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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

SEPTEMBER 1978: Volume 55, No. 9

ISSN 0015-7279



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The FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL is the journal of professionals in foreign affairs, published twelve times a year by the American Foreign Service Association, a non-profit organization.

Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and is not intended to indicate the official views of the Department of State, the United States Information Agency, the Agency for International Development or the United States Government as a whole.

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For subscription to the JOURNAL, one year (12 issues); \$7.50; two years, \$12.00. For subscriptions going abroad, except Canada, add \$1.00 annually for overseas postage.

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and/or *America: History and Life*.

Microfilm copies of current as well as of back issues of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL are available through the University Microfilm Library Services, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 under a contract signed October 30, 1967.

© American Foreign Service Association, 1978. The Foreign Service Journal is published twelve times a year by the American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington D.C. 20037. Telephone (202) 338-4045

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and at additional post office.

AFSA ON THE HILL

As the current session of Congress draws to a close, AFSA can claim to have won a number of benefits and forestalled some disasters, for the Foreign Service.

Perhaps the most important benefit is the "High One"—a retirement incentive, permitting executive-level Foreign Service people whose salaries have been capped and who choose to retire during the 15 months beginning October 1 to compute their retirement on the basis of the final year's salary, rather than the average of the highest three years. The High One was a key element of AFSA's legislative proposals to provide "attrition without tears" to relieve the "impacted" Foreign Service.

The House International Relations Committee and the full House supported our proposal. So did the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, but the floor manager withdrew it on the floor of the Senate to avoid a defeat which might have resulted from a letter written by the Secretary, under White House instructions, opposing the High One, containing highly fanciful information about its additional costs to the government, and threatening a veto of the entire FY 1979 Foreign Relations Authorization bill.

AFSA provided to House and Senate Conferees information indicating that the High One would not only benefit the Foreign Service, but could result in a net savings to the government. The Senate receded, and barring mishap the provision should take effect in October.

AFSA also took action on other provisions in the conference version of the bill:

- By pushing for repeal of the Pell Amendment which bans premium pay for FSOs and FSIOs, we helped create a situation in which the Secretary has authority to pay an allowance to officers serving regular and substantial overtime, compensatory time can be provided at overseas posts with unusual working schedules, and there will at least be a comprehensive study of staffing and compensation in the Department.

- Our proposal that per diem for family members be paid while they are on TDY en route to or from an assignment is in the legislation;

- Qualified family members of US government employees can be employed in certain positions in Department of State posts now normally filled by aliens, and the Secretary is urged to develop reciprocal agreements permitting more private employment for Foreign Service dependents overseas.

- The United States, as well as overseas locations, may be the designated area for rest and recuperation

travel.

- The "Fly America" act is being amended to allow for greater use by Foreign Service personnel of non-American carriers between locations outside the United States.

Meanwhile, the Civil Service Reform Act, which the President regards as the centerpiece of his reorganization efforts, was moving ahead in both the House and the Senate. Despite earlier indications, the Senior Executive Service (SES) provision was drafted to include all senior Foreign Service position and people. On May 31 we wrote to the Chairmen of the Committees concerned, opposing the inclusion of the Foreign Service because of the unpredictable and disruptive effect of the proposal on our personnel system. In June the Department suddenly realized we were right and tried to persuade the President to allow a legislated exemption for the Foreign Service. But the President no doubt believing that too many such exemptions would undermine the credibility of the proposal rejected the recommendation. It was left to AFSA to carry the ball on the Hill, and we picked it up. With the help of our lobbying, a motion by Congressman (and ex-FSO) Jim Leach to exclude the Foreign Service from the SES passed in the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee by a 13-10 vote. (The outcome of the whole Civil Service reform remains uncertain at this mid-August writing.)

We are encouraged by the results of this legislative session so far. Much of it could not have been accomplished if the Foreign Service had had to rely for its salvation on the amiable but ineffectual leadership of the foreign affairs agencies, who, in the case of important issues like the High One and the SES, couldn't even persuade the Executive branch of the importance of the Foreign Service and the special character of our problems, and had to stand mute on the Hill.

Only an organization independent of the Executive branch, of, by, and for the Foreign Service, could have made the case which has met with so much sympathy and understanding in the Congress. We are glad to have been able to fill this role, but we hasten to add that there is much more to be done, and that we can do it better when we have the support of more of those people who benefit—the Foreign Service people who are not Members of AFSA.

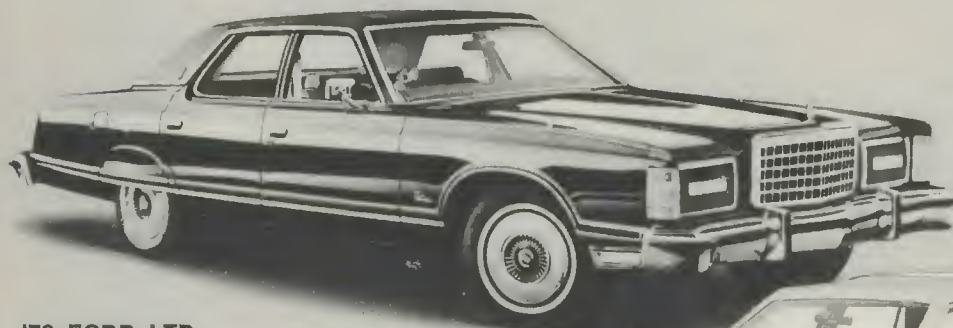
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A Very Minor Qualm

ERIC GRIFFEL

Why now?

