) Snepp describes how FSO

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Fanoo Lanoo is Alive and Well and Living in Foggy Bottom

CRB

Fanoo Lanoo is not lost to history. Though his cryptogenic career with the Foreign Service involved a start from a bare-bones experience base about which no record survives, Lanoo went on to learn where the bodies are buried. And not being a man to be walked on he is most assuredly not buried with them. Fanoo Lanoo, in fact, is alive and well and living in Foggy Bottom.

A report on this fine, can-do officer was submitted recently by C. J. ("Rocky") Rode, the Assistant Administrator for Administration at the American Embassy in San Remo. Rode followed up his report with an oral

CRB was a member of the 119th class of FSOs. He wishes to thank his many colleagues in the Department of State who made this report possible. While the situations mentioned here are, of course, a product of fantasy, the words, phrases and some complete sentences are taken directly from a random sample of real OERs.

conversation with the Secretary, informing the Department that Lanoo was coming home.

In the interest of informing his Foreign Service colleagues about the excellent qualities exemplified by this individual and, incidentally, to demonstrate how a rating officer can treat the English language in his quest for adequate words of praise, Rode's report follows here.

NAME OF OFFICER BEING RATED (surname first):
Lanoo, Fanoo Nomi III

OFFICER'S JOB: Administrative Assistant to the Assistant Administrator for Administration. Occupies the fifth position in a four position division. The position does not require or involve a supervisory role.

WORK REQUIREMENTS, GOALS AND PRIORITIES:
Care and feeding of the Ambassador; checking cipher

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locks on the rest rooms; meeting couriers at the airport with glasses of boiled water; help in detoxification of malevolent visiting firemen; chair Embassy task force on resettlement of retired Polish bowlers.

SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES INFLUENCING THE WORK PROGRAM: Embassy is located on an island in the midst of shark-infested waters. This is a sink-or-swim post requiring heads-up personnel.

Additionally, this post is a highly operational environment. During a two-week period, AmEmbassy San Remo was visited by two Senators, the Commander of US Forces in Europe, members and staff of the House International Relations Committee, the Mormon Tabernacle Choir, and the entire state of Rhode Island.

EVALUATION OF PERFORMANCE: Lanoo is a superlative individual, almost unmatched in class, whose performance does not meet the standards for the job.

At first glance there may appear to be a contradiction in this general appraisal. Contradiction, however, is no stranger to this valuable piece of Foreign Service property.

Lanoo is quite simply the right man in the right place at the right time, a right-hand man who can take in hand the tasks at hand singlehandedly without being afraid to get his hands dirty. In the event of a crisis he is the type of officer to have on board to help meet such a contingency. In March, when a B-29 crew was seized by a group of crazed cargo cultists, Lanoo successfully negotiated their release. In order to secure their return Lanoo dressed himself as a crate of parachutes and delivered himself up as a sacrifice. This meritorious action earned him the

name "Can-do" Fanoo, a token of the high esteem in which he is held.

Lanoo is a good soldier and a real team player. In the eight months since he arrived at post he has not yet once left the office. True, he is beginning to smell a bit, but Lanoo is in no sense of the term a prima donna. He is a nuts-and-bolts man who knows his job chapter and verse. Plunging into the nitty-gritty with a sure-fire feel for the ins and outs and dos and don'ts, he carries the ball, keeps his eye on it, and never drops it through thick and thin.

Without fanfare he waded ashore when he came on board eight months ago and hit the ground running. This post is a tight ship and a happy ship, and Lanoo has put in his oar with a deep reservoir of resourcefulness which allows him to get deeply immersed in his work. Lanoo doesn't walk on water, but neither does he sink into the mud. He is a real guided missile.

Starting from a bare-bones experience base, Lanoo has grown with a job that grows like topsy. He is a superlative individual, in short, almost unmatched in class, whose performance does not meet the standards for the job.

SKILLS: EFFECTIVENESS OF COMMUNICATION: English is Lanoo's second language, since he hasn't a first one, but he is diligently attending post language instruction and may soon get off English language probation. Nevertheless he excels in oral conversation and, I might add, he is *au courant* in Esperanto. Lanoo is more a doer than a verbalizer, but he is not one to flinch his words. He speaks with ponderation. His talking points

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THE RIGHT TIME, THE RIGHT PLACE



A Novel by
Joseph S. Salzburg

zing. In essence, he can really nail the jelly to the wall. On the other hand, however, Lanoo needs to curb a tendency toward prolixity in his writing. His convoluted blather lacks a feeling for the big picture.

SKILLS: PERSONAL RELATIONS: Lanoo has yet to establish a sexual identity which tends to make his/her social activity a bit bizarre. Still, but for his longstanding distaste for foreigners, Lanoo has managed to be a most effective host or hostess as the occasion demands.

This general success in representational work, however, should be qualified by the fact that his contacts are now, to the last man, incarcerated in the local jail.

SKILLS: MANAGERIAL ABILITY: Although he still takes liberties with the office staff, Lanoo is bringing himself under control. He is a wonder, more than a wonder, a joy. His secretary, for example, is a hearty soul and he likes jollying her when she gets down.

A hard-nosed leg driver, Lanoo keeps the paperwork under control by periodically burning the files.

SKILLS: TECHNICAL ABILITY: Lanoo has mastered building blocks and the post Erector set. He is making steady progress on work in a correspondence course on telephone dialing.

THE QUALITY OF PERFORMANCE was reviewed with the rated officer on an hour by hour basis since Mr. Lanoo is chained to the wall in the NIV section.

EVALUATION OF POTENTIAL: Lanoo is a real time bomb headed for the top.

EFFORTS NEEDED FOR IMPROVEMENT: Lanoo has a disconcerting tendency to smile and frown in ways that are unrelated to the conversation. He needs to syn-

chronize facial movements with the circumstances at hand.

Another point of criticism? But where can I find another reflection of original sin?

FORMAL TRAINING: (1) The officer is recommended for the four year course at Thomas Jefferson High School and the A-100 course at FSI. Fanoo himself has indicated an interest in learning how to add and subtract.

(2) Positions to which the officer can realistically aspire within five years: the human race. If someone plays with him long enough I'm sure something can be made of him.

RATED OFFICER'S COMMENTS: When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government.

REVIEW PANEL STATEMENT: *The panel finds that applicable rating criteria have been followed, uniform standards applied, and considers the report neither too lenient nor too strict.*

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"See how these masses mill and swarm
And troop and muster and assail:
God! we could keep this planet warm
By friction, if the sun should fail."—Edna St. Vincent Millay

Redefining National Security

LESTER R. BROWN

The concern for the "security of nations is a time-honored preoccupation both of political leaders and their citizenries. In modern times the national security concept has become increasingly tied to considerations of military threats, strategic arsenals, the balance of power, and other catchwords of defense planners. But new threats are emerging, threats with which military forces cannot cope.

These new threats derive less from the relationship of man to man and more from the relationship of man to nature. For some Third World countries encroaching deserts may pose a far greater hazard than invading armies. Runaway population growth can destroy a country's ecosystem and disrupt its social structure more effectively than a foreign adversary ever could. For many industrial nations the projected depletion of oil reserves may be a more serious threat to national security than the more traditional military threats.

These numerous new threats derive directly or indirectly from the mounting human pressures on the earth's natural systems and re-

sources. The unfolding stresses in this relationship initially manifest themselves as ecological stresses—food and resource scarcities, and climatic changes. Later they translate into economic stresses— inflation, unemployment, capital scarcity, and monetary instability. Ultimately, they erupt as social unrest and political instability.

National defense establishments are useless against these new dangers. Neither bloated military budgets nor highly sophisticated weapons systems can halt the deforestation or solve the firewood crisis now affecting so many Third World countries. Nor can they ameliorate the worsening food shortages in these same countries or arrest the rising unemployment plaguing countries everywhere.

One of these emerging threats to national security is the progressive depletion of oil reserves. Recently there has been much attention given to the occurrence of short-term supply disruptions in petroleum, but unfortunately strategic planners have lost sight of a far more central fact: namely, that oil reserves are being rapidly depleted and that the downturn in world oil production may be only a decade and a half away. It is the failure to prepare for this eventuality that poses the real threat to the future security of oil dependent nations.

The seriousness of these threats and the obvious potential for disaster is now looming so large that it cannot be ignored, even by strategic planners accustomed to thinking in purely military terms. Harold Brown, Secretary of Defense, reflected this new reality in a recent statement, "The present deficiency of assured energy resources is the single surest threat that the future poses to our security and to that of our allies."

Efforts to ameliorate the projected downturn in world oil production by turning to other energy sources have produced their own threats to national security. In the case of nuclear power, it has proven impossible to separate the international spread of nuclear power for peaceful purposes from the spread of bomb-grade nuclear materials. The modest contribution of nuclear power to the world's energy supplies cannot compensate for the volatility of a world of present and potential nuclear powers.

Coal has also been proclaimed as a potential means of circumventing the impending shortage of energy supplies, but there too is an unfortunate and possibly fatal flaw. A National Academy of Sciences study recently pointed out that the burning of coal in the quantity necessary would eventually lead to a several-fold increase in atmospheric carbon dioxide and a possibly catastrophic rise in the average global temperature.

With oil wells going dry, nuclear power in limbo, and the heavy use of coal threatening to alter the global climate, the urgency of developing renewable energy sources has become obvious. Circumstances suggest the need for immediate and broadly based efforts to develop the entire range of renewable energy sources, as well as a crash energy conservation program. The rate of transition from petroleum to solar energy sources, the number of solar collectors to be installed each year by country, the number of windmills to be erected where wind power is economically feasible, and the area of farmland to be devoted to the various energy crops need to be calculated. An all-out conservation program is needed to stretch remaining oil reserves as far as possible and so buy time to shift to renewable energy sources.

Lester R. Brown is President and a Senior Researcher with Worldwatch Institute in Washington, D.C. This article is drawn from Worldwatch Paper 14, Redefining National Security. ©Worldwatch Institute, 1977.

The need for all countries of the world to act in concert to formulate and launch a transition program, including devising a timetable, is paramount. Without a concerted global effort, it is inevitable that the economic and political stresses resulting from the coming energy transition will imperil the security of all nations.

A second major threat to the security of modern nations involves the deterioration of biological systems as population continues to expand. Stress is evident in each of the four major biological systems—oceanic fisheries, grasslands, forests, and croplands—on which humanity depends for food and industrial raw materials. In the past it has been assumed that because biological resources are renewable, they are of little concern. In fact, both the nonrenewable and renewable resource bases have been shrinking.

More and more the carrying capacities of biological systems are being ignored and exceeded. The world's fisheries have in the early '70s failed to show the steadily increasing yields that were typical of the '50s and '60s. Forests are shrinking on almost every continent as the cutting of trees exceeds their regenerative capacity. In many Third World countries population growth is now acting as a double-edged sword, simultaneously expanding demands on the biological systems while destroying the resource bases. Encroaching deserts may pose a greater threat to the long-term viability of some countries than invading armies.

The oceanic food chain, yielding some 70 million tons of fish per year, is humanity's principal source of high-quality protein. However, disturbing evidence indicates that the catch in a majority of oceanic fisheries may now exceed the sustainable level. Between 1950 and 1970, fish supplied a steadily expanding share of human protein needs, but in 1970 the trend was abruptly and unexpectedly interrupted. Since then, the catch has fluctuated between 65 and 70 million tons, clouding the prospects for an ever bigger catch. Meanwhile, world population growth has led to an 11 percent decline in the per capita catch and to rising prices for virtually every edible species.

The earth's grasslands too are

under growing pressure. The meat, milk, leather, and wool originating from the six billion acres of grassland play an important role in the food and industrial sectors of the global economy. Overgrazing is not new, but its scale and rate of acceleration is unprecedented. Deterioration that once took centuries is now being compressed into years by inexorable population growth.

Forests have proved to be one of humanity's most valuable economic resources and, in consequence, to be one of the most heavily exploited. Almost every country undergoing rapid population growth is being deforested. If cutting is excessive, forests shrink and their capacity to satisfy human needs diminishes. Most of the Middle East and North Africa and much of continental Asia, Central America, and the Andean regions of South America are now virtually treeless. In these denuded areas, wood and wood products are scarce and expensive. What is worse, the remaining forested areas in all these regions except China is shrinking.

Croplands produce an even greater variety of products. The proportionate contribution of cultivated crops to the global economy is far greater than the one-tenth of the earth's land surface that they occupy. However, in the case of croplands as well, it appears that biological carrying capacities are being reached and exceeded.

As world population gradually expanded after the development of agriculture, farming spread from valley to valley and from continent to continent until by the mid-20th century the frontiers had virtually disappeared. Even while the amount of new land awaiting the plow shrank, the growth in demand for food was expanding at a record pace. Coupled with the uneven distribution of land in many countries, these trends have engendered a land hunger that is driving millions of farmers onto soils of marginal quality—lands subject to low and unreliable rainfall, lands with inherently low fertility, lands too steep to sustain cultivation.

Apart from the loss of cropland, erosion on remaining cropland is undermining soil productivity. A natural process, soil erosion as such is neither new nor necessarily alarming, but when erosion out-

paces the formation of new soil, inherent soil fertility declines. It is the rate of soil erosion that distinguishes the current era from other periods. The result has been a gradual but potentially disastrous decline in land productivity in many parts of the world.

Arthur Candell, writing of the ecological deterioration in Haiti, reports that "the land produces less and less each year, while population soars . . . The eroded and leached mountain soil can no longer support tree growth."

During the early '70s world food consumption steadily outstripped production leading to greater global food insecurity than at any time since World War II. Declining food stocks led to soaring prices, export embargoes, and the emergence of a global politics of food scarcity. As the world price of wheat climbed so did death rates in a dozen or more low-income countries, including India, Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Somalia, and the Sahelian zone countries of Africa. The lives claimed by the increase in hunger during the '70s may have exceeded the combat fatalities in all the international conflicts of the past two decades.

While stocks have been rebuilt somewhat as the result of uncommonly good harvests in 1976 and 1977, they are still far from adequate. Preliminary estimates indicate the carryover for 1978, including both the stocks of grain and the grain equivalent of idled US cropland, amounts to only 53 days of world consumption, far less than the 62 days held in 1972, when poor crops in the Soviet Union, India, and several smaller countries, wiped out food reserves almost overnight.

The present trend is even more frightening in that the modern world is more dependent on one geographic area than at any time in the past. Since World War II every continent except North America has become food deficient. Scores of countries have moved from surplus to deficit status but not a single food exporter of global status has emerged. One result is greater insecurity in the international food economy during the '70s than at any time since the years following World War II.

History provides some instructive lessons about ecological threats to national security. North

Africa was once the granary of the Roman Empire. Today, the fertility of the region's badly eroded soils has fallen so low that the area imports much of its food. Accounts of the collapse of the early Middle Eastern civilizations attributed their downfall to invaders from the north, but more recent investigations link their decline to the waterlogging and salting of their irrigation systems and to the collapse of their food supplies. For the modern world community, the prospect is equally threatening. Ultimately, efforts to preserve the biological systems on which humanity depends must involve constraints on global consumption which for many nations will require a reordering of social and economic priorities.

Few would doubt that economically the '70s have been traumatic and confusing. Both in the food and energy sectors, the slack appears to have gone out of the world economy, leaving the entire world in a highly vulnerable position. Accompanying the new global economics of scarcity has been a growing capital shortage that is plaguing the citadels of capitalism and socialism alike. Furthermore, the '70s have brought the first global double-digit inflation on record during peacetime and the highest unemployment since the Great Depression.

The most significant aspect of the present economic trends is their pervasiveness, which seems to pre-empt a period of increasing economic stress for the world as a whole. Increases in population and in standard of living have begun to press up against the capacity of global markets to respond. Both in the case of renewable and non-renewable resources, it will be extremely difficult for world supply to keep pace with the phenomenal growth in demand that is projected for the coming decades.

During the '70s world demand for food simply outstripped the capacity of farmers to expand supplies of wheat and other commodities at historical price levels. Matching the rises in the prices of food staples, the prices of lumber and newsprint have doubled and even tripled. Although the sharp climb was commonly attributed to the global surge in economic expansion of the early '70s, the subsequent cessation of economic

growth during the mid-'70s did not bring prices down. The persistence of inflation suggests strongly that it is the overall relationship between the level of demand and the sustainable yield of resources—and not the short-term rise in demand—that counts.

Global scarcities have affected not only prices but employment as well. If new employment is to be created, there must be something for people to work with. For the half or so of the global labor force in agriculture, that "something" is land. As long as frontiers existed, employment could be created with trifling amounts of capital—with that needed to buy crude farm implements and seed. But in many Third World countries a combination of land scarcity and the concentration of land ownership in a few hands make this far more difficult.

The inability of countries to create jobs rapidly enough is leading to chronically high unemployment in rich and poor countries but particularly in the latter. Rising unemployment in turn leads to political instability.

These economic threats to national security are not well understood. But even the most optimistic economist must admit that if the trends of the '70s continue, society is in serious trouble. Economic stresses can quickly aggravate social divisions, turning political cracks into fissures. When German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt was his country's Finance Minister in early 1974, he noted, "I only have to go to the years 1931 and 1933 to say that the meaning of stability is not limited to prices."

The new threats to national security are extraordinarily complex. Ecologists understand that the deteriorating relationship between four billion humans and the earth's biological systems cannot continue. But few political leaders have yet to grasp the social significance of this unsustainable situation.

Unfortunately, however, non-military threats to a nation's security are much less clearly defined than military ones. They are often the result of cumulative processes that ultimately lead to the collapse of biological systems or to the depletion of a country's oil reserves. These processes in themselves are

seldom given much thought until they pass a critical threshold. Thus, it is easier in the government councils of developing countries to justify expenditures for the latest model jet fighters than for family planning to arrest the population growth that leads to food scarcity.

The continuing focus of governments on military threats to security also makes efforts to deal with these newer hazards more difficult. The heavy military emphasis preempts budgetary resources, management skills, and scientific talent. Given the enormous investment required to shift the global economy forward to alternative energy sources, one might well ask whether the world could afford the sustained large-scale use of military might of the sort deployed in World Wars I and II. In effect, there simply may not be enough fuel to operate both tanks and tractors.

In a world that is not only ecologically interdependent but economically and politically interdependent as well, the concept of "national" security is no longer adequate. Though national governments are still the principal decision-makers, many threats to security require a coordinated international response. Whether the immediate crises involve firewood shortages in the Third World or double-digit inflation in the industrial countries, they will be increasingly influenced by a global web of forces which no nation can expect to control unilaterally.

The purpose of national security deliberations should not be to maximize military strength but to maximize national security. In the late 20th century the key to national security will be economic sustainability. The times call for efforts to secure the global systems on which nations depend. Perhaps the best contemporary definition of national security is one by Franklin P. Huddle, Senior Specialist at the Library of Congress. In *Science*, Huddle writes "Security means more than safety from hostile attack; it includes the preservation of a system of civilization." At some point governments will be forced either to realign their priorities in a manner responsive to a changing world or to watch their national security deteriorate.



"Play up! play up! and play the game!"—Sir Henry Newbolt

The Little Dippers

LUCIEN AGNIEL

You're the man for the job," the United States Ambassador to Gruana murmured, and I could barely hear him above the growl of the ceiling fan. "The foreign minister himself asked me if I could find a coach for his Little League baseball team. Do you realize it's the first time he's spoken to me since the fracas over the cultural exchange?"

"Well," I said, knowing I was hooked, "you say they have lost twelve consecutive games. How many more games does the team play?"