There is a new David Caute book, *The Great Fear*, which is a study of the anti-Communist purges of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., gives it a negative review in the March 19 issue of the *New York Times Book Review*. Schlesinger recognizes the value of telling the shameful story but takes Caute to task for doing it badly and for not taking into consideration the fact that there was indeed a threat of subversion and that a democratic society must

somehow deal with such a threat. Not dealing with it produces, Schlesinger suggests, the Burgesses, Macleans and Philbys of Britain. It is at least a question whether this product is better or worse than McCarthy (Joseph), John Foster Dulles, the FBI and the CIA—all this per Schlesinger. The problem with this argument is that it does not deal with the question of whether the security apparatus then established had any effect whatever on actually detecting subversion. Philby, Maclean and Burgess may be peculiarly British phenomena resulting from the inviolability of the old boy network which would not have occurred in the United States, come what may. On the other hand, different manifestations of the problem arose and arise here despite our security arrangements.

But why now?

After Watergate. After Guatemala. After Chile. After Vietnam and Cambodia. After the Korea scandals.

Why now?

What possible importance do security checks of United States Government officials have, what is the relation of this to the great events above, and is it not something essentially too petty to raise a fuss about? For it is the security check system which I wish to take up, to rail against; it is this system which constitutes my very



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We all know what I am talking about. Its most obvious manifestation is when some man comes to one's office and, after showing his card and spouting something about the Freedom of Information Act, asks if you know Joe Spade and whether you would answer a few questions about him. By now you have tumbled as to which swell sketch is about to be replayed and you decide, once again, to go through with it less because you fear the consequences of not playing the game for yourself, certainly not because you think the game has the remotest possibility of having any bearing on Joe Spade's loyalty or suitability for a new job, but because you do not wish Joe to be hurt by your refusal to play. You fear the possibility that not playing will be translated to mean that you have some doubts about Joe and this is the reason you refuse to talk.

So the sketch is played out in its full farcicality. "How well do you know Joe?" "Does he drink too much?" "Would you trust him in a position of responsibility?" "Is he loyal to the United States?" "Do you know anything about him which would prevent him from fulfilling his new duties loyally?" "And by the way do you know anyone else who knows Joe—preferably on the same floor of Main State as this?"

You answer. There is no way of painting Joe as anything other than a paragon of all the virtues. Anything more reasonable or even-handed, any thoughtful adumbration, would hurt Joe. For it would need to go through a process of evaluation by a system in whose judgment you have little faith and which is unused to dealing with

qualifications and would thus tend to make more of them than was intended. So you continue answering positively. "Would Joe make a good representative of the United States?" "Would you employ him in a position of trust?" "Yes." "Yes." The qualifications, the questions, about Joe, about the system, about what a good representative is, about whether your interrogator can be trusted (to be an interrogator)—all this you keep to yourself.

There is, of course, an element of snobbery in the above. Unfortunately it is inevitable, part of a vicious cycle. Since the process is a farce, and is known to be a farce, it does not attract participants of the first rank. It is, of course, the process which makes the interrogator.

And yet these security checks are the law and, it can be argued, serve a purpose. Both of these statements need examination. On the purpose side, it is of course true that those of us already in the United States Government come in contact with the program largely at a time of security clearance renewal and not at the time of initial clearance. There may be some case, some need, for a look at candidates before hiring them for a professional government career. The question even then arises as to what is being looked at, as to whether loyalty can be predetermined, and as to whether security-minded officials are suited to investigations of anything other than security-loyalty. But while I continue skeptical, and continue to have philosophical objections to this part of the program, for the purposes of this discussion I am unprepared to argue.

The other part is the reinvestigation. Here one is asked

Continued on page 33

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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, September, 1978

A Night at the Opera

SOLIE TOOTLE

It was another official visit. Some of the visiting dignitaries would be living in the embassy residence, with the others in nearby hotels. The house was in order with fresh garden flowers in all the rooms and stiff florists'

Hubert Humphrey was many things to many people and now that he is gone we are taking a longer look at his career, and understanding more clearly what he stood for and what he fought for. Everyone who knew him has a favorite story.

Aurelia Reinhardt, daughter of the American ambassador to Italy, met the Happy Warrior in Rome in 1967 when she was 13 years old, and she too has a favorite story.