Lucien D. Agniel has served as a newspaper editor, program director with Radio Free Europe, associate editor of a newsmagazine and as government information officer for ECA and USIA. He retired last June and is working on several book projects.

"Just think," the ambassador said, nodding at the wonder of it, "when I told the foreign minister my press attache is an ex-big-league baseball player, he said, 'That's wonderful news, Jerry.' He never called me by my first name before."

I had never called the ambassador Jerry either, but I probably could have brought it off nicely at this point. I repeated my question.

"Oh, just two more games," he said, drawing a careful, even fringe around a careful, even circle on his yellow tablet. It looked just like the top of his head. "After all," and he took a swipe at a marauding mosquito, "this is line of duty. Your

boss will probably write a big report on how USIS teaches baseball to the diplomats' kids. You know, evidence of effectiveness," and he winked.

"Well, I'll try it, Mr. Ambassador."

"I knew you would, Stretch." Then he swiveled around in his chair to look out the window. Eye contact always bothers the ambassador.

"Don't lose sight of what really counts here, Stretch. What counts is that the foreign minister is back on speaking terms with the US ambassador—and on a first-name

basis at that. If this thing turns out well—who knows?—maybe I can hit him again on the bases agreement," and he slapped his knee. That was my exit cue.

The sun outside the United States Embassy at Nantai was pitiless as Freddie, my Gruanese driver, rolled up to the entrance in the green jeep. I liked Freddie, and I practiced the Gruanese I had learned at the Foreign Service Institute on him. Now I asked why he had not gone to sleep as usual, leaving me to walk to the parking lot to wake him. I told him, deadpan, that I wanted to be sure he got his rest.

A small smile creased Freddie's brown, oval face, the slanted almond eyes danced and I knew he was rummaging for a reply. Then something fell into place and he rocked gently behind the wheel and finally touched the horn lightly as a kind of exclamation point to his private joke.

"Well," I prodded him in his language, "what's so funny this time?"

"Freddie," he said in English; "Freddie bucking. Freddie want Stretch's job."

I laughed with him, but underneath I wished I could give him the job, plus this extra chore managing a team of diplomats' kids. I liked the idea even less when I got back to United States Information Service headquarters.

"Stretch, old boy," said my boss, Dick McGinley, "we are going to give this one the full treatment."

That really put me on my guard. When the public-affairs officer for Gruana calls me "old boy," I know he's about to spend three days writing purple prose to show Washington what a great job he's doing. I rightly deduced I was in the middle.

"Look, it's a natural. Stretch Wayne, ex-St. Louis Cardinal first baseman, now US press attache in Gruana, rolls up his sleeves to teach the kids of eight nationalities the great American game of baseball."

"Come off it, Dick," I protested, quite certain he wouldn't.

"Not a chance. Look, old boy, I've already called UPI."

"UPI? Do you mean you actually got Al Caffery in the act before I even had a chance to talk to the ambassador?"

"The ambassador and I were pretty sure you would see this thing our way. And look, Stretch, your team is practicing at five o'clock today. You'd better go see what you've got to work with."

"It can't be much. I hear they hadn't won a game when that GI who was coaching them shipped out last week."

"That's true, but it doesn't matter for our purposes. The kids play a double round robin in an eight-team league. The Little Dippers have lost twelve in a row. They wind up next week with games against the fourth and first-place teams. That gives us a chance to get some pictures of you and your multi-nationality lineup. Whether they win cuts no ice."

I nodded, but only to indicate I understood his thought processes. I was thinking of a dismal stretch in my first year in baseball when we lost twelve in a row. It cut more than ice.

Freddie wheeled me out to the Gruanese army stadium, which on three afternoons a week was divided into practice areas for the Little Leaguers. My boys were easy to find. They were the bedraggled ones playing some dispirited catch. Standing to one side and looking a little bewildered was a Chinese girl. I recognized her as Mai Kwan, the daughter of the Nationalist ambassador to Gruana. She was tall for a Chinese girl, about five-seven, and the wind whipping the *cheong-sam* around her shapely legs took my mind off baseball. We had never met, but she called me Mr. Wayne.

"I'll get out of your way immediately," she said in a silky lilt. "I thought it would help if someone introduced you to the players."

"It certainly would, and I hope you'll stay if you have an interest in the game."

"My interest is my little brother, Number 14 out there. He's a pitcher."

I felt sorry for the kid, remembering the scores I'd glanced at in the ambassador's office. He looked alert but scrawny. Scrawny was the word for these kids. Most of them had in common varying hues of coffee-colored skin and, since most of them had been with their parents at one time or another in English-speaking areas, they had also in

common varying commands of English.

"Boys," she said, "your new coach is Mr. James Wayne. He was a very fine player with the St. Louis Cardinals."

"St. Louis is in Missouri," a small voice in the rear volunteered.

"That's right," Mai continued. "Mr. Wayne was wounded in the Second World War and did not play baseball again. He is the press attache at the American Embassy here, and he has very kindly agreed to be your coach for the last two games."

The boys all took their hats off, and one at a time came forward to shake my hand. I tried to keep up with the names, but in despair decided I'd fall back on Babe Ruth's old gimmick and simply call everybody "kid." We had a Thai, a Japanese, a Filipino, two Americans, an Englishman, a Korean and a Chinese—this much I gleaned in the first introductions.

The average weight per player I judged to be about sixty-five pounds. In this league, which the Army ran primarily for American children whose fathers served with the big Military Assistance Advisory Group in Gruana, it was easy to understand how the Little Dippers had become the Little Door-mats. My catcher, Pat Newbert, a rawboned, freckled Texan, was a prominent exception. So was the other American, Fletcher Armour, the son of our black Second Secretary. Both these boys were of normal American size. They stood out like giants.

I didn't quite know how to get them to put their hats on and start practicing, until it dawned on me they expected a speech.

"Boys, I've looked over the box scores of your games, and I know you have had some bad luck. Defensively the team has been weak. There have been lots of walks and errors. We must be sure we have each man playing the position he can do the best job at. I'd like to hit you some flies . . . Newbert, you stay here and take the throws."

Obediently, they trotted out to form a line about 150 feet away, and I punched them some fungoes. They caught the flies, but the throwing appalled me. I can spit farther than most of those kids could throw, and it was clear that anything hit through the infield

would go for extra bases. The sole exceptions were the pitchers and the Arab, Fiesal Ard.

"Why doesn't Ard play the outfield?" I asked Newbert.

"Good field, not hit, coach."

"But you guys get beat by ten or twelve runs to three or four. We've got to get the other team out."

"Whatever you say, coach. Can I call you Stretch?"

"Sure, can I call you Pat?"

"That's my name, Stretch."

After twenty minutes of hitting fungoes, I turned my attention to the infield. It was much the same—good defensive hands—and no arms. They had a half-pint lefty on first base, and I motioned him to try second base and let the big American Negro play first. The lefty didn't like this and decided to straighten me out. He strolled over, glove under his arm, and bowed politely. He was a handsome youngster with a firm chin and a steady gaze.

"I have played first base all year, and I have made only one error. I intend to be a first baseman. Also, my father wants me to be a first baseman. I request you put me back on first base."

There was an ugly feeling in the pit of my stomach. The allusion to "father" convinced me this determined, confident young man was Mike Tonko, the son of the Gruanese foreign minister, and when Mai Kwan correctly estimated my fears and gave me nodding confirmation I decided to try diplomacy.

"Mike, you field well, but you aren't a big target. When I was playing baseball, the fellow with the best average in the league was the worst first baseman. He couldn't reach, and he couldn't jump, and he never got a glove on anything. He didn't get charged with any errors, but he wasn't a good first baseman. I'm going to try Armour at first and see if we can't tighten up our defense. If it doesn't work, maybe we'll change back."

"I'm sorry, Mr. Wayne. If I can't play first base, I won't be able to play at all."

By that time, the whole team had edged in to listen to the battle of wits between Mike Tonko and Stretch Wayne. I felt faintly ridiculous, looking down at this cool twelve-year-old who was

pushing me toward the end of a precarious limb. I kept remembering the ambassador's "Don't lose sight of what really counts here," so I gave it one more try.

"I'm sorry you feel that way, Mike. I'd like you to try second, because without you we don't stand much chance of winning, and the team needs to win one. Don't you think you owe it to the team to play wherever the coach puts you?" I had done my best, but I knew I had lost when his eyes glinted hard in the late-afternoon sun.

"I'll be glad to stay and play first base."

"Turn in your suit, Mike. No player is more important than the team. . . . Akobi, get in there at second."

The boy's face froze. He clenched the fingers of both hands, nodded curtly and walked away.

"He is very angry," Mai said. "He has his father's temper."

"I've heard of his father's temper. Maybe I'll feel it on my own skin."

"Is your decision important?"

It was a good question and, watching the water buffalo plodding implacably along the road bordering the stadium and listening to the evening wind sigh through the surrounding rice paddies, I pondered it. Maybe I was wrong. Certainly the ambassador and McGinley would think so. A Tonko expected to have his way, even a twelve-year-old Tonko. It was an attitude unconsciously inherited from earlier regimes—a remnant of colonialism which now inhibited the efforts of the new government to make a better life for the citizens. I knew I was in trouble, but my mind was made up.

"Mai, I think it is important."

We didn't have enough players for an intrasquad game, but I let our pitchers throw batting practice, and my worst fears were confirmed. We had punchers and slappers, nobody with any power. Our two Americans were big enough, but they needed a season's coaching. If we were to win one, it would have to be with mirrors.

I started by putting the Arab kid in center field. He had a good arm. The Japanese, Akobi, was doing all right at second. Our shortstop, Villanueva from the Dominican Republic, was fast, so I made it a rule

that he run out to take relay throws from our weak-armed left and right fielders.

With our pitching staff, keeping a guy named Pedro Ramos at third base didn't make sense. "Ever try to pitch any, Pete?"

The brown Filipino face broke into a big smile, and Pete gave out with machine-gun English. "I always want to pitch, but we have no third baseman, so I play third. I don't throw so fast, but I get my stuff over the plate, and they don't hit it so good."

He threw from a wispy windup, but he got it in there and, while he was pitching, our No. 2. starter, Lee Soak, was playing third like Pepper Martin—stopping them with his chest and then getting the man out by half a step. I felt a little better with a brand-new long man in my bullpen.

I had been making an improvised roster. Tonko's departure left us with only two substitutes—one pitcher and an eleven-year-old English boy who had played some cricket but less than one season of baseball.

"It's awfully difficult," the Briton said, after waving futilely at three Ramos pitches. "I can't seem to get the hang of it."

"It's the cricket training, son. You're swinging that bat like a cricket player. You've got to swing in a flat arc," and I demonstrated. There was no improvement and, since the sun was setting, I called the team together.

"We play the fourth-place Rockets tomorrow at four. We are the home team. I'd like everybody at the ball park at 3:15. Ard plays center field, Akobi is on second, Armour on first. Kwan is my starting pitcher. Soak starts at third. If we need a relief pitcher, it will be Ramos. That means Soak can pitch against the Herons next week. Any questions?"

"We can win this one," Ramos called, and suddenly the boys were all chattering at once, some reverting to their own languages. I hoped they weren't getting their hopes up in vain as they trooped off, still jabbering.

The explosion came after lunch the next day. I had drafted and redrafted my lineup and was ready to leave for the Little League park in the steaming northern suburbs of Nantai when Dick McGinley

phoned.

"Old boy," he began, "there has been a hell of a silly mistake. The foreign minister called the ambassador a little while ago and said you had kicked his son off the Little Dippers. I told the old man it must have been some kind of a misunderstanding because of your imperfect Gruanese. What's the story?"

"Very simple, Dick. The kid said he wouldn't play unless he could play first base, so I told him to turn in his suit."

I could measure the escalation of Dick's terror by the length of the pause. Finally, in a strained voice, he said, "Stretch, do you really mean you kicked the foreign minister's kid off that lousy, no-good ball club?"

"That's about the size of it, Dick."

"Stretch, the old man is waiting for me to call him back so he can call the foreign minister back so the foreign minister can tell his kid to shag out to the ball park in time for the game. What are we going to do?"

"Tell the old man to tell the foreign minister to tell his kid he's welcome to shag out there and play *second* base."

"Stretch, the kid is a *first* baseman."

"Dick, I played first base in three All-Star games. Are you going to tell me how to play first base here in Gruana?"

"No, but I'm going to write your efficiency rating and, if your record includes alienating the foreign minister over some damn silly game—"

"Back up," I said. "Yesterday it was a real big deal, this Little League stuff. You thought it was a big deal too, but only for the cheap mileage you could get out of it in the local papers, so you could make another report to Washington and toot your own little tin horn. Well, I didn't want this ball club, but now I've got it, and I'm going to run it my way. Tonko walked out on me. He can walk back whenever he likes—and play *second* base. Right now, I'm going to the ball park," and I banged the receiver into the cradle and took off.

August held Nantai in its muggy, fetid grip, and only mad dogs, coolies, Little Leaguers and a few die-hard parents were astir for this game. The Rockets had clinched

fourth and, three weeks earlier, had spilled the Dippers, 11 to one. But we weren't giving up and neither was Mai Kwan. She was in the first row of screened bleacher seats and waved discreetly when she caught my eye.

From the very start it looked as if our team had been shot with vitamin C. Moon Kwan pitched a careful game and consistently got the ball over the plate low. The Rockets were sending dribblers to Villanueva at short and Akobi at second, and these two were gobbling them up like pros, but the Rockets got first blood in the fourth on a double and a single. We got the run back in our fifth on Villanueva's double inside third, an infield out and Armour's fly to center. It stayed that way into the sixth and last inning when Vafi, our little Turk, got hit by a pitched ball with one away. It hurt, but he looked ecstatic, just to be on base. Akobi bunted him down and Newbert legged out an infield hit to move him over to third. With two down I let Kwan bat for himself, and Moon came through with a bloop single which gave us the lead. The kid was so excited he was thrown out trying to make second. There we were, the league patsies, three outs away from our first victory.

Moon didn't let up. He just ran out of luck. Somebody hit one through Soak at third. Somebody else sliced one past Armour at first, and then somebody else drilled one against the right-field fence, and the Dippers were downed again, three to two. I think it hurt me as much as it did the kids, except maybe Moon Kwan, who sat in the dugout, muttering in Mandarin. Sweat ran down his face, and he kept his head low. He didn't want anyone to see the tears. I didn't blame him. I've seen bigger men than Moon cry after losing a three-hitter.

I decided to forestall trouble as long as possible by taking Mai to dinner, thus avoiding issues at my quarters until late enough to inconvenience anyone who planned to interfere with the ball team. I got Freddie to drop me at the golf club to dress, and then I released him and drove around myself for Mai.

She was on time and lovely in a cream satin, tight-bodied Chinese gown. Obviously nothing but a Chinese restaurant would do. We

found one, near the river where burning punk sticks kept the mosquitoes at bay. I let her order.

I learned she was in Gruana only for the summer and that she planned to return to her school-teaching post in Hong Kong in September.

"I'm a great fool," I said.

"Why is that?"

"Because you've been here nearly three months, and I've just met you."

"I go to all of Moon's baseball games."

"Unfortunately my acquaintance with the Little Dippers is recent too."

"Are you in trouble about Tonko?"

"Why do you ask?"

"Moon told my father what happened to Tonko. My father said the foreign minister might make things difficult for your Ambassador."

"I hope not. My ambassador has troubles enough of his own."

"I hope they do not make trouble for you. The boys are a team now. You can see the difference."

"Can you really, Mai?"

"Yes, I can see it in Moon. He has regained some pride."

"I'm glad. I'd give a lot to beat the Herons."

"I'm afraid that is impossible. They are so big. They are the sons of colonels. The colonels play with these boys every evening. They are very adroit."

"Does Moon think we have a chance?"

"Yes, Moon has been studying your record. He believes in you."

"I must do my best to justify his faith."

"Winning isn't so important. It's having you there, knowing someone really cares about them."

If there was truth in that, it was also true that there is a lot of cumulative woe in a thirteen-game losing streak. I paid the check and took Mai home.

At my Japanese house all the lights were on, and Dick McGinley was pacing the *tatami* like a big executive with a problem.

"Now look here, Stretch, this nonsense has gone far enough,"

"Before we talk about nonsense," I said, removing my shoes, "I suggest you take off those gunboats and sit down." He complied, but it was only a temporary diversion.

"Stretch, here's the way it stands. I told the ambassador I had talked to you and you felt strongly that Tonko should play second base and that the kid had put you in an embarrassing spot. We decided the ambassador should phone the foreign minister and say it was just a misunderstanding and that the boy should come back and talk to you. That's what the ambassador proposed to Tonko, but the foreign minister couldn't see it that way. He wants to see you in his office Saturday morning at eleven."

"Saturday? That's when we play the Herons."

"Well, the ambassador said you would be there."

"Will the ambassador accompany me?"

"No, he says he thinks you can handle it."

"Uh-huh. And he also said it was just a misunderstanding."

"Look, Stretch, go out of your way to get along with Tonko. A lot hangs on this. Tonko will have the last word on any new cultural agreement, and there's the deal with the bases still hanging fire. We need his goodwill."

"Dick, do you think we earn the foreign minister's goodwill by knuckling under to his twelve-year-old son?"

"It's his only son. He's not rational about it. Stretch, at least you've got to talk to him. We're in a jam. Now, I came to tell you about the appointment—and also to tell you I'm holding you personally accountable for any ill will arising from this incident. And I want you to sign this," and he handed me a tablet. The top sheet read:

This is to acknowledge I have been informed of my appointment Saturday, August 25, at 11 A.M. with Foreign Minister Miko Tonko at the Foreign Office.

My name was typed below. McGinley wasn't taking any chances, and neither was I. Before signing, I leafed through the tablet, checking for carbon paper.

"What are you doing now?" McGinley asked.

"Just wanted to be sure I'm not also signing an undated resignation."

"Mister, if you bungle this Tonko call, you won't have to resign."

I was impressed. It was the first time McGinley had ever called me

mister.

Somehow the time passed. These were the Days of the Dog in Gruana. It was almost too hot for the mosquitoes, but the four P.M. showers revived them, and they held full sway in the long, moist evenings.

The Little Dippers ran through their final practice Friday, and I watched Soak and Ramos pitch. There wasn't much choice, but the Herons had plastered Soak and they had never seen Ramos. I decided to start Pete and let Soak open at third. There was nothing to cheer about, but Mai was there to lend moral support, and that night we went back to the Chinese restaurant.

When I got home, I reread our background information on the foreign minister. I noted he liked to

"Their first inning nearly finished us. A single, a walk and an error filled the bases with nobody out. The cleanup man hit a low, sinking liner into left center which our Thai left fielder, Sarasit, dived for and caught flat on his stomach."

refer to himself as "a devil of a fellow," and although the translation was loose, the sentiment was accurate. He had spent long years in the jungle, fighting the Japanese, then had fought for the liberation of his country postwar from colonial rule. Now he was fighting against Chinese Communist guerrilla infiltration. He was a fighter, no doubt about it, and I finally went to sleep wondering if he was going to fight me too.

The heat waves shimmered from the broad road leading up to the Foreign Ministry as I arrived for my appointment, and I was escorted down a long, dim corridor by two white-robed attendants. At last I was ushered through double doors which closed discreetly behind me, and I saw the foreign minister, standing alone at the big

window behind his desk, his back to me.