Solie Tootle first broke into print with a letter to the editor of the Paris Herald Tribune in 1937 and was not seen there again until 1952, "when my husband was assigned to the NATO Defense College in Paris. Not until leaving for the office did he casually mention, 'A Foreign Service officer's wife does not write letters to a newspaper.' (We've come a long way, baby.) I then became a closet authoress, writing reams to friends and relatives from every post. Having married late in life I served as a Foreign Service wife only in Paris, Saigon, Cairo and Rome."

arrangements being delivered for the visitors. The guests had already arrived when the children returned from school at five o'clock, and in the pantry, for milk and apples, they got the gossip from the servants. The vice president was smiling, happy and friendly (Italians love friendly people); Mrs. Humphrey looked tired; the aides were polite when asking for the telephones; and the Secret Service men had carefully checked the house and garden and were now by the front door. The pantry was busy with extra butlers preparing the dinner party for the evening, and the children learned that there would be about twenty-four people for a buffet supper—just members of the embassy "family" and the official vice presidential party. The dinner would be early, by Roman standards, for there was a gala performance at the opera in honor of the American vice president, and he had to arrive exactly 15 minutes before curtain time. Going up to their third floor quarters the children met some strangers on the stairs but this was not unusual in an embassy residence and they just said "hello" and went to their rooms to start their homework, divorcing from their minds the activities in the official part of the house. At six o'clock the governess went to each room: "We are going to eat with the guests tonight, so have your baths and put on your good clothes." For Harry this meant shirt, tie and jacket, and for Aurelia and Catherine their velvet party dresses. There were no grumbles, for this meant they would not eat in the servants' dining room and would be able to see the police outriders on their super Moto Guzzi machines.

Before dinner Mother and Father introduced the child-

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AA TO EEE MASSEY MEN'S SIZES 6 TO 15 AA TO EEE MASSEY MEN'S SIZES 6 TO 15

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"The wave of the future is coming and there is no fighting it." — Anne Morrow Lindbergh

The Challenges and Dangers of Nuclear Weapons: American Foreign Policy and Strategy, 1941–1961

BARTON J. BERNSTEIN

The atomic bomb "would be thousands of times more powerful than existing explosives and its use might be determining," Vannevar Bush, chief scientific adviser, informed President Franklin D. Roosevelt in July 1941. The United States, Bush concluded, might build the powerful new weapon in a few years. Despite other demands for scarce materials and scientific talent, Roosevelt boldly committed the government to determine whether, and at what price, the United States could develop this weapon. After some optimistic preliminary studies, in June, 1942, he courageously expanded that commitment to an all-out race against Germany to build the bomb. Though ignorant of modern science, Roosevelt had enough faith in leading scientists as well as the requisite daring to risk vast expenditures, and even possibly a delay of the war, to build this "determining" weapon. "Nothing to my mind," later wrote Harold L. Ickes, "shows the greatness of Roosevelt so much as this. Here he was called upon to make a decision that staggered the imagination," and he did so while realizing that its failure "would have called down on his head condemnation and contumely."

The president eagerly anticipated the revolutionary consequences of this likely technological breakthrough. Because he believed it could shape the postwar world, he acted to preserve the American monopoly and to exclude the Soviet Union even from knowledge

that the project existed. Throughout the war years, Roosevelt acted systematically to maintain the options for future "atomic diplomacy"—the use of the weapon to gain advantages from other nations, especially Russia. He knew it could be used as a bargaining lever, a *quid pro quo*, a counterweight to armies, a threat, or, if necessary, a combat weapon to extract concessions. Roosevelt did not live to define which option(s) he would have chosen, but it is unlikely that he would have squandered what he had carefully husbanded. Probably he would have used the bomb, perhaps together with economic aid, as a diplomatic lever or implicit threat to retrieve from Soviet dominance the sections of Eastern Europe he had allowed Stalin to control.

Roosevelt bequeathed to President Harry S. Truman the options of "atomic diplomacy" and the resistance to any immediate approach to the Soviets on the bomb. Truman inherited another policy—the unexamined, powerful assumption that the bomb was a legitimate weapon to use against Japan. As the successor to the revered Roosevelt, Truman was insecure and not likely to reconsider this legacy unless it clashed with his inclinations or close advisers urged re-examination. It met his needs, gave substance to his hopes, and received the endorsement of advisers.

The Truman administration dropped the atomic bombs on Japan primarily to help end the war and save allied lives. Neither the combat use of the bomb, nor the bombing of civilians, raised troubling moral questions for most policy makers. In summarizing official thinking at the time, Henry L. Stimson, the Secretary of War, later explained: "The dominant objective was victory. If victory could be speeded by using the

bomb, it should be used; if victory must be delayed in order to use the bomb, it should *not* be used." Because policy makers were morally untroubled and even desired to use the bomb, they were not searching for alternatives. They easily dismissed as too risky the following tactics that critics would later contend might have rendered the bombing unnecessary: a guarantee of the Emperor's position, a retreat from unconditional surrender, the pursuit of "peace feelers," a delay until the Soviets entered the Pacific war, a noncombat demonstration or verbal warning, and increased conventional warfare. Critics usually fail to understand that American leaders viewed the bomb as a powerful *supplement* to, not a substitute for, conventional warfare.

The combat use of the bomb offered policy makers certain "bonuses": it might render the Soviets more tractable, and it promised retribution against the Japanese, who, as Truman explained, had committed "the unwarranted attack . . . on Pearl Harbor and [murdered] our prisoners of war." Revenge may have made the use of the bomb more appealing. But even if Japan had not inspired so much hatred, even if the Japanese had been Caucasian, and even if the Soviet Union had not existed, policy makers would still have used the bomb. Had they, like some scientists, foreseen that Soviet fears might produce an arms race and intransigence, rather than the anticipated tractability, they might have re-examined their assumptions and reconsidered use of the bomb. Nevertheless, given the great cost of the project and the likely popular outrage if they did not use the weapon on Japan, policy makers would have found it difficult—perhaps impossible—to resist the momentum of the project.