"Come here, Mr. Wayne," he called softly, without turning around, and silently I joined him at the window, and the two of us looked down at the bicycles, pedicabs, taxis, trucks, and Gruanese citizens moving lethargically in the street below.

"That's Asia down there," he continued, as if I were an old friend or aide who required no particular salutation. "Many of you Westerners are fond of saying it hasn't changed for centuries. That's not true, you know. It's all in ferment, a constant, boiling state of ferment. It's we who have not changed enough to keep up. We must change more. We need more leaders, more skills. From you Americans we need help, yes, all kinds of it. And most of all we need understanding. That's why I was so happy when my son told me an experienced baseball player would coach his team. It has been a hard season for him. He's like me, I'm afraid. He doesn't like to lose," and the foreign minister turned, gave me an ingratiating smile, offered me a Western cigarette and quickly lighted it for me with a silver lighter.

"You may be surprised to know," he continued, "that I am familiar with your baseball record. I know, for instance, that down one September stretch with the Cardinals—I believe it was your first year—you hit .410 and knocked fifteen home runs. Is that how you got the name—Stretch?"

"Excellency, I confess I never thought of it that way. I think I acquired the name because of my long reach at first base."

"First base. Ah, yes. Let us sit down, Mr. Wayne. I should like to speak with you in confidence."

I wondered if the foot or so I had on him in height had made him ill at ease, and I wondered how he managed to look so impeccably cool in his linen suit.

"Now, this son of mine has been playing baseball since he could walk. You know I was my country's ambassador to the United States for five years."

"I know that, Excellency, and" I switched to Gruanese, "I also am familiar with your deeds on the battlefield and in diplomacy for Gruana for the past twenty years.

You make me feel very humble, when you tell me you have taken the time to familiarize yourself with the records of a foreign athlete."

He nodded and although his face was impassive I thought he was pleased. He complimented my command of the language, which was more polite than accurate; then, reverting to English, he added, "We can all learn something from baseball."

I didn't want to play with that one, so I just nodded.

"My son says you ordered him to surrender his uniform because you feel he is not competent to play first base."

"Excellency, I asked your son, in the interests of the team, to play second base."

"So that a white American could play first base?"

"An American, Excellency. His color is of no importance. The boy happens to be black. He also happens to be a big boy. The team needs a big target at first base. This boy was the biggest available."

"You offered to let my son play second base?"

"That is correct, sir."

"I did not fully understand."

"You must not blame Mike, Excellency. Pride was involved."

"Mike?"

"I suppose it's an Americanization of Miko, Excellency. These boys all speak English. It's a kind of least common denominator."

"Least common denominator," he mused. "It's a rather interesting concept. Would you accept my son back on the team if he were to apologize to you—and the team?"

"I wouldn't want him to apologize, Excellency. There's no apology called for here. We need Mike today against the Herons."

"I think I can convince my son he should rejoin the team, Mr. Wayne," the foreign minister said, rising and extending his hand. "I think he'll be at the game this afternoon."

I took his small hand gently, but there was no need to be gentle. The foreign minister had the grip of a bear trap.

There was a phone call from Dick McGinley at the reception desk. "Well, how did it go?" he demanded.

"Sorry, old boy. The conversation was confidential."

"You can't pull that on me,

Stretch," he fumed.

"Can't I, old boy? It seems to me quite likely that I can," and with considerable relish I hung up on him.

At lunch I juggled my lineup, trying to get the hitting kids into spots where they might drive in some runs. It was silly, but I could feel the tension mounting as if I were back in the World Series. It's just another game for a losing team of little squirts, I told myself, but it wouldn't work. I went out to the park early and, to my surprise, there was Miko Tonko, Jr., fielding grounders at second base—grounders hit to him by our first sacker, Fletcher Armour.

"He can do anything," Armour said. "We've got a chance with him in the lineup."

The kid saw me then and trooped in, his uniform damp against his narrow chest. "I think I've got the hang of it, Mr. Wayne," he said. "I'll try to play second."

"If we're going to be friends, just call me Stretch," I said, and a big smile creased the brown face.

The Herons arrived and started infield practice and, since I didn't want my kids to panic watching them, I took them out behind our dugout to rest in the shade. I let Ramos warm up with Newbert, and he had three speeds: slow, slower and slowest. I knew we'd need some runs to make a game of it. Over the top of our dugout I could see their pitcher, a kid named Burnside, warming up. He was fast and wild, but I forgot him when the foreign minister arrived—with a motorcycle escort—and then our ambassador rolled up in his Cadillac, escorted by Dick McGinley. I could also spot the UPI man, Al Caffery, with his photographer and several other local lensmen. The stage was set. All our Little Dippers had to do was knock off those towering, undefeated, first-place Herons.

Their first inning nearly finished us. A single, a walk and an error filled the bases with nobody out. The cleanup man hit a low, sinking liner into left center which our Thai left fielder, Sarasit, dived for and caught flat on his stomach. Ard, our little Arab in center, grabbed the ball and threw for third trying to catch the runner scrambling back, but the ball went over Soak's head, so the runner tagged up and headed

for home again. But Pat Newbert had backed up the play and threw to Ramos covering the plate. Ramos made the tag for the second out, still no score, and there was bedlam in the stands. Next their No. 5 man hit a screaming liner over second which Mike Tonko speared with a leaping catch.

I was up on the steps of the dugout when they trooped in.

"Kids, when you get an inning like that behind you nobody has any right to beat you. Now, let's show them something." We did. A strikeout, a pop-up and a dribbler to the first baseman.

The game continued in the first-inning pattern, but slowly the Little Dippers lost ground. The Herons got a run in the third, when Sarasit, limping after his diving catch in the first, couldn't reach a long fly in the left-field corner. I sent Akobi out there to replace him and stood up to shake our left fielder's hand. There was scattered applause, and Mai sent a note over to say that the Thai ambassador was also present and very proud. Flashbulbs popped all over the place.

Tonko got the run back in our half. He hit a slicing drive into the right-field corner and stretched it into an inside-the-park home run. I got up to shake his hand too, and the photographers preserved that for all time.

In the fifth, their clean-up man hit a vicious drive that caromed off Armour's neck and dropped him to the infield in pain. He was badly shaken, and I took him out. The next decision was obvious. I called Tonko aside, put a fatherly arm around his shoulder and motioned for him to take over at first base. Then I switched players around, vacating right field for Kit Wright, my cricket player, and the last man on the bench.

"Wright," I said, as he walked past me to his post, "the way most of these right-handed hitters get the bat around on Ramos, I think it unlikely that anyone will hit one out your way."

"Sir," he said, "I hope you're right."

Well, somebody did hit one out his way, but it was no problem. It was over the fence for a two-run homer. Somehow we got them out then, and also in the sixth, which brought us up for our last bats trail-

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"It seems to be supposed in our country that any reasonably bright individual can take on so simple a task as conducting our relations with a foreign nation."—Charles W. Yost

Maxwell Gluck and All That

MARTIN F. HERZ

On July 2, 1957 the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate addressed the nomination of Maxwell H. Gluck, of Kentucky, to be Ambassador of the United States to Ceylon. Senator Theodore Francis Green of Rhode Island was in the chair. Senators Fulbright, Wiley and Smith attended. Senators Aiken and Capehart had given proxies to Senator Wiley.

Maxwell Gluck, whose nomination became symbolic at the time for the misuse of ambassadorial appointments as payoffs for campaign contributions, had been nominated by President Eisenhower. The nomination had the support of Senators Javits and Ives of New York and of Senators Morton and Cooper of Kentucky. According to the *Washington Post* of

August 1, 1957, the *Louisville Courier-Journal* had reported Morton as saying that Javits, whose brother was a business partner of Gluck's, had asked him to approve Gluck as a Kentuckian even though his residence was in New York, since he owned a horse farm near Lexington. Morton, according to that press report, said that "Javits told him New York has so many appointments it would help to have Gluck listed as from Kentucky."

Mr. Gluck had high credentials as a businessman, being the head of the Darling women's apparel chain stores, an enterprise that he had built up during 26 years until it had some 140 stores in the United States. He was also an acknowledged success as a breeder of fine horses. What troubled one member of the Senate committee, and eventually led the committee to question the Secretary of State about ambassadorial appointments, was that Mr. Gluck had no experience in international affairs, had made substantial (by the standards of 1957) financial contributions to Republican candidates, and displayed an embarrassing ignorance not only about Ceylon but also about India at his nomination hearings.

The hearing began with some desultory questioning by the Chairman. Had Mr. Gluck ever been to

Ceylon? Never, but he had been "all over Europe." Did he speak any foreign language? "Some German—a little, not very much any more. I did at one time." Senator Wiley inquired about Mr. Gluck's business experience. Senator Smith asked if his breeding of race horses took place in Kentucky, to which Mr. Gluck replied in the affirmative. The Chairman then called on Senator Fulbright, and the following colloquy ensued, according to the official record of the hearings:

Senator Fulbright. How much did you contribute to the Republican Party in the 1956 election?

Mr. Gluck. Well, I wouldn't know offhand, but I made a contribution.

Senator Fulbright. Well, how much?

Mr. Gluck. Let's see; I would say, all in all, twenty or thirty thousand dollars. . .

Senator Fulbright. How much did you contribute in 1952?

Mr. Gluck. Well, not as much. I would not remember, but a fair amount.

Senator Fulbright. Well, you are a businessman, you pay attention to your money. . .

Mr. Gluck. Yes.

Senator Fulbright. You can guess now about how much.

Mr. Gluck. I would say around

A former member of the editorial board of the Journal, Martin Herz was twice elected to the AFSA board of directors and once co-opted as a member of the "Young Turk" board which ended the predominance of senior officers in that body. Since then, he has occupied senior positions himself (most recently as ambassador to Bulgaria), but he says that in his heart he is still a "Young Turk," believing that AFSA should not mince words when it comes to defending and protecting the career principle. This idea he first expressed in an article in the Journal just twenty years ago.

\$10,000.

Senator Fulbright. If you contributed \$30,000, don't you think Ceylon is a rather remote post for that? The one who went to Belgium only contributed \$11,000.

Mr. Gluck. I don't know about that, but I don't think that is the only reason.

Senator Fulbright. You don't think that is a pertinent reason for the appointment?

Mr. Gluck. I don't think it is the only reason.

Senator Fulbright. It is the principal reason; is it not?

sider we are on friendly relations with India?

Mr. Gluck. Well, I think it is more—I think a lot depends on who is there, and what they do. I don't think we are on the friendliest relations with them, but I believe it can be straightened a little more in one direction, or a little more in another direction, depending on what is done in that country.

Senator Fulbright. Do you know our Ambassador to India?

Mr. Gluck. I know John Sherman Cooper, the previous Ambassador.

Senator Fulbright. Did you sup-

tion on the board of directors of the World Development Corporation, and was assured there was no such conflict. The witness was then excused, and the following discussion ensued within the committee.

Senator Fulbright said Mr. Gluck "is a nice man in his business, but I think wholly unsuited to this or any other post. I don't want to raise any cain about it. We have had this up before. You [Chairman Green] wrote a letter about it. I don't think I can vote for him. I don't think we should pick him out, but I think it is ridiculous to send a man with so little preparation to an area where these people are a sensitive and strange people, and I think it will do us no good."

Senator Wiley said he started out with the presumption that when the nominee comes from the Executive, "there is back of that nomination a satisfactory conclusion; at least, that he is a man of character and ability and so forth." He also said that Senator Javits had seen him about the nomination the previous day and had praised Gluck's ability. Senator Wiley concluded that Mr. Gluck "has created a big business and done well. Therefore, I move he be reported favorably to the calendar."

Senator Wiley then added: "Now, I have lived through a number of years when the Democratic President nominated folks that had made contributions. I didn't think that disqualified them. I thought it kind of qualified them, because it showed they had an interest in their party and an interest in their Government; so that—I move he be reported favorably."

Senator Smith said he had seen Mr. Gluck the day before. "I had never met him before, but I saw him at the request of Senator Cooper and Senator Javits; and, after talking to him at some length, I felt prepared to go along with his nomination, although I was somewhat troubled that he knew nothing about the area." Then the Senator added: "That may not necessarily be a liability. It may be that a man going in there with a fresh outlook can accomplish quite a bit. He is a man familiar with business, and one who can size up things from scratch, and he may be a very valuable man." Senator Smith was prepared to second Senator Wiley's motion.

"I would like to ask the Chairman to remind the Department of State that he wrote them a letter about this subject not too long ago. I think it is material, in the face of our letter, that they continue to do this. I don't know what to do about it, to stop it; and I hope we stop it, whether it be a Republican or a Democrat."

Mr. Gluck. I don't think I want to admit that is the principal reason. . .

Senator Fulbright. Why are you interested in Ceylon?

Mr. Gluck. I am not particularly interested only in Ceylon, but I am interested in a Government post where I can do some work and do some good at it. . .

Senator Fulbright. What are the problems in Ceylon you think you can deal with?

Mr. Gluck. One of the problems are the people there, not necessarily a problem, but the relationship of the United States with the people in Ceylon. I believe I can—I think I can establish, unless we—again, unless I run into something that I have not run into before—a good relationship and good feeling toward the United States.

Senator Fulbright. Are they not friendly with us now?

Mr. Gluck. Well, I think they are both. I think they are a people who are friendly and unfriendly, and I may be able to—. . .

Senator Fulbright. Have you followed our relations in the Far East very closely?

Mr. Gluck. Well, just generally.

Senator Fulbright. Do you con-

port him in his race?

Mr. Gluck. Yes, I did.

Senator Fulbright. And you do not know our present Ambassador?

Mr. Gluck. No, I do not. . .

Senator Fulbright. Do you know who the Prime Minister in India is?

Mr. Gluck. Yes, but I can't pronounce his name.

Senator Fulbright. Do you know who the Prime Minister to [sic] Ceylon is?

Mr. Gluck. I have a list—

Senator Fulbright. Who is it?

Mr. Gluck. His name is a bit unfamiliar now. I cannot call it off, but I have obtained from Ambassador Crowe a list of all the important people there, and I went over them with him.

I have a synopsis of all the people, both Americans, ambassadors, and officials from other countries, and I have from him also a sort of little biography or history of them, with what his opinion of them is; and so—

Senator Fulbright. That's all, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Smith then questioned Mr. Gluck about a possible conflict of interest between his ambassadorship to Ceylon and his posi-

Senator Fulbright said he had not meant to leave the impression that the Democrats did not do the same thing. "I still think it is a bad practice," he said, "and I can only say that I have often voted against the Democratic nominees, too, back in those days. I think this one is unusually innocent of any knowledge of not only the area, he has not the vaguest idea who is the Prime Minister of Ceylon, India, or anything about it".

Chairman Green broke in to say: "India, he said he had—"

Senator Fulbright replied: "He could not pronounce his name. I did not want to embarrass him by asking him to spell it, but, anyway, I am not going to make a big fight about it. I am simply saying that—following up the chairman's letter, I think the Department ought to be a little more concerned about sending—especially to India and that area, Ceylon—a man with no qualifications. That ought to be a position there for a professional man. I will grant that sending a man like that to Belgium can't do much harm, because the Belgians know us, and can overlook those things. I don't think the Ceylonese or Indians will overlook a man who is totally unaware of things that are important to our relations with them."

Senator Wiley said, "You never can tell how far a frog can jump until he jumps."

To which Senator Fulbright replied, "I don't have anything special for [sic] him, but I cannot vote for him; and I must express my disapproval of this kind of appointment. I would like to ask the Chairman to remind the Department of State that he wrote them a letter about this subject not too long ago. I think it is material, in the face of our letter, that they continue to do this. I don't know what to do about it, to stop it; and I hope we stop it, whether it be a Republican or a Democrat."

There then was a vote, in which Senators Wiley and Smith voted "aye" and Senator Fulbright "no." The Chairman stated "He is confirmed," and Senator Wiley noted that he had proxies of Senators Aiken and Capehart.

It was some time before the news of this hearing hit the press, but when it did there was quite an up-

roar. The *Washington Post* was the first to print what it called Mr. Gluck's "closed door" testimony before the committee. In those days, however, the record of most such hearings was eventually printed and released to the public, so the *Washington Post* only advanced the time when the scandal would have become public.

Under the headline "Appointment Stirs Ceylon," the *New York Times* on August 2 reported from Colombo that "Newspapers have carried scathing comment on Mr. Gluck's apparent ignorance of

headlined "Cash-Down Ambassador Hint Stirs Ike's Anger," and its key passages were as follows:

"He then was asked: 'In reference to another nomination, sir, were you aware when you nominated Mr. Gluck to be Ambassador to Ceylon of either the extent of his contribution to the Republican Party or his now recorded ignorance of affairs in that part of the world?' The President, visibly angry, replied that in the first place, if anybody is ever recommended to me on the basis of any contribution he has ever made to any political

"It is noteworthy that while Senator Green *after* the hearings mentioned the aspect of qualifications for senior diplomatic appointments, neither President Eisenhower nor Secretary of State Herter addressed that aspect, confining themselves to denials that money considerations had played a role in the appointment process as far as they themselves were concerned."

Ceylonese affairs while right-wing politicians expressed disappointment about the nomination. They hold that from Mr. Gluck's performance before the Senate committee he would be no match for the envoys from the Soviet Union or Communist China."

At the same time, the special report to the *Times* said that to Prime Minister Bandaranaike "the Ambassador-designate's remarks before the committee appear to be amusing rather than a subject for serious comment. . . . The *Ceylon Daily News*, the leading English-language newspaper here, said Mr. Gluck's replies before the Senators 'reveal a really astonishing state of affairs.' It continued: 'the only factor that appears to have influenced the selection of the new ambassador are his contributions to Republican party funds in 1952 and 1956 Presidential elections.'"

President Eisenhower, according to a report by Chalmers Roberts in the *Washington Post* of August 1, 1957, "said with a flash of anger yesterday that he would never consider appointing anyone recommended on the basis of a political contribution." The report was

party, that man will never be considered. I never heard it mentioned to me as a consideration and I don't take it very kindly as suggesting I could be influenced by such things.'"

The President gave no evidence that he thought any *particular* qualifications for appointment to ambassadorial positions were desirable or had been considered in the recommendations that he had received. The paper also reported that on the same day, August 1, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was going to question Secretary of State Herter "behind closed doors" on State's policy in selecting ambassadors.

"Herter Defends Naming of Gluck" was the headline the following day in the *New York Times*. A story written by Russell Baker recalled the embarrassing moments of Mr. Gluck's testimony and noted, by way of introduction, that his "confession of ignorance, coupled with the admission that he had contributed between \$20,000 and \$30,000 to the Republican party, stirred the Foreign Relations Committee to call Mr. Herter for a discussion of political patronage

and diplomatic assignments.

"Mr. Herter, armed with papers to argue that there has been no significant increase in political appointments to diplomatic posts, was with the committee in secret session for two and a half hours," the paper reported. "He supported the Gluck appointment and afterwards told newsmen that he was 'still convinced he could make a good ambassador' although the publicity had been 'unfortunate.'"

"The burden of Mr. Herter's argument, however, was that so far as he knew, political financial contributions played no significant role in the selection of ambassadors. The question whether campaign contributions are an important factor behind such appointments is the central issue under debate at the Capitol, the State Department and the White House."

Mr. Herter, according to the *New York Times* story, told reporters that he had "never heard the question of contributions to any political party or individual" mentioned as a factor behind any appointment. This was substantially what President Eisenhower had said the previous day, but it still begged the question whether others, whose recommendations had led to the nomination of Mr. Gluck and similarly unqualified candidates for ambassadorial positions, might not have been motivated more directly by financial contributions made to the party.

The Gluck appointment, the story noted, was the third diplomatic appointment to stir controversy that year. The others had been the nomination of Scott McLeod as Ambassador to Ireland and Henry J. Taylor as Ambassador to Switzerland. (Mr. McLeod had been Senator Joseph McCarthy's hatchet man in the State Department. Mr. Taylor had written a favorable biography of President Eisenhower.) The *New York Times* noted that both candidates had been found to be "innocent of diplomatic experience" and that Mr. Taylor had been questioned by the Foreign Relations Committee "about his professions of belief in the existence of flying saucers."

The Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, according to press reports on August 2, seemed to have a change of mind about the qualifications of Maxwell

Gluck. He was reported as declaring that he thought Mr. Gluck "should not have been appointed. He doesn't have the qualifications." The *New York Times* noted that the hearings on Mr. Gluck's nomination had been held in secret by Senator Green's Committee and that after its favorable report the full Senate had approved it without objection. It is noteworthy that while Senator Green after the hearings mentioned the aspect of qualifications for senior diplomatic appointments, neither President Eisenhower nor Secretary of State Herter addressed that aspect, confining themselves to denials that money considerations had played a role in the appointment process as far as they themselves were concerned.

The argument adduced by Secretary Herter, that the percentage of "political" as against "career" appointments had not materially changed in the second Eisenhower administration, was in response to a peripheral point that had been made only incidentally by critics. Nevertheless, the press noted that it was correct. As the *Times* reported, "a survey of diplomatic appointments since January when the big shake-up of the diplomatic corps began, fails to support the argument that there has been a significant increase in political appointees at the expense of career officers. There have been changes in fourteen of the Western European capitals since the shake-up started. These reduced the number of career diplomats holding ambassadorial posts from five to four and increased the number of non-career men in top posts from nine to ten. . . . Fifteen changes in other world capitals have resulted in a net increase of two career men as ambassadors in those posts and a decrease of two non-career ambassadors."

What was not noted in this discussion was the phenomenon, which has continued to this day, of most of the more desirable and agreeable posts in the Foreign Service—largely those in Western Europe and in certain key capitals in Latin America and Asia—going to non-career appointees. In this respect, however, the Gluck appointment represented an anomaly. Ceylon was not regarded as a particularly desirable post, which in

fact had been the reason why Senator Fulbright had expressed surprise at the hearings that Mr. Gluck had contented himself with it in view of his considerable (by the standards of that day) financial contributions to the President's party.

In an editorial on August 1, 1957, the *New York Times* took the position that while the hearings had disclosed that Mr. Gluck "knew little or nothing about Ceylon and South Asia, this does not prove that Mr. Gluck will turn out to be a bad Ambassador to Ceylon. He may be very good. That depends on his ability, intelligence, attractiveness and the amount of work he does."

Having thus apparently conceded that prior acquaintance with international affairs might be irrelevant to the performance of an ambassador to a country whose customs, mores, traditions and political institutions differed significantly from those of the United States, the editorial rectified that impression by adding: "However, it is clear that the White House has chosen someone without any previous qualifications for that particular post. . . ." It then remarked, somewhat lamely: "The United States diplomatic service does not have enough career officers of ambassadorial rank to go around. In any event we have always used private citizens as envoys." And the editorial went on to cite some brilliant examples of non-career ambassadors such as Ellsworth Bunker, who had served with distinction in Argentina and Italy before going to India, and David K. E. Bruce, who had done outstanding work in Paris and was then in Bonn. The editorial concluded: "There seems to be no rule to follow. It is up to the White House and State Department to pick qualified men. They do not always do so."

The editorial's statement that the Foreign Service did not "have enough career officers of ambassadorial rank to go around" did not go unchallenged. In a Letter to the Editor, Ambassador Robert McClintock, writing on behalf of the editorial board of the *Foreign Service Journal*, gave a diplomatically soft but rather telling response:

'It has been our impression,' the

Continued on page 39

"Count Leo Tolstoy had a moment of real prophecy when he said 'Imagine Genghis Khan with a telephone!'"—Charles E. Bohlen in *Witness to History*.

Our Man at Stalin's Funeral— 25 Years Ago

JACOB D. BEAM

A potential turning point in United States-Soviet relations occurred with Stalin's death on March 5, 1953. I was fortunate enough to witness the attendant events. George Kennan had been declared *persona non grata* as United States ambassador in Moscow because of his remarks while in transit through Berlin, describing Soviet practices as similar to those of Nazi Germany. (Since Kennan and I had both served in Berlin just before the war, I can appreciate the temptation to which he yielded.) Following this incident I was named to take his place as head of the embassy in the capacity of chargé d'affaires *ad interim*.

In retrospect, Kennan's experiences during his brief tenure in Moscow from the spring of 1952 to September of that year were quite revealing. His knowledge, mastery of Russian, and deep interest in the Soviet Union were well known and even antedated his first assignment to Moscow to help Ambassador Bullitt open up our embassy in 1933. Kennan seemed to be the ideal choice as ambassador at the time, and furthermore he had au-

thority from President Truman and Secretary Acheson to engage the Soviets in frank and fundamental discussions. Members of his staff then in Moscow have told me they had the feeling that Kennan, as the leading United States expert on the Soviet Union, fully expected an early call from Stalin shortly after arriving.

Nothing of the sort happened. Instead, Kennan's talks were largely confined to Vyshinsky, the voluble and tricky Soviet foreign minister. The new ambassador was harassed by one or more apparently provocative approaches by NKVD agents trying to draw him into secret discussions. Furthermore, he was humiliated by having his private dictation to his secretary broadcast by a listening device remotely controlled by a radio concealed in a wooden shield presented to the embassy as a gift.

While Kennan enthralled his diplomatic colleagues with learned conversation, he was ignored by the top Soviets who, one can well believe, were the losers by refusing at least to listen to his message. Frustration apparently led Kennan to play the dangerous game of drawing historical parallels, as Ambassador William E. Dodd did in his first speech in Berlin in 1933 when he made a veiled comparison between Hitler and Attila the Hun. Dodd was ostracized on the spot.

I arrived in Moscow with my wife in mid-December 1952 to take up the post as chargé under circumstances which, to say the least, had produced coolness on both

sides. By virtually expelling Kennan by forbidding his return to Moscow, the Soviets had to forfeit their own ambassador in Washington and faced a suspension of diplomatic activity of their own making which, under then foreseeable conditions, was likely to continue well into the beginning of the Eisenhower presidency.

Because of the Truman administration's inability to make any new commitments in the last few weeks of its term of office, I was instructed simply to observe, report, and, above all, to avoid incidents. I was treated coldly but on the whole correctly by Soviet officials, and it was quite apparent that they did not wish to push the break further. I was informed that I could not be received by Foreign Minister Vyshinsky and that no calls were necessary beyond a small circle in the Foreign Office which included Jakob Malik, the durable but much unloved Soviet ambassador who served at the United Nations until the end of 1976. Malik enjoyed inflicting minor harassments, such as summoning me to inconsequential midnight calls at the Foreign Office. The head of the American desk, however, was businesslike and helpful.

I was able to enjoy a modicum of revenge on Vyshinsky a few weeks after my arrival. Coming to make a call at the Foreign Office, John McSweeney, our counselor, and I entered an elevator which we found occupied by the foreign minister and an aide, both of whom recognized us in silent discomfiture. The

These are authorized excerpts from a book by Jacob D. Beam, to be published in June by W. W. Norton Co., Inc., under the title Multiple Exposure. An American Ambassador's Unique Perspective on East-West Issues.

After narrating Stalin's last days, Mr. Beam appends a report of a visit he made to the Stalin shrine in Gori when Mr. Beam returned later to serve as US Ambassador to the USSR from 1969 to 1973.

elevator happened to get stuck between floors—and for quite some time. As the minutes passed, McSweeney and I exchanged remarks in English and Russian about the inconvenience of visiting the Foreign Office in its ramshackle state. We took occasion to express our opinion that if only Vyshinsky himself knew about these conditions, he certainly would exercise his talent to put things right with the same efficiency he had displayed as public prosecutor at the purge trials. Growing redder, Vyshinsky took hold of the emergency telephone in the elevator to importune his immediate release. It was fortunate for me that when we were again talking business with the Soviets after Stalin's death, Vyshinsky had been replaced by Molotov, his preferable if not exactly congenial successor.

* * * *

As an introduction to the climactic event of Stalin's death, I check back to the date of January 13, 1953, at the end of my 8:00 A.M. Russian lesson with Sofie, the embassy librarian. Sofie, who was a Soviet citizen, pointed to an item on an inside page of *Pravda* which she thought I might find of interest. It was a very brief report of the arrest of nine doctors, all with ostensibly Jewish names, on charges of murder and conspiracy. The embassy staff had already been alerted to the news when I reached my office downstairs. The sensitive information system within the local Jewish community had already become hyperactive and transmitted a shock wave, triggering in turn the mechanisms of some of the other underground networks which were available to foreign observers. The report was thought at least to portend a new drive of anti-Jewish repression, but more significantly perhaps, to reflect the existence of political trouble within the Kremlin, which had been rumored since the beginning of the year.

The first announcement of Stalin's stroke was made on the Soviet radio at 7:00 A.M. on March 3. The ensuing medical bulletins, broadcast in great detail, were diagnosed by the American and British embassy doctors as foreshadowing Stalin's early death. Incidentally, little doubt is now held about the authenticity of the

official account of Stalin's fatal illness because, as Ambassador Bohlen points out in his later analysis in his book,¹ the attendant Soviet doctors were permitted to travel abroad, a privilege unlikely to be bestowed by the secret police had there been a conspiracy.

* * * *

As described at great length by the contemporary foreign press, an uneasy calm prevailed during the days before Stalin's death on March 5. Tension was high, not only because of uncertainty over the succession but also because some people openly expressed fear that the United States might seize the opportunity to launch a surprise attack on the USSR. When Henry

"In presenting my 'personal and official condolences' orally, I mentioned that Stalin would be remembered in our country as an ally and great wartime leader. With tears in his eyes Molotov rose from his chair to shake my hand, leaving little doubt that his affection for Stalin was genuine."

Shapiro of the UP went to the censor to file his report on Stalin's death, which he had just heard over the Soviet radio, the duty officer crumpled up the paper and threw it in Shapiro's face, calling him an imperialist liar.

During the five days before the funeral, the streets in the center of Moscow were filled day and night with silent, slowly walking citizens of all ages. The foreign press reported some clashes between civilian crowds and the police and army, but our embassy people who covered the city very thoroughly were never able to confirm these rumors or to talk to an actual witness of any serious disturbance. Meanwhile, the diplomatic corps

¹Charles E. Bohlen, *Witness to History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1973).

spent considerable time marching to various places where Stalin's body was put on view. At the start of one such parade, the special Chinese delegation of some sixty members went to the head of the line. This infuriated the Swedish ambassador, dean of the corps, who protested successfully that if the Chinese did not assume the place assigned them by protocol rank, he would walk out.

The new Eisenhower administration was not overgenerous in its expression of sympathy. I was made special ambassador to attend the funeral, but was instructed not to fly the embassy flag in mourning which, according to our regulations, could only be done in the case of the death of an American president or of the local head of state (which Stalin was not). Looking out on the sea of flags at half staff in the square through which the cortege would pass, I decided to ignore the instructions as the better part of valor.

Together with other chiefs of mission I made a request to call on Molotov, the new foreign minister and member of the ruling triumvirate, to extend the usual message of sympathy. Twenty minutes before the appointment a flash telegram was received from the State Department ordering a change in the text. The new version stated starkly, "The United States Government presents its official condolences on the death of Josef V. Stalin."

Rather than take the risk of Molotov's opening such a harsh missive in my presence, I delivered it to him in a sealed envelope at the end of our interview. In presenting my "personal and official condolences" orally, I mentioned that Stalin would be remembered in our country as an ally and great wartime leader. With tears in his eyes Molotov rose from his chair to shake my hand, leaving little doubt that his affection for Stalin was genuine.

The nearly coincidental changes of administration in both the United States and the USSR—Eisenhower's inauguration in January and Stalin's death in March—seemed to offer the brightest hope in years for a breakthrough to better understanding.

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"There is just one fragile spaceship earth, and . . . if we are to survive, we must all take a world view."—Sen. Harrison Schmitt

Decade of the Environment

FITZHUGH GREEN

Eight years ago America's virgin Environmental movement willingly entered the embrace of big government. One offspring of this union was internationalization. Our President laid down a policy to encourage other nations to fight against pollution. This initiative was not just the re-flowering of our traditional missionary drive to make converts of our foreign brothers—though that element was definitely present as our scientists, engineers and ecologists pushed their new-found environmental religion on others. Ours was the zeal of the convert all right. But this time there was a provable, practical reason to sign up believers all over the planet: if mankind did not do something fast to rescue our deteriorating biosphere we faced ultimate extinction. The prestigious Club of Rome told us so, as did many other scientific or quasi-scientific individuals and groups.

How has the movement fared

Fitzhugh Green was with Life magazine in New York before coming to Washington to work for the Federal Trade Commission and USIA. He then served on the Hill as adviser on foreign affairs and oceanography to Senator Pell and ran for Congress in 1970. After serving as Associate Administrator for the Environmental Protection Agency for six years, Mr. Green authored A Change in the Weather, see FSJ, January, 1978. He also served as a Psywar consultant at American University. He's now working on a book on propaganda and doing consultant work on the environment.

since the President signed the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) in 1970 and entitled this the Decade of the Environment?

At Home

Many battles have been waged domestically between the polluters and the new federal control agency set up on December 2, 1970—EPA (The US Environmental Protection Agency). Additional laws have been passed, and enforced or tested in the courts. The environmental war zone was widened by the Arab oil embargo and fuel shortage and the resultant fight to seek relief from strict control measures. Nuclear energy has been considered and rejected as the perfect oil-gas substitute. Nearly 30 billion federal dollars have been earmarked for improving the quality of rivers, lakes and off-shore waters. Yet we now discover that our globally renowned safe drinking water in this country is threatened by chlorine, the very substance that is supposed to purify it. The air we must breathe has improved somewhat with the implementation of the 1970 Clean Air Act, despite some relaxation of the automobile emission regulations. But both air and water and living creatures including man are menaced by the entry into the market of hundreds of freshly manufactured and inadequately exam-

ined toxic chemicals every month.

So there are wins and losses on the home front as President Carter wipes the packing grease off his new administrative machinery. The incumbents have smoothly grabbed the baton. They have made no major innovations so far but they are busily building on the already registered gains in clean air and water and grappling bravely with the ever-increasing legions of carcinogens.

Abroad

Overseas the US assumed an early leadership, starting in 1971 as its fledgling EPA began to meet, plan, negotiate and swap information with dozens of other countries just waking up to the eco-peril. Only Sweden (in 1967) had already formed a national EPA. This country and Great Britain set theirs up in 1970. As of now there are approximately 50 federal pollution agencies to be found on the five continents. Also a clutch of multinational organizations are busily establishing pollutant measurement criteria and control guidelines among their members.

The magnificent results of the UN Conference on Human Environment at Stockholm in 1972 are still felt. That autumn the UN General Assembly formed another specialized agency and named it the United National Environmen-

tal Program (UNEP). Headquartered in Nairobi, UNEP is largely an environmental monitoring activity but it can and does focus world attention on major pollution problems. For example, Peter Thatcher managed to spark a meeting of the baker's dozen of countries around the Mediterranean who have been so efficiently fouling the lovely clarity of their inland sea. Last year, thanks to the energetic and selfless diplomacy of this ex-US government officer, these countries have consented to begin a systematic clean-up of the whole basin.

Thatcher, who has been named deputy head of UNEP, will be in an even better position to trigger more such important remedial steps. Ineed, the nations on the Persian Gulf have already begun (very likely with Thatcher's connivance) to discuss what they must do to scour their own arm of the sea.

The conviction that all nations are enmeshed in the planet's deteriorating atmospheric and oceanic system has also evoked quite a response from other major multinational organizations—NATO, for one. It was Daniel Moynihan's idea to reorient the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to the ecological concerns of its members. This new departure for NATO began slowly. After all, to graft nonmilitary activity onto NATO would seem to invite immediate rejection; and this would have happened except that when Moynihan left the White House in 1970 Russell Train grabbed the ball. For six years, through the force of his personality and the support of several federal agencies, he demonstrated that NATO, as a functioning organization, can originate environmental initiatives. These can then be "spun off," and transferred permanently to individual members of NATO or to groups of members, if desired.

NATO's environmental projects have included comparative studies of city air pollution and of industrial effluents into a river shared by two countries, experiments in low-powered autos, conservation, earthquakes, and geothermal energy. Its program is known to participants as CCMS—the "Committee on Challenges of Modern Society."

In hard terms, critics might ask

what the CCMS effort has accomplished that warrants the disproportionate effort the United States has made to drag along some not-always-so-keen member countries. At the annual plenary sessions of CCMS held in Brussels, for example, the American delegation usually numbered some two or three dozen persons compared to the average of three or four sent

"The politicians inevitably keep leaving the public stage, but the technical people keep their act going for the duration of their careers; in the brief seven years we have been dealing with foreign EPAs we have found this to be true in all countries."

from the other capitals—and they didn't have to cross an ocean to get there. All kinds of additional meetings and trips were conjured up to give impetus to the program. At today's transportation prices, plus expenses for each traveler, not to mention time away from their regular government jobs, the cost to the American taxpayers for the CCMS campaign and the Soviet agreement combined has been several millions of dollars. Yet one cannot pinpoint any specific long-term technical achievements from either of these heavily staffed exercises.

On balance I believe these big programs, as well as many others handled routinely by EPA and the State Department, were worth the taxpayers' investment. These activities have resulted in considerable publicity each step of the way. They directly involved thousands of foreigners. In the environmental movement, which is so vital to all of us, ballyhoo and advertising were needed to spread our own dedication abroad. When American and overseas environmental experts share their know-how on the spot, the effect can be immediate. For example in a 1976

meeting between Japanese and American experts, held at the State Department in Washington, our people acquired disposal information on PCBs (polychlorinated-biphenyls) that could be copied directly and promptly.

Although the Americans are leading in post-Stockholm care of the environment, the movement is prospering in many countries. Indeed, a majority of both developed and developing nations have rapidly established legislative, scientific, political and administrative safeguards over the dwindling supplies of usable air, water, and soil. During an almost flash-fire reaction to the "ecology revolution," nations have come to a growing planetary consensus on the following axioms.

- It is more practical to industrialize with built-in ecological safeguards at the beginning than to install retrofit machinery to clean up the mess later, as we are having to do in the United States.

- Some corrective steps are expensive, such as stack-gas scrubbers to scour the outflows from fossil fuel-fired power plants; sewage treatment works; or devices to purify automobile exhausts. (Expense has already slowed the abatement of pollution in many poorer countries.)

- The chronic fuel shortage may retard advances in environmental control, but the need to conserve energy goes hand in hand with good ecological stewardship. New energy enterprises like offshore drilling, extraction of oil from shale, or strip mining of coal can be done with minimal disruption of natural surroundings.

- Since the earth has but one reservoir of air, water, and soil, man must strive to save it in concert with his fellows—through bilateral and multilateral cooperation in research, interchange of technology, and setting mutually satisfactory standards of environmental quality. This last point is a reminder that no nation wants to have another nation's standards jammed down its throat. This doesn't rule out the possibility that one nation may voluntarily choose another's criteria. The Japanese, for example, have incorporated word for word the automobile provisions of the United States Clean Air Act of 1970.