The first bomb helped speed the surrender, but the second, on

Barton J. Bernstein, Associate Professor of History at Stanford University, is the author of "Hiroshima and Nagasaki Reconsidered: The Atomic Bombings of Japan and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1945" (1975) and the editor of, among other volumes, "Politics and Policies of the Truman Administration" (1970). He is writing a series of studies on WWII and postwar foreign policy.

Nagasaki, was unnecessary. Japan was moving toward surrender before the second bomb was dropped on August 9, and it did not have an appreciable impact upon deliberations in the Japanese government, which offered on the 10th to surrender on one condition—guarantee of the imperial institution. Most Americans never realized that Truman's intentionally equivocal reply to that request almost resulted in the prolongation of the war, the triumph of the Japanese militarists, and possibly the use of a third atomic bomb, which General Carl Spaatz, among others, was eager to drop. It was a narrowly averted tragedy.

On August 10, 1945, Truman withdrew the original order to the Air Force to use atomic bombs "as made ready," and decreed that future bombs would be dropped only upon his order. To explain his decision, he told the cabinet, in Commerce Secretary Henry A. Wallace's words, "the thought of wiping out another 100,000 people was too horrible. He didn't like the idea of killing all those kids." For the first time, Truman saw a profound moral distinction between atomic weapons and large-scale conventional bombing. Perhaps the reports and pictures of Hiroshima created a sense of moral horror. Probably the controlling distinction for Truman was not the nature of the dying (is death by incendiaries more humane than death by a A-bomb?), but the magnitude of expected dead from a single weapon. He continued conventional bombing but halted atomic bombing.

At the time, when most Americans would have comfortably endorsed the use of more A-bombs, Truman and his advisers, especially Secretary of War Stimson and Secretary of the Navy James V. Forrestal, were more morally sensitive. War had inured most Americans, as well as the citizens of other nations, to mass death. By 1945, the strategic bombing of civilians by conventional or atomic weapons seemed morally acceptable. After the war, as Americans and others realized the horrors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, they feared the future use of nuclear weapons, yet continued to approve of the two atomic attacks on Japan.

The Value and Limits of the American Nuclear Monopoly

At the Potsdam Conference, and then in the immediate postwar period, America's nuclear monopoly emboldened the Truman administration to try to roll back Soviet influence from Eastern Europe. Technology, American leaders believed, would serve ideology. They were masters, not captives, of this "determining" force. The bomb did not alter their conception of the ideal world, but made them confident of achieving their goals since most believed the atomic monopoly itself would make the Soviets tractable. They early recognized the value, and only later the limits, of America's nuclear monopoly.

Stimson lamented that Secretary of State James F. Byrnes was wearing the bomb "ostentatiously on his hip" and hoping to use the "great weapon to get through his program" with the Soviets. As another official noted, Byrnes "wished to have the implied threat in his pocket." J. Robert Oppenheimer soon complained, according to an associate's words, that "Byrnes's attitude on the bomb has been very bad. [He] felt that we could use the bomb as a pistol to get what we wanted in international diplomacy." To keep America prepared, Byrnes forcefully informed Oppenheimer, shortly after Nagasaki, that "his proposal about an international agreement was not practical and that [the scientists] should pursue their work [on atomic weapons] full force."

By mid-October, the United States had a few A-bombs, with one or two more produced each month. Military planners, ignorant of the bomb before Hiroshima, generally assumed it would be a major weapon in the next war, which was expected to be all-out war, not a limited one involving only conventional weapons in a restricted area. In the autumn, a Joint Intelligence Committee selected 20 urban targets in the Soviet Union for atomic bombing, including Moscow, Leningrad, Gorki, Baku, Novosibirsk, and Tashkent. "The cities have been selected," an October report explained, "on the basis of the general importance with respect to (1) industrial facilities—particularly aircraft and

general ordnance, (2) governmental administrative facilities, and (3) facilities for scientific research and development." The target cities had an estimated population of about fifteen million. The goal was primarily to weaken the government and industry, and only secondarily to kill the populations. The resulting terrorism would weaken the Russian national will, but not be decisive. "[I]t is not believed that the Russians would yield to threat or terrorism," the planners concluded. They stressed that "the ability of the atomic weapon to destroy personnel is its greatest distinction and should be exploited if possible in conjunction with other effects."

Secretary Byrnes, much to his distress, found that the bomb did not make the Soviets tractable. After some minor concessions in Eastern Europe, Soviet policy stiffened. Despite their uneasiness about the American nuclear monopoly, they may have wanted to stress that they could not be intimidated. Concessions under pressure, the Soviets may have feared, would beget more demands. They probably realized that the United States would not use the weapon in combat to resolve difficulties over Eastern Europe. Truman privately acknowledged in October, "I am not sure it can ever be used." Presumably the president meant that, short of an attack on Western Europe, he and the American people would not countenance the bomb's use. His own conscience and the sensibility of the American public constituted mutually reinforcing constraints. The bomb was not the omnipotent diplomatic weapon that policy makers had earlier anticipated.