- Finally, many countries now embrace the "polluter pays" principle as the fairest way to fund the repair of ravaged environment. This principle has been promoted by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which includes 24 industrialized nations, but not the So-

viet Union or China. It means that manufacturers foot the bill for devices to sanitize their products or manufacturing processes. It implies that the consumer, too, is a polluter if he uses the products of a factory that spews out dirty waste, or if he himself uses a product that pollutes (like a faulty automobile power boat, or air conditioner, or a cigar). The "polluter pays" principle means that the added expense of pollution control is added into retail prices. Higher user charges may also be levied by municipal sewage plants that must dispose of heavy metals or other industrial toxicants in the sewage, as well as usual organic effluvia.

This summarizes the thinking of political leaders supported by the scientists and engineers of EPAs everywhere. The politicians inevitably keep leaving the public stage, but the technical people keep their act going for the duration of their careers; in the brief seven years we have been dealing with foreign EPAs we have found this to be true in all countries. So the relationships that blossom at the professional level are the important ones (not those among the summit types) for they will form the basis for enduring cooperation. Without them, nations would be hobbled in the difficult and complex arrangements that must be made in the years ahead.

Looked at globally and nationally in this spring of 1978 the environmental movement shows some new color and form, particularly in the less developed countries. The euphoria which followed Stockholm was sadly diminished by the energy shortage which has acted, as World Bank President Robert McNamara predicted, as a dangerous brake on industrial development in the needy nations.

Nevertheless, a solid interest has grown up in the LDCs because they are realizing at last that environmentalism means concern for basic human needs such as potable water, breathable air, livable land space—all of which can be ruined by industrial pollution. This is a big change in attitude since the pre-Stockholm days when many LDCs feared that the fad for pollution-reduction was a surreptitious device of the "have" nations to inhibit the growth of the "have-nots."

UNEP has encouraged this new view of the LDCs by stressing their programs above others in its

worldwide budget.

Another cheery note to keep the LDCs in the ranks of enthusiastic environmentalists has been an increased UN focus on more sophisticated and broader environmental issues. This has been signaled by the 1976 UN conference of human settlements called "Habitat." Habitat spawned a pledge that member states should somehow provide a glass of clean drinking

"Under the US ocean dumping legislation, EPA prescribed the disposal of certain waste materials beyond our territorial limit of 12 miles. This action promptly met with hot resistance by our Law of the Sea negotiator, Elliot Richardson. He pointed out that this unilateral act would cause anger among other members of the Law of the Sea Conference."

water for every human being from 1990 on; in turn the UN Water Conference of 1977 examined practical schemes to bring this dream to reality. The UN Conference on Desertification and increasing studies about deforestation are still further steps in the right direction.

Along with the heightened interest of LDCs, AID is now playing an ever bigger role in the environment. Now all projects with significant environmental effects are evaluated before approval.

In 1971, we in EPA discussed with the State Department how we could make a cabal of the "good guy" agencies, including the Peace Corps, AID and EPA—the agencies whose mission is to help people. At that time we were unable to bring off this group effort, but now the new Administration appears to be moving more successfully in this direction.

One of the promising plans is to internationalize the new Toxic Substances Control Act by negotiating agreements on marketing and testing overseas—this is necessary to prevent the growth of pollution havens for these poisons, places where they might be legal once they're outlawed in the United States.

Another forward motion is the effort to seek conservation of living marine resources to be agreed to under the Antarctic Treaty signed some years ago; indeed, a meeting is scheduled this month in Australia for this purpose. Still another plus is the State Department's own policy of drafting environmental impact-type statements on important treaties such as the Antarctic Convention and the Panama treaties.

Barbara Blum, Deputy Administrator of EPA, reports proudly that the Administration has sent its first "environmental" ambassador, Rodney Kennedy-Minot, to serve in Sweden. He was a noted conservationist, she explains, before he became a diplomat. Mrs. Blum also cited her intention to work with the State Department toward an increased awareness of environmental issues in US embassies abroad. This is a task that began in 1971 and it is encouraging to see it continued.

Finally, the latest proof, if we need any, of how complicated and inter-related environmental and diplomatic issues can be, surfaced recently. Under the US ocean dumping legislation, EPA prescribed the disposal of certain waste materials beyond our territorial limit of 12 miles. This action promptly met with hot resistance by our Law of the Sea negotiator, Elliot Richardson. He pointed out that this unilateral act would cause anger among other members of the Law of the Sea Conference.

In summary, the Decade of the Environment has proved faithful to its name. Environmental issues are still enmeshed in our private and commercial life at home as well as our diplomatic and economic involvements abroad. We can see as a nation and as a species that ultimate, tidy control of our environment and man's industrial effluvia is still being fought for vigorously, and with increasing effectiveness.

"Man has lost the capacity to foresee and to forestall. He will end by destroying the earth."—Albert Schweitzer

When Environment and Diplomacy Clash

ELIZABETH SULLIVAN

Like human rights, nuclear spread and arms sales, the environment is one of those applepie interdependence issues that the Carter Administration would like to plug into its foreign policy. And, as in the case of those other concerns, the attempt has caused sparks to fly.

In fact, federal agencies are currently locked in a major policy dispute, as environmental rules and regulations have begun to spill over into the conduct of US foreign policy.

The current impasse centers on oceans policy and foreign trade, but broader implications of national security and international morality enter in as well. In the words of New York University's Ingo Walter, who has followed the controversy, "The US is changing from the world policeman to the world preacher."

Essentially, the bureaucratic battle pits the Departments of State and Commerce, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) and the Export-Import Bank against the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the President's Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ). Administration officials deny the dispute reflects an unresolved pol-

icy muddle and insist that the problems which have arisen can be handled separately. But the bureaucratic split will soon force President Carter to take a stand.

The conflict between environmental and foreign policy concerns has cropped up across a wide range of international issues. Congress' crackdown on toxic chemicals and pesticide residues in 1976, for instance, angered US trading partners when the rules were extended to their exports to this country.

Federal agencies are also sharply split over a proposal that would require all agencies, including the Export-Import Bank to file environmental impact statements on their activities abroad.

The agencies fear that the ruling might apply to all activities conducted by the US Government beyond US borders, a prospect which particularly alarms the NRC, charged with overseeing nuclear exports.

The EPA and CEQ believe US law requires such an interpretation, but their opponents heatedly disagree and tend to view the suit as a needless intrusion by environmentalist dogooders into the realm of hard foreign policy realities. Specifically they say such impact studies would interfere with the internal affairs of sovereign states and could boomerang by subjecting US goods to costly delays and even court challenges abroad. The CEQ, citing the successful application of

environmental assessments to the US foreign aid program, feels the opponents are crying "Wolf!"

Another clash has developed over enforcing US water pollution laws passed by Congress last December. These empower the US to set pollution limits and liabilities, and to inspect all polluting vessels passing within 200 miles of American shores.

The EPA is eager to enforce the law, but the State and Commerce Departments have stalled them. They're worried about retaliatory actions against US ships—which could threaten the free passage of military and commercial vessels around the world—and argue that such a unilateral action would undermine the deadlocked UN Law of the Sea talks.

Environmental concerns may also interfere with free trade. Congress is mulling over the first non-tariff trade barriers based on environmental considerations, and this has prompted the multilateral trade negotiations in Geneva to look at the issue.

Meanwhile, US labor groups, environmentalists and some industries have decried lax pollution laws in other countries, especially in the developing world, and warn of an impending flight of domestic industries from the relatively stringent US to these "pollution havens." The steel industry, for instance, claims low-priced Japanese imports reflect Japan's use of such

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BOOK ESSAY from page 6

Douglas K. Ramsey, held by the Viet Cong as a POW for more than six years, was offered for exchange by his captors, but the CIA held out for a better deal, claiming that Ramsey was "no more than a Foreign Service officer" and therefore not worth trading for the "top Communist intelligence operative" they were holding. So Ramsey, according to Snapp, spent a needless additional year as a Viet Cong prisoner.

This is a very serious charge. As soon as it became public, AFSA took the matter up formally with the Department and wrote Ramsey (now in Taipei) that it was doing so in his interest. From all accounts, Ramsey is also seeking an official explanation, if not a denial, of Snapp's version of the proposed POW trade. He is also contemplating legal action, for which few could blame him—if Snapp is correct.

Frank Sieverts is the Department of State's senior official on POW/MIA matters. At AFSA President Lars Hyde's suggestion, I went to see him about the Ramsey case. Sieverts was most helpful, although he was unable to totally confirm or deny Snapp's accounting of the proposed prisoner exchange. Instead, he told me that he was pulling together all of the available records so that Ramsey would be able to see for himself. In the Department's defense, he pointed out that there never was any real assurance that the Viet Cong had made a valid offer in Ramsey's case. Five years had elapsed without any confirmation that Ramsey was still alive. Maybe the Viet Cong were offering up a name only. The Department wasn't sure. Sieverts says: "If there had been confirmation that Douglas Ramsey would be released . . . there is no doubt that the State Department would have made a major effort to accomplish this. Since that confirmation never came, despite efforts to seek it, the issue was never really put to the test."

None of which may be of much comfort to Douglas K. Ramsey.

There is actually very little of comfort in Snapp's book, particularly on the subject of who got out of Saigon and who got left behind.

For instance, of 900 State Department direct-hire local employees, only 225 had made it to the United States by mid-1977, according to Snapp. Less than a third of the USIS locals managed to get away. Many of them, having been assured evacuation, were simply abandoned in the USIS Saigon compound. The full extent of CIA's losses will probably never be made public, but Snapp hazards a guess:

"Based on what can be ascertained, it is not too much to say that in terms of squandered lives, blown secrets and betrayal of agents, friends and collaborators, our (CIA's) handling of the evacuation was an institutional disgrace. Not since the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion of 1961 had the agency put so much on the line, and lost it through stupidity and mismanagement."

Unlike Snapp, Alan Dawson did not catch a helicopter out. He stayed behind to await the arrival of the North Vietnamese. He tells the story of Trai Quoc Quang, a USIS local secretary who, although promised by her American supervisor that she would leave in the final helicopter, found herself abandoned in Saigon. To make matters worse, she was no longer welcome at her home—because of her known long-time association with Americans.

Lacking any other place to go, Dawson says she wandered into the UPI office where she heard there were still some Americans who had not left Saigon. Shaking with hysteria, she told UPI reporters that she had to leave Vietnam or the Viet Cong would cut off her head. The Americans invited her to sit down, gave her a Coke, and took down her story in detail. At the end, says Dawson, she stopped shaking. "She was not bitter," he writes, "even though her boss had abandoned her after promising evacuation. He himself certainly had to leave, she said. She thought he had done his best. She hoped the newsmen were right and she would not die in the next 24 hours."

In Dawson's view, the abandoned CIA and USIS local employees "were the greatest potential targets for retaliation by a victorious Viet Cong." If there was to be a blood bath, and many thought that there would be, those Vietnamese who had worked for the American government agencies

would be the first victims. Furthermore, says Dawson, USIS was the main proponent of the blood bath theory and therefore had a special responsibility to look after its own local staff, many of whom—like Trai Quoc Quang—obviously took the propaganda seriously.

There was no bloodbath in Vietnam. Many people, particularly ex-US government employees, ended up in re-education camps. But there do not seem to have been mass reprisals. In his account of how he took Saigon, General Dung reports that his April 29 instructions from Hanoi, approving the final push into the city, called for special treatment of civilians, including the requirement that soldiers share their rice rations with the people, and avoid any breakdown in military discipline.

These instructions arrived while General Dung and his army divisions were poised on the outskirts of Saigon. They had reached that point in a steady, methodical campaign that, for all its detailed planning, was nonetheless in a close race with the onset of the Vietnamese rainy season. In his book, General Dung points out repeatedly that, once committed in March, the timing of the campaign left little opening for the sort of last-minute diplomatic efforts being attempted by the American Embassy in Saigon and Secretary of State Kissinger in Washington. Frank Snapp is convinced that there was no chance of a negotiated cease fire in Saigon, and that both the Embassy and Washington were falling for deliberate smoke-screening by the North Vietnamese. He points out that there was also a lot of wishful thinking involved.

General Van Tien Dung says he had never set foot in Saigon before he conquered it. Born outside Hanoi, he had risen through the ranks of the Communist Party, been imprisoned by the French, had orchestrated the victory against the French at Dien Bien Phu, and had finally emerged as Chief of Staff of the North Vietnamese Army. He and his troops were from the North, and they had to memorize maps of Saigon in order to find their way around the city.

That point is worth noting be-

cause, in his book, Wilfred Burchett goes to considerable length to describe the fall of South Vietnam as the result of a vast popular uprising. He makes it appear as though the North Vietnamese Army played only an incidental role, and that the real victories occurred when "forces that had been in place for many years were activated." If true, this point seems to have eluded both Snapp and Dawson. It does, of course, fit in nicely with the national unity image that Hanoi seems anxious to apply to its takeover of the South. It may also be the price that Burchett must pay for his access to the Communist side.

Alone among western journalists (he was originally Australian, but admits that he occasionally finds it expedient to travel on a Cuban passport), Wilfred Burchett has managed to cover conflicts "from the other side" in China, Korea, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam and Angola. But it is clear that, in the process, he has had to pay some dues. Sadly, his unquestioning espousal of the Marxist version, and rationale, of these events makes his whole function as a journalist somewhat suspect, regardless of his access. This is especially evident when he characterized American policy towards Vietnam as "erratic, contradictory, perfidious—and above all—stupid" without bothering to cite examples, or back up his judgments with facts. The examples, and the facts, may not have been all that difficult to obtain. Snapp and Dawson made an effort to include them and that distinguishes their books from Burchett's polemic.

As for General Van Tien Dung, I suspect that his account of how he took Saigon will lead the required reading lists of the war colleges and service academies for generations to come. It helps open up the vista to what happened when the end of the tunnel finally came.

FSJ BOOKSHELF

Whither, Intelligence?

THE ARMIES OF IGNORANCE: *The Rise of the American Intelligence Empire*, by William R. Corson. The Dial Press/James Wade, \$12.95.

For readers who enjoy that sort

of thing, there has always been an abundance of kiss-and-tell books, while the newspaper public has never lacked for exposés, including a goodly supply datelined Washington, D.C. Until recently, however, the intelligence profession was out of bounds to the latter, and it would have been inconceivable for any of its active or retired practitioners to contribute to the former. But within the past few years it has come to pass that seldom a day goes by without a press account of what allegedly was and is wrong with and about the CIA, and what seems to be a never-ending stream of spy-and-cry books threatens to engulf us.

During a single month, December 1977, three major dailies—the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Washington Star*—carried stories ranging from "8 CIA Station Chiefs Fired in Sweeping Purge That May Affect 1,000" to "Morale Plummet Under Adm. Turner," as well as editorials on such topics as the relationship between the CIA and the Fourth Estate (with the *Times* sedately discussing "The Reporter and the Spy" and the *Star* breezily chatting about "The spooks and the press"). And on December 25th (Merry Christmas, all you national security folks!), the *Times* launched a three-part series entitled "CIA: Secret Shaper of Public Opinion," the segments sub-titled "The CIA's 3-Decade Effort to Mold the World's Views," "Worldwide Propaganda Network Built and Controlled by the CIA," and "CIA Established Many Links to Journalists in the US and Abroad."

A representative sampling of the books would have to include *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* (1974), by former CIA officer Victor Marchetti and ex-State Department intelligence analyst John D. Marks; *Inside the Company: CIA Diary* (1975), by one-time CIA officer Philip Agee; *Portrait of a Cold Warrior* (1976), by former CIA station chief Joseph B. Smith; and *Decent Interval* (1977), by ex-CIA analyst Frank Snapp. The last three were published without the required agency clearance.

As they say, only in America.

William R. Corson's *The Armies of Ignorance: The Rise of the American Intelligence Empire*

comes like the proverbial breath of fresh air. Forget the confusing title. (The decision on what to call a book should not be made on a darkling plain, especially at night.) And ignore the misleading subtitle. This is no muck-raking effort. After what obviously was an awesome research effort, ranging from the study of source materials to interviews with individuals who speak from experience, Corson has produced a comprehensive, analytical history of American intelligence. While he details the infighting among the various bureaucracies which comprise the intelligence community, it is not for purposes of sensationalism, but because that is how it is. Also, it is well to be reminded occasionally that intelligence professionals are people, like everybody else, and that the agencies of which they are members are government bureaucracies. There are really no James Bonds, but there are many, many George Smileys, including those who have come in from the cold.

Corson's book should be a part of any intelligence library, but that is not to say it is without flaws, because it has several. This is a clear case where an author's editor(s) did not serve him well. The organization of the material leaves much to be desired. The syntax would often make an Eisenhower press conference transcript read like a model of clarity. And a general tightening up would have benefited the text.

The author, incidentally, states that he has drawn upon unclassified material only, and there is no reason to doubt this. It is an important point. Perhaps, the most important.

—S. I. NADLER

Making Microwaves

THE ZAPPING OF AMERICA, by Paul Brodeur. W. W. Norton & Co., \$11.95.

This book outlines the author's views on the increasing danger of microwave radiation. While a considerable part of the book deals with scientific and quasi-scientific arguments over the danger of this type of radiation—especially from television, high-voltage power lines, radio and radar—an important segment also focuses on the history and problem of microwaves beamed at our Embassy in Moscow. It is this latter aspect which will be of most interest to the read-

ers of the *FSJ*.

Essentially, Brodeur elaborates and updates the information contained in his well-publicized articles in the *New Yorker* magazine in which he described the sordid and sad story of the effort by the Department to hide from its employees the facts concerning radiation directed by the Soviets at our Embassy. The book makes a number of assertions which are the subject of some dispute even today. For example, the author believes that the screening installed in Moscow does not reduce incoming radiation by a factor of 10 as claimed by the Department. He states that "... it can be deflected only by a sheet of metal."

The book speculates on the reasons for the Soviets' actions and our own role. Needless to say its theories are not entirely credible. On the other hand there appears to be little real public knowledge about this issue on which firm conclusions can be drawn.

A Brodeur contention is that the Soviets are interested in using microwave radiation for mind-controlling or nervous system effects. At another point he quotes reports that the Soviets are using the microwaves to disable sophisticated monitoring equipment.

Turning towards our own motivation for covering up the facts of the case he notes that the US military (and US industry) were afraid that we would become stricter than the Soviets with regard to minimum radiation exposure standards. He quotes a DIA report that warned, "If the more advanced nations of the West are strict in the enforcement of stringent exposure standards, there could be unfavorable effects on industrial output and military functions." It was for this reason, he claims, that federal agencies tended to downplay the health effects of microwaves.

Brodeur is particularly critical of the behavior of the Department of State—he says it followed a policy of diversion and denial. He also documents the involvement of Departmental Medical personnel in the cover-up.

Related to the Moscow radiation situation were a number of classified (and since published or publicly available) studies on possible health effects of this type of radiation. The most famous was the so-

called "Project Pandora" which was to see if the signal altered primate behavior. This effort was highly classified and lasted three years under DOD's Advanced Research Projects Agency. Brodeur documents how the results of this study were suppressed and distorted by various governmental bodies and finally closed down without an official report.

In sum, the book will prove valuable if depressing reading for Foreign Service personnel, especially those who have served in Moscow. This information, some of it quite controversial, means that much of the book must be read with a critical viewpoint.

However, after reading through some recently released (under a Freedom of Information request) governmental and Department documents in this case, it appears that the main thrust of Brodeur's argument regarding an official cover-up is largely true and perhaps even understated. With the release of these new documents one hopes a carefully and fully researched study of this case will be undertaken by a fair and competent scholar. Finally, we may gain further, but probably not definitive, knowledge of the long-term health effects of low-level microwave radiation when the Department-commissioned Johns Hopkins study is completed later this year.

—HARRY C. BLANEY

The Vietnam Generals

THE WAR MANAGERS, by Douglas Kinnard. University Press of New England, for the University of Vermont (Hanover, NH, 1977), \$14.00.

Here is one of the few books on Vietnam that promises to be durable, and that should command a wide audience now. Kinnard, a retired Army Brigadier turned political scientist, conducted a questionnaire survey of the 173 Army officers who had served in Vietnam in the rank of brigadier or higher. Sixty-four percent of them completed the questionnaire, and Kinnard supplemented this by interviewing some of the respondents.

The resulting book has two valuable features. One is Kinnard's spare summary of the war. The other is his juxtaposition of questionnaire and interview results with critical aspects of the war's course and conduct. Because findings of

interest are too numerous to present here, a few representative items will have to serve to whet interest. Item: as of 1974 over 50 percent of the Army officers who served as generals in Vietnam thought that the United States should not have sent its forces into combat there. Item: almost 70 percent of the generals serving in Vietnam were uncertain of the war's objectives, a fact which the author believes demonstrates a "deep-seated strategic failure: the inability of policymakers to frame tangible, obtainable goals." Item: 62 percent of the generals responding to the questionnaire believed that American tactics could have been, and should have been, improved; the author adds that such response at least by implication meant that the generals were also dissatisfied with Gen. Westmoreland's strategy.

Although many readers in the foreign affairs community, and other civilians in government, will not appreciate all of the conclusions set forth in this book, it deserves attention. For the lessons of Vietnam remain difficult to apprehend, and, perhaps more important, the problems of civil-military relations and the management of conflict here addressed are surely not going to disappear.

—THOMAS H. ETZOLD

Strategic Drift

WORLD POWER ASSESSMENT 1977: A Calculus of Strategic Drift, by Ray S. Cline, (Westview Praeger, \$12.95) is an innovative attempt to produce an East-West power assessment by translating national political, economic, armaments, etc. factors into comparative units or weights.

The result is stimulating and often persuasive; but as is usual with such experiments the quantification process leaves out significant variables (e.g. climate, geographic location, cultural advance) and squeezes others into a Procrustean bed of artificial categories. For example, does it make sense to measure Canada's vast area in terms of "arable vs. non-arable" land when the relevant factors are the depth that the northern barrens provides against trans-polar air and missile attack, and their uninhabitability owing to extreme cold?

—CHARLES MAECHLING, JR.

STALIN'S FUNERAL

from page 24

Since Stalin had been identified with policies of threats and belligerence, a first move was generally expected from the Soviet side. The successor triumvirate of Malenkov, Molotov, and Beria, got off to a good start in the first speeches at Stalin's funeral: no mention was made of the United States which had been under bitter propaganda attack only a week before; the three speakers emphasized the need for pacification and world trade, albeit only in general terms. The occasion was also of interest to foreign Kremlinologists, many of whom, however, failed to note the significance of Khrushchev's exploitation of his position as head of the Moscow Soviet to assume a takeover role as master of ceremonies.

Minor incidents conveyed a sense of spectacular change in atmosphere. Almost literally with the disappearance of Stalin's coffin into Lenin's tomb, Soviet officials turned genial on the spot and declared their willingness to be accessible. Harassment of foreigners

abated. We and the British were offered back our chanceries, from which we were about to be expelled because their proximity to the Kremlin was supposed to have angered Stalin (we declined the offer because of our need for more space). More important, there were intimations that the Soviet government was willing to help with the signature of an armistice in Korea (such proved to be the case, as related by Ambassador Bohlen in his book).

President Eisenhower's speech of April 16, 1953, before the American Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association was awaited as a sign in the Western sky. The speech, when made, was promptly criticized editorially in some sections of the American press as an inadequate response to ostensible Soviet overtures and as lacking the boldness of Churchill's proposal for an East-West summit. (We gave an advance copy to the Soviet Foreign Office, which in turn arranged to have the complete text published in *Pravda*.)

For his part, Eisenhower asked for "signs" from the Soviets:

agreement on Austria, release of German prisoners still in Soviet hands, and help in making peace in Korea. He called for an end to the division of Europe and made a dramatic appeal for arms reduction and atom controls.

Each side, however, had reasons for proceeding with caution. The first was that neither of the new regimes was an entirely free agent in the matter of dealing with the other. The Republican administration was inhibited by the reaction to its previously having accused the Democrats of being soft on communism, and also by the influence of the powerful anti-Soviet bloc in the Senate.

On its side, the Moscow regime was inexperienced and was being undermined by incipient rivalries and differences over policy. These first of all produced the arrest of Security Chief Beria for treason in July 1953 and Khrushchev's relentless advance to the post of first secretary of the party, which he captured in September. Connected with these developments, rioting broke out in East Berlin and East Germany on June 17. The charges

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subsequently made against Beria—that he had contemplated releasing the Eastern Zone in February in favor of all-German neutralization — indicated that Germany was one of the points in dispute in the Politburo. In any event, the June 1953 uprisings discouraged the Soviets from engaging in international negotiations in which Germany would be the key factor.

* * * *

One of the peoples most hospitable to foreigners are the Georgians, whose pride is tempered only by a certain awe of their own notoriety. On my visit to the capital, Tbilisi, in 1970, our escort was a ranking local official who was a great admirer of Stalin. He became very friendly with my wife and myself, and in a spirit of honest inquiry, asked me how Stalin was regarded in the United States. I replied that he was held in high esteem as a wartime leader and ally in our common struggle against fascism, but that Americans had the feeling that he treated the Russians harshly. Our friend responded that this was not so, and that Stalin was

a fair man who executed just as many Georgians as Russians.

The Georgians honored our request to visit Gori, Stalin's birthplace. At first they hesitated, apparently fearing that we might make fun of this sacred shrine. The installation is indeed impressive, starting with the concrete canopy built over the hut where Stalin was born, with the whole complex being dominated by a huge Stalin statue. The statue reminded me of the Moscow story about the plan of some of the poet Pushkin's modern admirers to erect a monument to him. To be on the safe side, they put up a statue of Stalin reading from a volume of Pushkin. The same motif very much pervades the large museum in Gori, where the only evidence I was able to find of Lenin was a picture of him shaking hands with Stalin. On our way through the museum I discerned a group photograph of Stalin talking with some of the participants in the 1945 conference at Potsdam, which included myself at the rear as one of the notetakers on our delegation. Our escort was visibly impressed.



ENVIRONMENT AND DIPLOMACY

from page 32

havens in Southeast Asia. In fact, Representative Morris K. Udall (D-Arizona) introduced a bill last November that would "equalize" the prices of imported and domestic copper by adding 10 cents a pound to the price charged by foreign manufacturers who don't have to deal with environmental regulations.

Yet the charge that US companies are relocating abroad for environmental reasons is far from proven, and the Commerce Department has told Congress that US environmental controls have had no significant impact on the price of imports. In fact, a yawning information gap exists, which prompted Labor Secretary Ray Marshall to say in January that although environmental disparities are a problem, they should be dealt with multilaterally.

What is the Carter Administration doing to resolve this plethora of disputes? Not much, according to its critics. Congress and the

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courts are still largely dictating the impact of environmental issues on foreign policy, with the State Department sometimes caught unaware by the effect of legislation on the other countries.

The pesticide crackdown mentioned earlier is one example, and since 1976, the US foreign aid agency has been routinely applying environmental criteria to its projects because of a lawsuit settled out of court the year before.

But Administration officials such as Jessica W. Tuchman, who heads the National Security Council's global issues office, deny that these questions are related and require a comprehensive solution. Carter aides claim that the President's hesitation on the oceans and Ex-Im Bank disputes merely reflects a desire to consult with all parties.

Nicholas A. Robinson of the Sierra Club, who has been studying these problems at the Council on Foreign Relations, strongly disagrees. He feels these issues do constitute a clear policy dilemma but have, predictably, run into bureaucratic resistance and an Administration preoccupied with

more traditional concerns.

The fate of Carter's proposed yearlong study of global resource trends through the year 2000 illustrates the bureaucratic problems involved. Carter proposed the study to reassess US foreign policy in terms of issues such as population and the environment. But the State Department was reluctant to get involved; apparently, no one at Foggy Bottom felt qualified to handle these issues, and the CEQ wound up with the main responsibility for the report. Tuchman's office, which is supposed to help integrate "cross-cutting issues" like the environment into US foreign policymaking, isn't even involved.

But neither Tuchman nor CEQ's J. Gustave Speth—who reportedly drafted controversial environmental impact guidelines the CEQ wants applied to all US agencies' operations abroad—agree that environmentalists are handicapped by a lack of foreign policy expertise. Speth, for example, argues that environmentalists are by definition "globalists."

Some critics outside the Government are challenging the moral

arrogance they believe underlies these attempts to tie environmental strings on foreign policy. New York University's Walter sees it as a "neoimperialist view" and claims—along with most diplomats and economists—that environmental controls are an economic decision each country has to make based on a rough trade-off between pollution and economic growth.

This view is disputed by most development experts and nearly all environmentalists. They point to mounting evidence that poverty can't be eradicated in the third world without treating the ecological damage that accompanies and aggravates this poverty. They claim that economic growth targets frequently ignore both environmental protection and the needs of the most desperately poor.

These experts also believe that moral and social questions are involved—questions of basic social justice and moral accountability which aid-donors, recipients, exporters and transnational businessmen operating in the third world will all have to deal with sooner or later.



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MAXWELL GLUCK

from page 22

McClintock letter said, "that the American Foreign Service, with the high standards it has maintained over the years, does in fact produce career officers who merit ambassadorial rank. That this impression is shared by the President, the Secretary of State, and the Senate seems borne out by the fact that 53 chiefs-of-mission posts are held by career officers as compared with 23 not of the career. So far as we are aware, there is, furthermore, no dearth of other career officers whose qualifications and experience qualify them for ambassadorial rank."

The letter also rejected the idea that certain posts had to be reserved for rich men because of the inadequate pay that career officers received. If this was the problem, the letter said, "we believe that a great majority of the American people would support Congress in paying all Ambassadors adequate representation and other allowances. . ." And with ambassadorial tongue in cheek McClintock

concluded: "We likewise believe that the great majority of the American people support the President in his statement on not granting ambassadorial posts on the basis of campaign contributions."

The Gluck appointment, as it turned out, did not materially harm the Eisenhower administration. There were occasional complaints in the press about individual appointments to ambassadorial positions by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, but the issue did not again reach the proportions of a political scandal until the latter days of the Nixon Administration when it became one of the many allegations of impropriety that were investigated and publicized in connection with the Watergate conspiracy.

On March 16, 1974 the White House thus refused a request by Leon Jaworski, then the special Watergate prosecutor, for documents believed to bear on the awarding of diplomatic posts to major Republican campaign contributors. President Nixon, meanwhile, contended that "ambassadorships cannot be purchased"

from his Administration. The leaking of information damaging to the Administration from within its ranks and from the Watergate prosecutor's office had become so common by that time, however, that the press had no difficulty in collating material from public and private sources to build up a picture that was shocking in its widespread ramifications.

The scandal, at least in its most clearly documented form, centered around the person of Herbert W. Kalmbach, who since 1968 had served Mr. Nixon as his personal lawyer and one of his principal fund-raisers. Mr. Kalmbach pleaded guilty to the charge of having "sold" an ambassadorship when he admitted having promised a prestigious diplomatic post to J. Fife Symington, a cousin of Senator Stuart Symington, in return for \$100,000 in political contributions to Republican Senatorial candidates in 1970 and to Mr. Nixon in 1972, according to the *New York Times* of March 17, 1974. Mr. Symington was ambassador to the small island nation of Trinidad and Tobago at the time of

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the transaction, which involved a promised transfer to one of five European capitals. (When the appointment was not forthcoming, Mr. Kalmbach offered to return the money, but Mr. Symington declined to take it back.)

The problem for the Watergate prosecutors was that while it could easily be documented and was indeed public knowledge at that time that many ambassadorial appointees had made major campaign contributions, it was not easy to prove that President Nixon had direct knowledge that promises of ambassadorships had been made in his name for the purpose of eliciting campaign contributions. Both Shelby C. Davis, then ambassador to Switzerland (since 1969), and Fred J. Russell, who had been ambassador to Denmark from 1971 to 1972, confirmed to the *New York Times* that they, like Mr. Symington, had been asked by Mr. Kalmbach to contribute funds to Republican Senatorial candidates in 1970. But they said that there had been no mention of any diplomatic quid pro quo in connection

with that solicitation.


Mr. Kalmbach, incidentally, pleaded guilty only in return for a promise from the public prosecutor's office of immunity from further prosecution in connection with "contributions from persons seeking ambassadorial posts," and Mr. Symington—according to a report in the *New York Times* based on a source in the prosecutor's office—was "given a walk," i.e., granted immunity from prosecution, because his testimony was deemed essential to the bringing of charges against Mr. Kalmbach. (If there seems to be a contradiction between the two statements—after all, why give immunity to both the accuser and the accused?—it must be remembered that the public prosecutor was not really after people like Symington or Kalmbach, but building a case against the President.)

Perhaps the most egregious case of apparent purchase of an ambassadorial post was that of Mrs. Ruth Farkas, wife of a department store executive, who contributed \$300,000 to the Nixon reelection

campaign in 1972 and 1973 and was nominated to become ambassador to Luxembourg in early 1973. The *New York Times* reported that "according to a Senate source, the Foreign Relations Committee approved the nomination of Mrs. Farkas, a Manhattan resident, largely at the behest of Senator Jacob K. Javits, a New York Republican, who is a member of the committee—and to whose re-election campaign Mrs. Farkas reportedly contributed \$1,000 in 1968."

The direct connection between contribution and appointment was never established in this case, or in the cases of other ambassadorial appointees who had made large contributions; and indeed those who solicited funds were apparently careful to establish only a loose link between the payment and the appointment.

The closest the Nixon Administration came to admitting a direct link between campaign contributions and appointments to ambassadorships was in a statement by Secretary of State William P. Rogers to the Senate Foreign Relations



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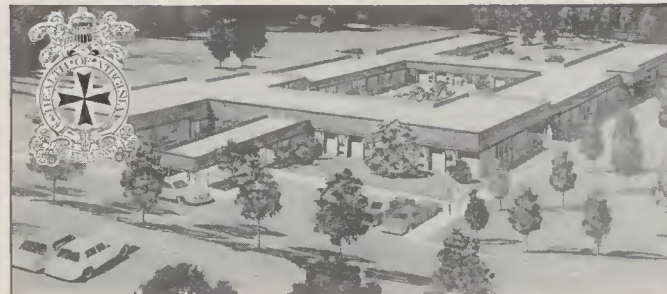
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Committee in 1973 that the government could "learn some lessons" from Watergate in the area of campaign funding, and that he and Mr. Nixon had agreed that something should be done about the tradition by which wealthy campaign contributors could "buy" assignments as Ambassadors. But he gave no concrete examples. Mr. Rogers was a lawyer and would probably have denied knowledge of any specific instances.

Common Cause, an organization devoted to civic reform, began to keep a box score of contributions by ambassadors, but it continued to be difficult to prove that the nominations had been a direct consequence of the contributions, as this might be a fallacious *post hoc ergo propter hoc* imputation. And in some cases there was no initial contribution but a large one *after* the appointment had been made.

It would take too much space to enumerate the cases of major campaign contributions by ambassadorial appointees that were brought into the open in connection with

Watergate, so a few examples must suffice. Walter Annenberg, Ambassador to Great Britain, contributed \$254,000 to the 1972 Nixon campaign alone; Vincent De Roulet, son-in-law of the owner of the New York Mets, reportedly contributed (together with his father-in-law) altogether \$183,000 before and after he became Ambassador to Jamaica; Kingdon Gould, a politically-appointed ambassador to Luxembourg, contributed \$100,900 to the Nixon campaign in 1972 and was nominated Ambassador to the Netherlands in 1973; John P. Humes made a contribution of under \$50,000 before becoming Ambassador to Austria and while in that position contributed \$100,000 to the Nixon campaign in 1971 and 1972; and Arthur K. Watson, Ambassador to France, contributed \$300,000 to the Nixon campaign in 1971 and early 1972 but had made substantial contributions also prior to his nomination.

It was refreshing, under these circumstances, that in the general atmosphere of moral uplift that

pervaded his election campaign, President Carter, while he was seeking that high office, declared unequivocally and on more than one occasion that he would base ambassadorial appointments henceforth strictly on merit. In an interview with C. L. Sulzberger of the *New York Times*, for instance, he declared: "I would like to help [the Secretary of State] out by improving the quality of our major diplomatic appointments. I want these to depend firmly on merit. I am not under obligation to anyone, and I don't believe people should be paid off for helping elect a president by getting embassies."

And on November 9, 1976, after his election, he stated in an interview: "I plan to appoint diplomatic officials who have superb credentials, strictly on the basis of merit, not reward people for political favors. And that's a commitment that I've made on my word of honor. I'm not going to break it."

One of the first steps taken by the new President in connection with ambassadorial nominations was to appoint an Advisory Board



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of 20 public-spirited persons (which, however, contained only one member who had actually run an American embassy abroad) to advise him on such nominations. Among the first ambassadorial nominations to be announced were Mrs. Anne Cox Chambers, who owns the *Atlanta Constitution*, to become envoy to Brussels, and Mr. Philip H. Alston, Jr., an Atlanta lawyer, to Australia. There was some question whether it was perhaps a coincidence that both nominees were from Georgia and whether these were really the best qualified persons strictly on the basis of merit, but it was generally felt that the President's appointments could not be judged by a few nominations alone.

There have been, so far some excellent appointments of ambassadors from the career service and from outside of it; but there have also been some nominations which increasingly raise doubts whether the advisory board, or those who processed its recommendations (which usually included several names), or the State Department,

or the President himself, were always choosing the best available candidate for a particular position. Questions were thus raised whether Governor Lucey of Wisconsin was really the best qualified man to become ambassador to Mexico, or whether former Governor West of South Carolina was really the candidate with the greatest merit to become ambassador to Saudi Arabia, both positions requiring for optimal effectiveness persons steeped in the language and customs and problems of those countries which loom so importantly in our foreign relations. There may just possibly be something to the contention that experience in international affairs makes for greater effectiveness in analyzing complicated international problems, in formulating well considered recommendations to the State Department and the White House, and in carrying out diplomatic instructions with vigor or finesse—or the right combination of both.

One appointment that came in for special questioning, at least by

elements of the press and qualified outside observers, was that of Marvin Warner, an Ohio real estate developer who reportedly had contributed (together with members of his family) \$70,000 to various Democratic candidates in the past four years, and who was nominated to become Ambassador to Switzerland. The American Foreign Service Association, which had become somewhat bolder since the days of the Maxwell Gluck nomination, asked to testify and said that "an examination of Mr. Warner's background suggests that the appointment was a reward for political support and for substantial financial contributions." They said there is "little evidence" that Warner had better qualifications for the job than the career officer with 30 years of diplomatic experience whom he would be replacing.