Substantial fears in America about a Soviet-American arms race, adamant demands by nuclear scientists for international control of atomic energy, and Byrnes's own frustrations in seeking to impose his will upon the Soviets, all prompted the secretary to push for international control. The ultimate American proposal, presented by Bernard Baruch in June 1946, would have eliminated the veto on atomic energy in the UN Security Council, required on-site inspections, and thus penetrated the secrecy so vital to Soviet security. The Baruch Plan allowed the United

States to keep its stockpile of A-bombs and barred the Soviets from building the bomb. It also relied upon a series of stages, allowing the US to define fulfillment of each stage and, therefore, to declare a Soviet violation at any time and refuse information. The plan meant, in effect, protection of the American nuclear monopoly, and it might have rendered the Soviets unable to develop a bomb for a longer period than if they rejected the proposal and built the great weapon independently. Not surprisingly, the Soviets rejected the Baruch Plan.

Was the plan, as some analysts charge, a cynical administration effort to meet some political demands at home, to appear generous, to avoid yielding the monopoly, and to win a propaganda victory over the Soviets? Probably not. Baruch certainly would not have wasted his efforts and risked his reputation in a perilous venture for mere propaganda. He was too vain and too committed to the righteousness of his plan. Even when challenging portions of Baruch's program, Oppenheimer and other members of the advisory committee believed in the sincerity of the American venture. Policy makers were convinced of their own generosity and boldness. In formulating the plan, they worried primarily about domestic critics on the right who might accuse the administration of giving the Soviets too much too soon. And as a result, American advisers seldom considered whether their terms would be acceptable to Russia; they put together a plan they did not realize would be unacceptable. Theirs was a failure of imagination, empathy, and vision. Even had they possessed all those laudable qualities, they still could not have devised a plan to meet both their definition of American security and the Soviet criteria for security.

By 1946, with rapid demobilization of American conventional forces and strong belief in the numerical superiority of Soviet forces, the United States was compelled to depend upon the atomic bomb as a deterrent, and a key weapon if war came. Unsure whether the president would authorize nuclear weapons even in a large war, military planners also prepared for large-scale non-nuclear war. It was

a fearful prospect for them. Undoubtedly, however, their anxiety was assuaged because neither military nor civilian leaders anticipated war in the near future. They knew that the Soviet Union lacked the air force and navy to reach America, and they also concluded that the Soviets would not move troops into Western Europe or elsewhere. Judging from the budget hearings and scattered declassified materials, neither the military services nor the administration conceived of

“Although American leaders assumed the Kremlin orchestrated the revolution in Greece, they had no intention of threatening the Soviet Union to deal with what most believed would remain a small-scale local war.”

a non-nuclear, limited war with substantial armies—the kind of struggle the United States would later fight in Korea.

No high-level policy maker aside from Secretary Forrestal recognized what military planners understood: that the A-bomb might not constitute an effective deterrent, and that if it failed as such and an attack occurred, the bomb could not stop a Soviet advance into Western Europe. In 1946, in a series of columns, Walter Lippmann perceptively pointed out those shortcomings. To illustrate his analysis, he proposed the following scenario: Soviet troops march into Western Europe. What would America do? If it dropped bombs on Western Europe, vast numbers of civilians would be killed; if it dropped the bombs on Russia, the Red Army would still be in the West. Hence, the atomic bomb *might* not deter the Soviets.

There is no evidence that events in Iran in 1946, and in Greece in early 1947, spurred policy makers or military planners to prepare for

small-scale conventional war. The psychological impact of World War II remained so great that American officials still expected the next war to be all-out war. For them, therefore, the dialogue was restricted. With the exception of the Air Force officers, most American officials agreed that air power alone would not decide the next war. The other services usually forecast a prolonged war in which the Soviets would occupy Western Europe (not Britain) and some other key areas. According to most plans, those regions would *not* be quickly liberated. Since the services assumed that the next war would be all-out war and probably involve nuclear weapons, they justified most of their budgetary requests on that basis. The Air Force was to drop both atomic and conventional bombs, establish air superiority, and provide defense; the Army was to engage in a protracted ground war against Soviet armies to liberate important areas (especially Europe), protect air fields and key depots, clean up enemy armies after American attacks on the Soviet heartland, and ultimately occupy the defeated nation; the Navy was to keep open sea lanes, assist with air defense and possibly bombing, and aid in the liberation of occupied areas and possibly in the occupation.

Not until late 1947, so far as the available records indicate did Truman and his close advisers consider small-scale limited war. On October 30, he planned to discuss with the secretary of state the military significance of a satellite attack: “A) Do we need a plan to meet this? B) Should we proceed to make one?” Apparently the National Security Council (NSC) soon considered the problem, for in early 1948 it issued NSC 5 which, in part, warned that the United States should “be prepared to send armed forces to Greece or elsewhere in the Mediterranean. . .if it becomes clear that the use of such forces is needed to prevent Greece from falling a victim to direct or indirect aggression.” Although American leaders assumed the Kremlin orchestrated the revolution in Greece, they had no intention of threatening the Soviet Union to deal with what most believed would remain a small-scale local war.