The *Washington Post*, which editorially criticized the appointment, reported that Mr. Warner had been a contributor to the campaigns of Senators Glenn and Metzenbaum of Ohio and quoted Senator Sparkman, the Chairman of the

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Foreign Relations Committee, as saying "He's been a supporter of mine, too." It was brought out that Warner was a native of Alabama, the home state of the Committee chairman, and that he credited Sparkman—then chairman of the Seante Housing Committee—with having helped him launch his highly successful career as a housing developer by "cutting red tape." It was also brought out that Warner had made contributions to Senators Church and Stone, who are also members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Senator Glenn was quoted as praising the nomination of Warner as an "ideal appointment." According to a story authored by Don Oberdorfer, the only Republican present at the hearings, Senator Case, told Warner that "you couldn't come under better auspices" and that "I don't think there are any questions—there better not be."

Just as Secretary Christian Herter twenty years before had denied that campaign contributions played any role in the appointment of Maxwell Gluck, so the State De-

partment under the Carter Administration heatedly denied any wrongdoing.

"The Secretary (Vance) has full confidence in the Ambassador-designate," said Assistant Secretary of State Hodding Carter, 3rd. "The Secretary believes that the process (of selection) follows very honest attempts to find the most able individuals to represent the United States abroad." Jody Powell, at the White House, when questioned about the charges that there was little evidence that Marvin Warner was qualified for Switzerland and that his nomination was "a reward for political support and substantial financial contributions," said: "Not only is that not true, but obviously neither the (ambassadorial) selection committee nor the President, nor I gather, members of the Senate, feel that way. I'll emphasize again that the President is selecting diplomats from the recommendations of that committee."

According to United Press International, "Powell told questioners that the selection commit-

tee recommends the names of the five 'best qualified' nominees for a particular diplomatic post to the President. He said he is not certain that the list for Switzerland also contained the names of professional diplomats, but said every other list he has seen does include career Foreign Service officers. . . . Later in the day the White House press office said Warner was one of seven names recommended by the selection committee; two of the seven were career foreign service officers."

This did not, of course, answer the question why among the various candidates this particular one had been chosen. The most extraordinary feature of the episode was that, according to the UPI, when Mr. Marvin Warner appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on June 6 he was never asked about his financial contributions by any member of the Committee. Nor was there any pointed questioning of the kind with which Senator Fulbright, twenty years before, had enlivened the proceedings.




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THE LITTLE DIPPERS

from page 18

ing three-to-one. It had been a miracle just holding down the score. We had made three double plays. The outfield had six put-outs. The catcher had two more.

Tonko led off for us with his second hit, but the next kid fanned. Moon Kwan took one of Burnside's fast balls in the ribs, and we had two base runners for the first time, but the best Akobi could do was a soft fly to center. Our last chance was our cricket player.

"Wright," I said, "it's time for you to make a repayment on lend-lease. Get in there and get hold of one."

"Right-o," said Wright.

If I live to be a hundred, I'll never forget what happened. Burnside poured one down the pipe which Kit waved at for a strike. The next two were outside, then Burnside threw a called strike, then he missed again to make it three and two. I called time and went out to talk to Kit.

"Wright," I said, "there have

always been close ties between the British and the Americans."

"I know that, sir, but what am I to do?"

"Wright, in emergencies, we always hang together. We trust each other. I'm leaving it up to you. If it's a bad pitch, let it go. If the pitch is over, then hit it, man. I leave it to you." Solemnly we shook hands.


I watched Burnside. He was feeling the pressure. He fiddled with his glove and tugged at his cap. Finally he wound up and threw—hard. As soon as the ball left his hand, I knew it was a bad pitch. It looked as if it might hit the plate. I forgot I had left it to Kit. "Let it go," I yelled, but it was too late, or the cricketing instinct in our Englishman was too strong. It was the pitch he had been looking for all season. He swiveled his wrists and with a powerful motion connected solidly with the ball—at his shoe tops. Up and away it went in a glorious arc, well beyond the center-field fence and into a rice paddy.

Everything happened at once then. Tonko raced home and

waited, dancing at the plate for Moon and Wright. I jumped up and hit my head on the roof of the dug-out, and the Little Dippers erupted onto the field to pound and pummel the exposed backs of the heroes. The best picture was UPI's—Tonko, Armour, Kwan and Wright embracing in a tangle of brown, black and white arms. In the midst of all this the foreign minister, talking animatedly to our Ambassador, made his way into our victory celebration.

"It was very exciting," he said, "and I want to congratulate you and the team. I am pleased to see that in baseball, at least, your least-common-denominator theory works."

"I believe you said this morning, Excellency, that we can all learn something from baseball. I think I have today."

"There is a lesson for all of us," he said, and the ambassador agreed and so did McGinley, but for me it wasn't quite complete. I was looking over their heads for someone else. I found her, and our eyes met. She nodded. She was waiting. 

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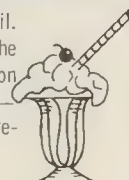
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LETTERS from page 4


sional competence as a journalist and a major contributor to the public diplomacy of our country, he possessed large measures of genuine consideration for others, selflessness, and human decency. Lyle rejected pomposity in himself and others. He countered with a ready, rich humor and a bright and rational intellect. We can only hope that in the greater human scheme, these traits will indeed be more common.

His quick rise through the USIA ranks brought him to be head of the Agency's Press Service. Earlier he had served in Guatemala, Bolivia and the Dominican Republic. Thus, his final service in Brazil would seem appropriate for a man who was grateful to represent his countrymen overseas.

His loss to all of us will be painful for years to come but his contributions to our lives and professional efforts will become personal monuments.

FRED A. COFFEY, JR.
Washington

Shattered Peace

 In a recent issue you carried a review of an important book interpreting the Cold War, *Shattered Peace*, by Daniel Yergin. The review, I think, glossed over some significant aspects and conflicting views which could be brought out.

No international relationship of our time has received more thoughtful inquiry and delving than the Cold War. We must, however, frankly recognize a basic gap in having only the democratic record of intentions on view, with the Kremlin's being given in brief flashes from its dark confines. Thankfully, this does not deter analysts from filling as best they can the missing half of the coded message from intelligent surmise.

To give structure to analysis is of course indispensable. It is here that *Shattered Peace* acquires its unique character by attributing the genesis and course of the Cold War rivalry to a conflicting duality in the American understanding of Soviet usages of power. Succinctly put, one generalization, called the "Riga axioms," labels the Soviet union as a world revolutionary state driven by ideology for mas-

tery. The other generalization downplays ideology and authoritarian practices and, as the "Yalta axioms," holds the Soviets were simply playing international power politics. Before World War II the Baltic listening post purportedly embodied the American official view, which President Roosevelt supplanted with the latter. After Roosevelt's death the conflict erupted on the domestic front. This concluded with the national security state and with what the author believes to be the tragedy of the "Riga" triumph.

Seven years in the making, the book has impressive cited notes (77 pages) of relevant data, together with an exceptional bibliography. Added to its merits in using newly available sources and accessible participants, it is well written and is an engrossing account. A prominent member of the author's "Riga" persuasion, without criticism, first recommended it to me. It deserves to be read by anyone interested in foreign affairs. But do we now have the essential story?

The mosaic of events, created and reacted upon by men whose perceptions in retrospect can appear limited, nevertheless gives a diversified design for interpretation. We have in the subject era a pattern of leaders and advisers striving imperfectly in behalf of the national interest when faced with a developing conflict involving an opponent, whose ideology and public acts seemed to bode ill for the United States and its non-communist friends. The recourse was to seek national security in what, as aftermath, is analyzed as a needless drive for constant military supremacy.


Whatever Roosevelt's concepts for dealing with the Soviet Union as discerned in the present volume, there is no doubt after V-E Day that the American public, some of its ethnic minorities, and its officials in Eastern Europe were not prepared to accept the area's consignment to the Soviet sphere. None had been prepared by Washington for any *de facto* tradeoff of political control to go with military occupation. There was the matter of civil and human rights. As late as June 1948, diplomats from Eastern European posts had to be summoned to Rome by the State Department and be given the word

that the United States was powerless.

For those involved in the Cold War era described, it may be a singularly unsatisfying version of reality to be confronted with an either/or, Riga/Yalta choice. Americans are prone to paint stark alternatives, and parts of the written record are demonstrably phrased in such terms. Yet for some who were making the mosaic of the time, this is too simplistic. The Soviet Union has been described as using communism as the fig leaf for its imperialistic designs. It was known that the Hitler-Stalin Pact gave Moscow free scope south in the direction of the Persian Gulf. Until the defection of Tito there was ample evidence to show Moscow's essential control or strong influence (despite initial hassling in Greece) over the national communist parties. It was thus not the Soviet Union alone the United States was facing early in the cold war, but its opposition—disruptive potential worldwide through the parties moving in behalf of Soviet national aims. For one reader this is a more satisfying synthesis.

ROY M. MELBOURNE
Newberry, S.C.

Setting Up a Strawperson

 Will asked me to write this because he doesn't quite trust himself to control his emotions on a subject so dear to his heart.

He and I admire the women's lib movement and indeed in many of his major plays he extols the strong independent woman. Look at Lady Macbeth as contrasted to her vacillating husband. He is also attuned to violence in his plays. Witness all the dead bodies cluttering the stage in the last act of *Hamlet*. Yet he abhors the violence which the women's libbers do to the Queen's (Elizabeth's) English.

He doesn't mind "chairperson" instead of "chairman" but forcing him to use "strawperson" instead of "strawman" is carrying things a bit too far.

BEN JONDAUGHTERSON

Poet's Corner
Westminster Abbey

The JOURNAL welcomes the expression of its readers' opinions in the form of letters to the editor. All letters are subject to condensation if necessary. Send to: Letters to the Editor, Foreign Service JOURNAL, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

This portion of the JOURNAL is the responsibility of the Governing Board of AFSA and is intended to report on employee-management issues, conditions of employment and the policy and administration of AFSA, including its Board, Committees, and Chapters.

Members wishing to send letters on employment, working conditions or AFSA affairs should get them to AFSA by the 10th of the month preceding desired publication. *AFSA News Committee, Room 3644, N.S.*

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BOARD CHANGES

Peter Wolcott, former member of the Governing Board and member of the Journal Editorial Board, was named ICA Representative to the Governing Board of AFSA on April 4. Peter is a long-time AFSA activist and is co-chairman of the FSECC Committee, in addition to his work on several other AFSA committees.

Nancy Fox, AID Representative, has resigned from the Board because of an upcoming overseas assignment. The AID Standing Committee is seeking a replacement who will carry on Nancy's much-appreciated work for her constituency and for all AFSA members.

AFSA's able Treasurer, James R. Meenan, has also resigned effective June 30 for an overseas assignment. Jim's fiscal responsibility will be sorely missed and the Governing Board is regretfully looking for a replacement.

AAFSW HOUSING AND INFORMATION OFFICE

Members of the Foreign Service Community returning to Washington are invited to visit the Association of American Foreign Service Women's Housing and Information Office, where card files are maintained listing properties for sale or rent. To help organize house-hunting projects, maps, driver's manuals, and subway and bus schedules are available.

The office, staffed by volunteers, is open each workday from 9:30 a.m. until 3:30 p.m. Location is room 1248NS; phone—632-3573.

AFSA Awards

RECOGNIZE YOUR PEERS

From now until October 1, 1978, it is open season for nominations for the coveted Harriman, Rivkin and Herter awards, sponsored by AFSA.

These annual awards, carrying a stipend of \$1,000 each, were established about ten years ago by Retired Ambassador W. Averell Harriman and the families of two other distinguished modern statesmen, the late Ambassador William R. Rivkin and the late Secretary of State, Christian A. Herter.

Members of the foreign affairs agencies (State, AID and ICA) are eligible for the awards. The criteria for all three awards are the same. However, the Harriman Award is open only to FSO-5-8 and equivalents; the Rivkin Award is for FSO-3-4 and equivalents, and the Herter Award is for FSO-1-2 and equivalents.

The criteria for the awards are "extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage and creative dissent."

The winners are determined by a distinguished panel of judges selected in cooperation with the sponsors. The late Hubert H. Humphrey served as a judge for ten years and, while Vice President, spoke at an awards ceremony. The Awards are presented each year by the sponsors at a public ceremony in the

Department of State.

Nominations may be made by anyone who can document the exemplary conduct of the nominee. One does not have to hold a supervisory or present working relationship to the nominee.

You are urged to review the accomplishments of your colleagues and send in your nominations.

They should be addressed to AFSA Awards Committee, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037 and should reach there by October 1, 1978.

The nominations should follow the format set forth below:

- Part I: Biographic Data: name of nominee, grade, Agency
- Part II: Your association with the nominee (limit 250 words)
- Part III: Justification for nomination (500-750 words). Summary of specific reasons for nomination. The narrative should discuss qualities of mind and spirit which qualify the nominee for the award AND specific examples of the candidate's accomplishments, evidence of outstanding initiative, integrity, intellectual courage and creative dissent.

ICA—THE TAKE-OFF

Monday, April 3, was the first day for the Washington-based staff of ICA. The day began with Vice President Mondale's swearing in of Director John Reinhardt. Director Reinhardt replied with a 45-minute speech on the philosophy and organization of ICA.

AFSA/ICA Standing Committee met for the first time on April 5 when the organizational structure was outlined. Volunteers are needed to fill an active committee roster! Most important was the call for an AFSA/ICA Action Agenda. This will be outlined in the June *AFSA News*.

Peter Wolcott was elected to serve as AFSA/ICA Standing Committee chairman and joined the AFSA Board on April 4. The other candidates, Fred Shaver and James McHale, pledged their support.

Fred Shaver is the chairman of the AFSA/ICA Issues Committee. This committee will primarily serve the daily concerns of our members worldwide. Members of the committee will represent ICA on such AFSA-wide committees as Members' Interests and Extraordinary Dangers.

The most important function of the Issues Committee will be to monitor ICA management. Special attention will be given to promotion and open assignment procedures. When appropriate, we will work to resolve any alleged wrongdoings by ICA management and have already helped solve one open assignment violation. AFSA may act as the representative of any ICA employee under the grievance procedures. Send us your "horror stories" and we will go to bat for you!

COMMITTEE ON EXTRAORDINARY DANGERS

TERRORISM—AFSA has recently learned that the convicted terrorists who attacked our Embassy in Nicosia, Cyprus resulting in the death of Ambassador Davies and a local secretary will be released this August. The early release is due to a combination of a Cypriot government general amnesty and a Cypriot court decision to shorten the sentences. The terrorists were convicted of relatively minor offenses relating to carrying arms and firing them at the Embassy. Charges for murder were dismissed due to "a lack of evidence." We have expressed our concern to the Department about this inadequate punishment of the terrorists and have indicated our hope that the Department will examine whether or not these individuals might be tried for more serious offenses. There has been an increase in the number of threats against US personnel abroad at various posts, and AFSA has expressed its concern and requested the Department to examine whether or not all reasonable measures have been taken to protect our personnel abroad at these posts.

MOSCOW RADIATION—The Department has responded to a Freedom of Information request by AFSA asking for some fourteen 1975 and 1976 telegrams by indicating that only one

has been found despite an exhaustive computer search. For the one telegram that has been located, the Department has charged us a fee of \$21.20. We have asked the Department to search again for the missing telegrams since we all know that they must exist on computer tapes or in someone's files. If necessary, we will contemplate legal action to obtain them. We have also sent a telegram to all AFSA Chapters (State 76124) urging personnel to fill out the Johns Hopkins University Medical Questionnaire. We urge that these questionnaires be completed as fully as possible so that the study can provide the necessary information to determine whether or not the Moscow radiation has had any health effects. The final report from Johns Hopkins is due for publication this summer. The Soviets continue to bombard our Embassy with low-level microwave radiation, and we continue to urge the Department to take strenuous action to have the signal completely cease, so far without much success. Recently there has been increased harassment of our Foreign Service personnel in Moscow, and we hope to obtain the cooperation of the Department in dealing with the consequences of such harassment on the careers, health, and well-being of our personnel stationed in Moscow.

FSECC SERVICES A BARGAIN

The Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center is a private organization which provides confidential counseling services and educational information for the foreign affairs community. FSECC is funded in equal amounts by the Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFWS) and the American Foreign Service Association (AFSA). Fees are charged on a time basis by FSECC.

As a benefit of their membership in either of the two sponsoring organizations, no fee is charged such clients for the first hour of FSECC service. A fee of \$15 is charged for subsequent hours during the year July 1-June 30.

Clients of FSECC who are not members of AAFWS or of AFSA pay \$25 per hour for services requested. FSECC charges fees to all clients for testing.

Two professional counselors staff the FSECC: Bernice Munsey, Director, and Mary Vogel, Assistant. Stephen Hersh, M.D., is Consultant Psychiatrist to FSECC. For assistance: FSECC, 2101 E St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Phone: 202-338-4045. Hours are 9 a.m.-3 p.m.

HUMPHREY BILL DEVELOPMENTS

AFSA/W has continued to lobby on behalf of the Humphrey Bill, particularly the provisions dealing with the establishment of a unified personnel system (Chapter VII, Title II). Recently we have been meeting with staffers of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House International Relations Committee. We have also met with Congressman Obey's staff regarding his bill which requires that a unified personnel system be established within the current AID organization.

We regret to report that on April 6, 1978 the HIRC mark-up was distributed and it did not address personnel matters. It did, however, borrow certain provisions of the Humphrey Bill such as the Economic Support Fund (vice SSA), and the sections on the DA functional accounts. We have heard informally that the President has decided to recommend usage of the Humphrey Bill as the basis for the mark-up in the Senate, but at this writing there is no official confirmation. We also understand that the President's decision includes reservations on the International Financial Institutions and on any changes regarding P.L. 480.

FOREIGN SERVICE GRIEVANCE BOARD

Robinson McIlvaine is joining the Foreign Service Grievance Board as its newest member. Ambassador McIlvaine joined the Foreign Service as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in 1954. He has held a wide variety of positions since then, including Consul General in Leopoldville; Ambassador to the Republic of Dahomey; Ambassador to Republic of Guinea; and Ambassador to Kenya. Since 1973 Ambassador McIlvaine has served as Director of the African Wildlife Leadership Foundation. We are pleased to welcome him as a member of the Grievance Board.

TAXES AND CUSTOMS

For some years AFSA has been pressing management to equalize the tax and customs status of F.S. personnel assigned abroad with that of foreign government personnel assigned in Washington. We were concerned because of widespread evidence that the Department of State was not effectively enforcing the terms of the Vienna Diplomatic and Consular Conventions.

Finally, in August 1977, the Director General appointed a task force to investigate the issues involved. In early April, 1978, management informed the AFSA Members Interests Committee that the task force's study and recommendations have been forwarded to the Director General for review and approval. We hope we will soon be informed what management intends to do to overcome the inequities which are a severe hardship on many employees, especially secretaries and communicators.

AFSA COMMUNICATES

As Chapters and Keypersons have no doubt noticed in recent weeks, we have begun to provide information on current employee-management relations activities, negotiations and events on a regular basis by circular telegrams containing summaries of developments. The texts of these telegraphic communications are also circulated to Keypersons under AFSA letterhead, entitled "AFSA Activities Update."

This additional method of improving our dialogue with the membership is a further effort to communicate important Washington activities in a timely manner to allow for maximum participation from all our Foreign Service colleagues, at home and abroad. We ask that you find a way to circulate or distribute these texts and the information presented promptly to all Foreign Service personnel within your bureau, Chapter, or other area of responsibility.