Challenges to American Power: The Soviet Bomb and The Korean War

Almost two years later, after the Soviet Union shocked and challenged the West by exploding an atomic bomb in August 1949, American leaders speedily reassessed their strategic assumptions, military capacity, and nuclear arsenal. The "fall" of China and the detonation of the Soviet bomb led to two important sets of decisions: a commitment to an H-bomb project, and the drafting of NSC-68, with its arguments for increased arms expenditures and preparation for both limited conventional war and large- and small-scale nuclear war.

Until early 1950, when Truman committed the nation to a major H-bomb program, the United States had done little work on the project because of the shortage of critical materials, the emphasis on improving fission weapons, and the difficulty of solving basic scientific problems. In late 1949, David Lilienthal, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), and Oppenheimer, chairman of the AEC's General Advisory Committee (GAC), led the effort within the government to forswear work on the Superbomb. The GAC argued that it was militarily unnecessary. America would soon possess very powerful fission weapons, including the "booster," a fission reaction boosted by fusion and yielding about 500 kilotons. Further, the GAC contended, the H-bomb was immoral. They declared that it was potentially genocidal and hoped to shift American strategic bombing from urban to military targets. An American decision to build the Super, they contended, would probably provoke an H-bomb race with the Soviet Union, miss an opportunity for mutual forbearance on this dread weapon, jeopardize possibilities for international control of nuclear arms, unduly emphasize nuclear weapons over non-nuclear weapons, and divert resources and scientists from probably more efficient weapons—large fission bombs and small tactical fission weapons.

Neither Truman nor Secretary of State Dean Acheson found those arguments convincing. Acheson, the president's most trusted ad-

visor on international affairs, wanted the additional strength provided by the Super. He did not believe the Soviets would show restraint, and concluded that efforts at international control were foolish. Acheson saw no moral difference between small and huge nuclear weapons. How, he wondered, could Oppenheimer and the others draw an ethical line that killing 70,000 or 200,000 enemy civilians with a fission bomb was moral, but slaying 300,000 or more with a Super was immoral? By expanding the AEC program, Acheson concluded, America could have large fission bombs, small tactical weapons, and the Super.

Truman's own inclinations, Acheson's aims, their assessments of America's international needs, and their fears of being skewered by powerful congressmen and public opinion were the reasons—both domestic and international—why the president decided to endorse the project. Because Truman was unlikely to find any compelling argument persuading him to favor the Oppenheimer-Lilienthal analysis, the president's decision was virtually inevitable. And in February 1950, when Truman learned that the Soviets might have a Superbomb in production, and that even a massive American attack with A-bombs would destroy *only* about one-quarter of the Soviet industrial capacity in the first month, he found additional reasons to support the thermonuclear project.

The struggle over the Super did not pit "hawks" against "doves," but involved a clash between groups with different hopes for controlling or slowing the arms race, and with different estimates of which nuclear and conventional weapons America should emphasize. Advisers such as Lilienthal and Oppenheimer were ambivalent, for they both dreaded nuclear weapons and could find no effective escape from them. Acheson, on the other hand, had no doubts. He believed that only power could enable America to triumph in the cold war, and he desired all available military strength. The only restraint was economic, and he campaigned within the administration to urge Truman to enlarge the military budget.

NSC-68, spiritually fathered by Secretary Acheson, emphasized

the need to strengthen the "free world" by expanding American capabilities for limited and all-out war and by militarily bolstering allies. The West, NSC-68 warned in April 1950, was critically weak in Europe and in Asia. The Soviets, or their allies, could nibble away through piecemeal aggression. By 1954, when the Soviet Union would have the capacity to launch a devastating nuclear attack on the US, the "free world" alliance would be inadequate and America's nuclear deterrent no longer credible. NSC-68 aimed to increase the magnitude and variety of armaments and thus give the United States flexible options, choices between all-out nuclear war and acquiescence before aggression. Under NSC-68, America would have stronger allies, larger conventional forces, tactical nuclear devices, large fission bombs, and the "Super"—a full panoply to assure American mastery in most situations. Such a "position of strength," as Paul Nitze, chief author of NSC-68, later explained, "could induce a change in the nature of the Soviet system." Put bluntly, the steady pressures of armed containment could mean American victory, possible without shooting, in the cold war. American will, technology, men, and funds, as well as European rearmament, could make the difference.

Because of its estimated cost of \$38-\$50 billion, much of the military program of NSC-68 seemed doomed. The military had reluctantly endorsed the program, and the fiscally conservative Secretary of Defense, Louis Johnson, remained a lurking enemy of the program. Truman, who feared unbalanced budgets, was then holding military expenditures to \$13.5-\$15 billion annually; he was unwilling to double or triple those sums. He was not under great pressure from a powerful military-industrial complex, because major military suppliers, usually aircraft firms, lacked the requisite economic-political power. In 1950, most major business firms did not depend significantly upon defense contracts; they supported the defense expenditures of \$13.5-\$15 billion only because they seemed essential to American security and the preservation of a world political

economy in which American business could operate profitably and predictably. Many businessmen and congressmen, as well as Truman, rejected the expansionist economic doctrines of Leon Keyserling and other Keynesians, who held that larger military budgets and resulting deficits would promote prosperity. What rescued the NSC-68 spending program from the ash-heap was the Korean war. It "came along and saved us," Dean Acheson later acknowledged, looking back on the success of his strategy: the rearmament of Europe, assistance to counter-revolutionary movements in the "third world," military expansion at home, and the strengthening of allies.