TENACITY AND TALES OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Ambassador Jack McFall is blessed with a plethora of stick-to-itiveness. Tenacity is the word which most comes to mind in describing the man responsible for this month's publication of *Tales of the Foreign Service*.

Ambassador McFall would not have been the sponsor of the *Journal's* 1969 contest featuring articles by Foreign Service officers on Foreign Service life had he not sustained his interest in a Foreign Service career during the 1930s. No oral examinations during this lean decade didn't deter him from leaving his legal career to enter the Service when positions opened in 1940. His distinguished career ended in Finland where he is still fondly remembered by many prominent Finns. He left the Foreign Service after a serious heart attack, but overcame the heavy odds against him and continues to lead a vigorous life.

A persistent interest in how Americans view the Foreign Service has stuck with the Ambassador since those lonely days in the '30s when he waited for an opportunity to enter, throughout his distinguished career, and even more so as he visited universities after his retirement. There he found that students knew little about the Service. He was "appalled at the ignorance and misinformation about it." Ambassador McFall was especially struck by the lack of knowledge about what Foreign Service people do, so he donated \$5,000 in prize money for the *Journal* contest.

The 18 prizewinners certainly pleased Ambassador McFall. The losers were so good that he bought the rights to 20 additional articles for \$25 each. His generosity went beyond the prize money. He donated the income from the published articles equally to the AFSA and DACOR Scholarship funds. Ambassador McFall was especially pleased with prizewinners such as Jim Ruchti, who donated their prizes to the scholarship fund.

Following the contest, Ambassador McFall thought the articles good enough so that a publisher would surely snap them up for an anthology. For 14 months he dogged publishers who made comments such as "fascinating articles

but they won't sell . . . not enough sex." Reluctantly he gave up his search for a publisher. Four years later he was visiting Ralph Hilton, a retired FSO who is the owner and publisher of a newspaper in Hilton Head, South Carolina. A prize-winner himself, Mr. Hilton reignited Ambassador McFall's hope for publication through his enthusiasm for the articles. Ralph Hilton edited the 38 manuscripts and submitted them to the University of South Carolina Press. The University of South Carolina, which has expanded its interest in international relations and is considering founding a foreign service school, liked the idea of publication. They sent the articles to independent readers who recommended publication. A panel of professors approved the project. The editors of the University of South Carolina Press subsequently selected 18 of the 38 articles for the May 1978 publication of *Tales of the Foreign Service*. In addition to several contest winners, they are publishing several of the non-winning essays which Ambassador McFall wisely purchased in 1969.

An important feature of Foreign Service Day 1978 will be the sale of *Tales of the Foreign Service*. The book is priced at \$9.95 but will be available for \$8.95 through the Foreign Service Day festivities, May 18-20. Children of AFSA and DACOR members will profit for generations from Ambassador Jack K. McFall's donation of the royalties to the AFSA and DACOR scholarship funds. Most of all, the Foreign Service will profit from the publication of *Tales of the Foreign Service* which will go far in dispelling misinformation about Foreign Service life which so disturbed Ambassador McFall. Henry Kissinger sums up the promise of the book in his statement on the jacket: "This book tells in vivid example the story of dedicated men and women serving their country amid great and tumultuous events."

If the Ambassador's next project succeeds, we may be watching reruns of *Tales of the Foreign Service* on television for years to come. A few years ago he expanded his idea for the contest and the book into a projected television series. DACOR supported this



project and canvassed its members for submissions. One hundred and twenty-three came in, resulting in definite interest from a European producer. Ambassador McFall, out of courtesy, checked with the State Department to avoid conflict. The Department told him that they working with CBS on a similar project. Unfortunately, nothing was ever produced. Today a Hollywood producer has rekindled interest in many of the DACOR scenarios. Perhaps next year we will be watching a pilot television program of *Tales of the Foreign Service* on Foreign Service Day.

—Peter Wolcott

REMEMBER AFGHANISTAN

Are you ready for another R.A.P.? If you and your family have served in Afghanistan with AID, State, USIS, Care/Medico—in any capacity—then you are cordially invited to come to the second annual Remember Afghanistan Picnic on Wednesday, June 28, 1978 at the Pavilion, Carderock Picnic Area of the Chesapeake & Ohio National Park. It is just beyond the Beltway (I-495) outside of Washington, D.C. on the Maryland side of the Potomac.

Families will start arriving at 4 p.m., workers as soon as they can leave their offices. The picnic will end when the park closes at dusk. Bring your own food and drink. There's a shelter if it rains, plus lots of barbecue grills, picnic tables, and space for games.

Last year, 210 Afghan Alumni had a fine time reminiscing, reading notices from those who were far away, playing games, and getting re-acquainted with old friends. Do plan to join us!

For further details, contact: Jay and Janet Hawley, 11120 Forest Edge Dr., Reston, Virginia 22090. Phone: (703) 437-5933 after 4 p.m.

REPORT OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON UNION AFFILIATION

For some time there has been a contingent within AFSA that feels the organization could accomplish more in the employee/management relations field if AFSA affiliated with a public-sector-oriented union. In October 1977, the Board established an *Ad Hoc* Committee on Union Affiliation to look into the possibilities of such an affiliation.

The first task before the committee was to set out some guidelines and objectives. Among these, the most important are that the AFSA Board would retain *complete autonomy* in (1) determining negotiating policy and approving settlements with management for all

AFSA units and (2) determining AFSA's public position regarding public policy issues including all matters related to the Foreign Service, and the right to publicly disassociate AFSA from unacceptable public policy positions taken by the parent union (e.g. opposing the ratification of the Panama Canal Treaty).

The committee met with several unions and through a logical process of elimination narrowed the choice considerably. The members of the committee and the AFSA staff reviewed the unions' by-laws and met with their respective representatives to discuss points that might bar an affiliation. In most cases the points were negotiable.

While AFSA people would continue to do the actual bargaining with management, the public-sector-union would provide assistance and advise on negotiating tactics. Research is an important key in preparing for negotiations. We would eventually expect to be able to use the union's facilities (which include researchers, economists and statisticians, writers and communications specialists, legislative representatives, pension experts, training personnel and negotiators) to do much of the actual work in providing us with facts, figures, etc. Naturally, this parent union would have little information on hand pertaining to Foreign Service issues in the beginning but it would help establish files and precedents.

Another equally important benefit would be influence on the Hill. The parent union would have its own legislative and political education department consisting of lobbyists, researchers, etc., that work with Congress and the Executive Branch.

Affiliation with a public-sector union would mean, of course, another increase in dues because of per capita fees that would have to be paid to the parent union. Such an increase, however, in the committee's view might well be entirely justified if we received all the services previously described. Conversely, we might find that we could get more for our money by expanding AFSA's own direct-hire staff.

And what would possible union affiliation mean to our Retired Members? It might mean that they could not hold office, vote for officers or take an active role in policy making on employee bargaining matters. The committee goes forward, however, with the hope that our retired membership can remain active, provide its traditional leadership and perceptive insights on the Foreign Service professional issues. AFSA should not lose its role as a professional association, where it traditionally has made important contributions to the overall Foreign Affairs

community. The retired constituency is much too valuable to the professional side of the house to ever be summarily dismissed from the AFSA organization and that is not the committee's intent.

For those AFSA members who are with the ICA, their status would remain as it is now.

Before the committee pursues this issue further, we are interested in your reactions. This is not a referendum, it is a request by the Affiliation Committee for advice from the Membership as it prepares its report for the Governing Board. Any dues increase would have to be approved by the Membership in a secret ballot referendum. Affiliation with another union would probably require an amendment to the AFSA By-laws and would require a majority showing of Membership approval by a referendum.

Please take the time to fill the questionnaire out and return it to: The *Ad Hoc* Committee, c/o AFSA, Rm. 3644, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520 by *June 30, 1978*. Overseas members may return their questionnaire by pouch.

CHANGES IN FOREIGN SERVICE ALLOWANCES OVERSEAS

Effective April 9, 1978, the wardrobe portion of the transfer allowance was amended so as to limit it only to employees given a two geographic zone transfer. This reduction was one of approximately 75 recommendations proposed in the June 1977 report by the Inter Agency Committee on Allowance. The Committee justified this particular recommendation on the basis that recent improvements of multiseasonal clothing and wider availability of air conditioning and central heating no longer require major restocking of clothing when transferred.

Responding to questions posed by AFSA Members Interests Committee, management stated that most of the other recommended changes in allowances will be beneficial to the employees. For instance, as a result of Inter Agency Committee recommendations, quarters allowances were substantially raised in the summer of 1977. About 25 recommendations can be implemented only after passage of legislation which is now being prepared for submission to Congress. The remaining changes can probably be accomplished by amendments to regulations which are now in various stages of preparation. In addition to AFSA exerting pressure on management to speed up its schedule for implementing the necessary regulation changes, we learn that the General Accounting Office has also written management urging early action toward carrying out these many recommendations. (Copies of the Inter Agency Committee Report were circulated to all posts in mid-1977 and include detailed discussions on the proposed allowance changes.)

AD HOC COMMITTEE ON UNION AFFILIATION QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Membership category and grade ___
State ___ ICA ___
AID ___ Retired Member ___
2. Do you favor in principle AFSA affiliation with a public-sector-oriented union?
YES ___ NO ___
3. Would you support such affiliation if it meant a dues increase of up to (indicate highest you would be willing to pay)
150% ___
100% ___
50% ___
No increase ___
4. Would you drop out of AFSA if it affiliated with a public-sector-oriented union?
YES ___ NO ___
5. If you are a Retired Member, would you be willing to continue your membership?
YES ___ NO ___
6. If you are a Retired Member, in the event of an affiliation would you prefer a non-voting associate status at a reduced cost?
YES ___ NO ___
7. Instead of affiliating with a public-sector-oriented union, would you prefer to take the same dues increase and apply it to hiring additional full-time staff of labor/management experts?
YES ___ NO ___
8. Any additional comments are welcomed. Use separate page.

In order to be of maximum assistance to AFSA members and *Journal* readers we are accepting these listings until the 15th of each month for publication in the issue dated the following month. The rate is 40¢ per word, less 2% for payment in advance, minimum 10 words. Mail copy for advertisement and check to: Classified Ads, *Foreign Service Journal*, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

FOR RENT

NEW SMYRNA BEACH, FLORIDA—New 3-bedroom ocean front, cedar duplex, beautifully furnished, near shopping center, weekly maid service, utilities, 3-months-year leasing, corporation leasing available. \$975.00 monthly. Contact Earl Andrews, 7307 Lake Dr., Orlando, Florida 32809, for details.

FT. MEYERS, FLA. — Brand-new 3 BR home complete in every respect, available for long-term lease o/a May 1st. Foreign Service retirees especially welcome. Call 813-481-7789 or write: D. E. Owen, Embassy, APO SF 96301.

HOUSES FOR EXCHANGE

WANT A RENT-FREE vacation? Write—Holiday Home Exchange, Box 555, Grants, New Mexico USA 87020.

Luxury holiday HOME EXCHANGES/RENTALS. Personalized service. INQUILINE, Box 208J, Katonah, N.Y. 10536, USA.

REAL ESTATE

LOUDOUN, CLARKE COUNTIES & WEST VIRGINIA. For commuter, retirement or investment. Personal service: Contact Bill Carey, McDaniel-Kent Realty, Purcellville, Virginia 22132. Tel. (703) 338-7611.

SEASHORE RENTAL

BETHANY BEACH, DELAWARE—3-bedroom, 2 bath, attractively furnished house. All electric air, heat, appliances. Tennis, pools, near ocean. \$275 summer weeks, \$700 monthly off-season. Penthouse 9, 18304 Gulf Blvd., Redington Shores, Florida 33708.

BOOKS

NANCY'S NOOK, owned by retired AID FSR, gives 20% discount on mail orders for popular fiction and non-fiction books and 10% for professional and textbooks. Also searches for out-of-print books and can provide best-seller-type second-hand books at very low prices for club and mission libraries, Box 368, Hyden, KY. 41749.

SPECIAL 25% DISCOUNT TO FSJ READERS: "Contentious Consul," colorful biography of John Coffin Jones, first American consular agent in Hawaii (1821-1839). \$7.50 postpaid. Adobe Press, 1555 Murray Ave., El Cajon, CA. 92020.

BOOKS PRINTED, Compugraphic typesetting. Biography Press, Rt. 1-745, Aransas Pass, TX 78336.

AFSA/AID NEWS

RIFOMETER. Some months ago, when the RIF genic first appeared with the number 400, AID/AFSA marshaled its resources to protect employees' interests. The latest RIF "body count" is that 13 (an auspicious number) are "fingered" to go. Two of these employees are "Ls" and seven are eligible for retirement. AFSA will, of course, continue its vigorous efforts to protect these employees.

RIF Procedures: After three years of intensive negotiations aimed at developing improved RIF procedures, we thought a new agreement had been substantially worked out. Then on March 23, 1978, AID management representatives proposed that as a cost saving measure the competitive area for RIF purposes should be specific geographic areas rather than worldwide. AFSA has criticized AID for introducing such a major new proposal just as agreement on an entire package was about to be concluded. We consider this proposal very ill-timed and do not know at this time how it will affect overall negotiations.

While not tied to RIF negotiations, AFSA has been pressing AID on an urgent basis to complete a close examination of its procedures for granting personal services contracts. We are concerned that current practices allow for abuses of the system which adversely affect Foreign Service employees as well as the overall program.

ASSIGNMENT PROCESS: In answer to the question of equalizing the assignment process wherein consideration is given to the fact that some posts are clearly more of a "hardship" than others, Earl Klitnic, AID's Labor Relations Director, has assured the AFSA/AID personnel negotiations team that Personnel is reviewing "many personnel programs, including assignments and tours of duty." He went on to state that he hoped to discuss with AFSA in the coming months new ideas along these lines. AFSA will continue to press hard for career counseling and development and other "new ideas" AFSA has been proposing over the years.

FSS. Management told AFSA that the long-awaited reinstatement of the FSS Career Upward Mobility Program is in the final clearance stage and will be sent to AFSA sometime during the week of April 10th.

POST DIFFERENTIAL. AFSA is

continuing its struggle to rescind Section 552 of the Standardized Government Regulations pertaining to post differential, so that all employees at a given hardship post will receive the full differential due them.

SEEKING CANDIDATES. Nancy Fox has resigned as the AID Representative on the Governing Board. The AID Standing Committee is seeking a replacement. Please send the names of any potential candidates for this important position to Tom O'Connor, c/o AFSA Office, Room 3644 NS as soon as possible.

COARs. An agreement which will provide employees with much more information on COAR preparation and OPT's handling and decisions has been approved and signed.

LANGUAGE TRAINING. Agreement has been reached for language training for employees in the secondary language of the country of assignment. Negotiations will be initiated shortly to accommodate similar training for their dependents.

RECRUIT NEW MEMBERS!! We need your support. See your friendly Keyperson or application forms can be obtained from Room 3644 NS.

FSJ SAYS THANKS

The *Journal* Editorial Board wishes to thank the many readers in the Washington area who responded to a recent questionnaire. In spite of the fact that the mailing house omitted the return envelope, returns were excellent and the information is being tabulated and put to good use. Doubly appreciated are those who went the extra mile to help the *Journal* and offered advertising leads and other suggestions. And may we apologize for the missing envelope?

Foreign Service People

Marriage

King-Helms. Lorna King, widow of Hon. Clyde Nelson King, Chief of the Special ECA Mission to Austria, was married on December 19 to George W. Helms. Mrs. Helms entered the Foreign Service in 1944 as Lorna Inez McLeod. Mr. & Mrs. Helms are at home at 1100 Imperial Drive, Bays Bluff, Apt. 604, Sarasota, Florida 33577.

Birth

Yordan. A son, Gregory Wright, born to Carlos M. Yordan, Jr., and Terry Hammond Yordan, on February 1, in Sunnyvale, California. He is the grandson of FSO and Mrs. Carlos M. Yordan of the Embassy in Santo Domingo.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

DISTRIBUTE RAND McNALLY ROAD MAPS . . . High Profits . . . Low Wholesale Prices . . . Dealerships available . . . Amerimap, Inc., 734 Marquette Bank Building, Rochester, Minnesota 55901 (507) 288-6477.

Deaths

Andruch. Gordon R. Andrueh, AID executive officer, died on February 28 in Ghana. Mr. Andrueh joined the Agency in 1964 and served in Nigeria, Vietnam, Colombia and Peru. He is survived by his wife, Dianne, who works for the State Department in Ghana and three daughters. Correspondence to the family may be addressed c/o Suban, 157 South Amulet Ave., Mesa, Arizona 85208.

Harding. Edward Wood Harding, FSO-retired, died on March 27 in Washington. Mr. Harding joined the State Department in 1947 and entered the Foreign Service in 1955. He served at Berlin and as a Foreign Service Inspector before his retirement in 1967. He is survived by his wife, Dorothy, 5621 Wood Way, Sumner, Maryland 20022.

Lindner. Paul H. Lindner, FSR-retired, died on December 27, in Grand Prairie, Texas. Mr. Lindner entered on duty with the FOA in 1954 and served at Tel Aviv, Ankara, Karachi, and Saigon with FOA, ICA and then AID before his retirement. He is survived by his wife, Vera, of 1209 Jordan Dr., Grand Prairie, Texas 75050.

Lydman. Josefa C. Lydman, wife of retired Ambassador Jack W. Lydman, died on March 15, in Washington. Mrs. Lydman was employed by State's office of public affairs until 1956. She then accompanied her husband on assignments to Bangkok, Surabaya, Jakarta, Canberra and Kuala Lumpur, where he was Ambassador to Malaysia. Since Ambassador Lydman's retirement in 1974, they have lived at 2815 Q Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007. In addition to her husband, she is survived by two brothers and four sisters.

Smith. Norman L. Smith, FSO-retired, died on March 31, in Fairfax, Virginia. Mr. Smith entered the Foreign Service in 1949 and served at Frankfurt, Paris, Ankara, Melbourne, Brisbane and Bangkok before his retirement. He is survived by his wife, Frances, of 6605 Dearborn Drive, Falls Church, Va. 22044, and a daughter, Sheila.

Washington. S. Walter Washington, FSO-retired, died on April 3 in El Paso. Mr. Washington, a Rhodes scholar, entered the Foreign Service in 1926 and served at Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Tokyo, Bogota, Istanbul, Riga, Stockholm, San Jose, Mexico City and Madrid before his retirement in 1953. After retirement he taught at the University of Virginia for six years and at the University of Puerto Rico for nine. He is survived by his wife, Adriana, 2035 Guthrie Pl., Las Cruces, N.M. 88001, a son, Dr. John A. Washington II, a brother, and three grandchildren.

The 19th Century Electric Blanket



A hundred years ago, building a house with 12-inch thick stone walls wasn't energy conservation, just plain common sense. Along about sun-up, when temperatures dropped to five below, folks had little else to depend on save for a good warm quilt.

Unfortunately, such solid construction techniques have long since been abandoned. So too have the many fine structures which were built to withstand the elements.

Today, preservationists and business developers alike have come to appreciate the quality craftsmanship of the past: They're finding adaptive uses for abandoned homes, factories and warehouses—turning them into art centers, apartment complexes, shopping centers.

They're also finding that the durable construction of the past yields higher quality and less expensive space than could be obtained in a brand new building. And the skilled artisans of yesterday built structures with a unique character that simply isn't being created today.

Help promote new uses for yesterday's fine buildings. Join the National Trust. For membership information, write: National Trust for Historic Preservation, Department 0608, 740 Jackson Place, NW, Washington, DC 20006.



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