The Korean conflict also unleashed new threats and fears, and new demands and challenges. While fighting a limited war in Korea, the Truman administration had to thwart proposals and demands for preventive war, including some by the secretary of the navy and an air force general. On November 30, 1950, at a press conference, Truman provided new substance to the fear that America was contemplating nuclear war when he declared, "We will take whatever steps are necessary to meet the military situation . . ." He specifically included the atomic bomb. His words caused anxieties at home and abroad, and within a week, about 3,400 Americans protested to the White House, while only about 1,100 endorsed combat use of the atomic bomb. His statement also strained the NATO alliance, and prompted British Prime Minister Clement Attlee to hasten to Washington in quest of assurances, which Truman hedged. It was his "hope" that the bomb would not be necessary.

The administration flirted with using atomic weapons, but each time backed away from such dangerous action. After China's massive entry into the war in late November 1950, and subsequent rout of General Douglas A. MacArthur's forces, American military leaders concluded that the bomb might be necessary if Russia also entered the war. "We would have to consider the threat or the use of the A-bomb," General J. Lawton Collins, Army chief of staff stated privately. "It would be

very difficult to get our troops out if Russian air were used (and hence the bomb could be essential.)" Under most conditions, however, the advantages of using the bomb were few, the disadvantages numerous: a splintering of the European alliance, accusations of American racism, bitter criticism by Asians, the outrage of many Americans, the possibility of Soviet retaliation, and the threat of all-out war.

Field commanders and some members of the Joint Chiefs also concluded that Korea offered no suitable tactical targets. "We have looked for a long time and studied the possible tactical uses in Korea," General Omar Bradley told a congressional committee in 1953, "and it is rather hard to find a target at this time that we think is sufficiently remunerative as a target for the expending of the stockpile. However get [the enemy forces] out in the open, and I think we would have to consider it very seriously." In January 1952, Acheson suggested privately to the British that the administration might follow General MacArthur's earlier strategy and "carry air war to China" if the Chinese did not accede to the armistice, or if they later violated it. The targets would not be "population centers [but] military targets . . . and the effort would be to break up transportation and air concentrations," Bradley and Secretary of Defense Robert Lovett explained. Bradley said there were no "suitable targets" in China for atomic bombs, but added a troubling modification: "If the situation changed in any way, so that suitable targets were presented, a new situation would arise. So far this [is] entirely theoretical."

Bradley and others assumed that the cities of China and Korea were unacceptable targets for nuclear weapons. Why? Part of the answer rests upon their notions of efficiency and conservation of scarce resources. The bomb was too powerful to be wasted on Korean cities, and the Air Force had already destroyed much of Pyongyang and other major Korean cities. What about China's cities? Many were geographically larger and, theoretically, would have been as vulnerable as Hiroshima and Nagasaki to nuclear bombs. Policy makers

would have had difficulty justifying such attacks, since China's cities could not easily be termed *only* strategic-military targets. Yet neither were many of the target Soviet cities, and that did not trouble American leaders. Of course, they continued to emphasize in secret plans that the Soviet cities were selected not primarily to create terror, but to eliminate valuable production, scientific, and government facilities and personnel. Probably the major additional constraint against using the atomic bomb on China and Korea was the fear of outraging both domestic and international sentiment. Europeans would have feared a holocaust beginning with Soviet retaliation against American allies in the West, and Asians would have renewed their charges of racism.

The administration would not forswear first use of nuclear weapons. "Such a declaration would be interpreted by the Soviet Union," according to NSC-68, "as an admission of great weakness and by our allies as a clear indication that we intend to abandon them." To strengthen the nuclear arsenal and make it more credible, the administration sponsored further improvements in nuclear weaponry and delivery systems. In 1951, scientists greatly expanded the power of the nuclear arsenal by using a small thermonuclear reaction to boost a fission reaction. In November, 1952, the AEC detonated the first thermonuclear device, equivalent to 10.4 megatons, and a new powerful fission bomb, with a yield of 500 kilotons, and was only five months away from successfully testing a tactical nuclear weapon of about 15 kilotons. The administration deployed abroad intermediate-range B47 jet bombers to deliver nuclear weapons, pushed development of the long-range B-52, and accelerated work on aircraft carriers that could launch jet-propelled bombers carrying nuclear weapons.

The Eisenhower Administration: "Massive Retaliation" and The Limits of Power

Dwight D. Eisenhower, elected in a repudiation of the Truman administration, resolved to end the Korean war. He retained Truman's terms on exchange of prisoners, escalated by bombing North Ko-

rean dikes, and threatened to use atomic weapons. The new administration first "dropped the word [of a nuclear threat] discreetly" in February, 1953, and quickly gained some concessions. In May, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles communicated with China through India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru that "if the war continued, the United States would lift the self-imposed restriction on its actions [and] hold back no effort or weapon to win." The American nuclear threat may have speeded concessions, but one must also note the shrewd caution of the administration. By communicating threats through a third party, the administration did not freeze itself into a public position that might leave only two undesirable alternatives—retreat in humiliation, or nuclear attack with the risk of holocaust.

In 1954, with the administration cutting back sharply on conventional forces and military spending, Dulles announced America's new nuclear strategy, one that would "depend primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate, instantly, by means and at places of our own choosing." The strategy of massive retaliation was quickly misunderstood as threatening on all occasions to resolve any conflict with nuclear weapons; critics therefore found it too bellicose and inflexible, and hence probably not credible. Would the administration, Ike's opponents asked, really employ nuclear weapons to stop communist aggression in some distant place? If so, Eisenhower could not be trusted. If not, who would believe his bluff?

Actually, the stated strategy, especially when modified by further explanation, was more cautious. It assumed that local areas, if attacked, would first supply the bulk of ground troops, and that the United States might employ a small "mobile force." Eisenhower and Dulles were warning that America would not get drawn into another costly land war such as Korea. There might be small interventions with conventional forces, but no large-scale conventional war. What was unclear in the early years was whether the administration believed it would actually risk mutual nuclear annihilation, as some critics argued, or whether it believed

that its nuclear superiority would mean victory in a nuclear war and the Soviets, knowing this, would be very careful or back down.

The sharp cutback in conventional forces and the heavy reliance upon nuclear weapons meant, in effect, a return to the strategic posture of the pre-Korean War years. The addition of tactical nuclear weapons introduced slightly more flexibility, but did not allow much room for maneuvering. As critics correctly charged, the Eisenhower budget and strategy left the United States helpless against substantial local attacks and powerful, large, revolutionary forces. How, critics asked, could the administration prevent communist nibbling in Asia?

In practice, despite Dulles's often bellicose rhetoric, the administration sought to avoid military intervention in such wars. In 1954, although Eisenhower had defined Indochina as very valuable to the American political economy, he set criteria for intervention which he knew were unlikely to be met: British and French approval, congressional agreement, and a French promise of withdrawal after victory. His critics were correct: the administration would seem to accede to communist take-overs in the "third world." In March, 1954, Admiral Arthur Radford, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and General Nathan F. Twining, Air Force Chief of Staff, suggested tactical nuclear weapons to save the beleaguered French troops in Dien Bien Phu. "[C]lean those Commies out of there," Twining later explained, "and the band could play the *Marseillaise* and the French would come marching out . . . in fine shape." Whatever the plan's momentary attractions, Eisenhower rejected it as too dangerous.

There was a wide divergence between what the slogan "massive retaliation" suggested and the actual cautious behavior the Eisenhower administration exhibited in dealing with challenges in the "third world." The administration understood the limits of power and avoided dangerous confrontations likely to escalate into war. In Vietnam, Eisenhower decided not to intervene with troops or planes, but employed military advisers and both economic and military assistance to shore up the anti-

communist government in the South. The administration employed subversion and clandestine warfare, usually directed by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), to overthrow governments in Guatemala, Iran, Laos, and to try to assassinate troubling leaders, including the Congo's Patrice Lumumba and Cuba's Fidel Castro. In 1958, the administration intervened cautiously with ground troops in Lebanon after advisers assured the president that the war would not escalate. The critics of "massive retaliation" failed to understand that Eisenhower exploited a variety of options, that he did not rely exclusively on nuclear weapons, and that he, better than most of his critics, recognized the limits of power, the need for restraint, and the horrors of large-scale war.

Eisenhower and the Arms Race: Resisting Pressures

Eisenhower refused the bold Soviet proposal in 1955 for a cutback of ground forces and complete nuclear disarmament with inspection. Were the Soviets sincere, or did they aim to embarrass the United States by accepting what amounted to a Truman administration plan that Eisenhower inherited and continued to support as a propaganda tactic? Probably the Soviets were insincere. Had they wanted American agreement, they would not have dramatically surprised the administration with their proposal. Certainly the Soviets could not have been so naive as to believe Eisenhower would accept the proposal. Perhaps to insure its rejection, they stipulated that each power liquidate all overseas bases. They were demanding dissolution of NATO and the South East Asia Treaty Organization, SEATO.

Given its reliance upon the nuclear deterrent, the administration devised a lame excuse to explain the American rejection. Secretary Dulles announced that no inspection system was foolproof and that cheating was possible. The French, among others, had pointed out this danger earlier, and American leaders had disregarded it. But in 1955 this argument had to suffice. How could Eisenhower admit that America had conducted a cynical

propaganda campaign? He would have undermined his credibility and popular faith in American innocence and Soviet perfidy.

To obscure rejection of the Soviet offer, the administration launched its "Open Skies" proposal, which it knew the Soviets would not accept. Like the Baruch Plan, this measure would have operated unevenly: the Soviets would obtain information they already possessed about American military installations (since America was a relatively open society), while the United States could penetrate areas of Soviet military secrecy. The "Open Skies" offer was wonderfully popular in America and abroad, for it convinced many of the administration's generosity.

In 1956, Eisenhower suggested reducing or halting development of the American and Soviet nuclear stockpiles. Since the Soviets had fewer nuclear weapons, that proposal, predictably, proved unacceptable; it would have frozen Soviet nuclear inferiority. But in 1957, there may have been an opportunity for serious negotiations culminating in an acceptable agreement to slow the arms race. Unfortunately, the Soviet proposal, which Harold Stassen, chief American negotiator, seemed to be accepting before consulting with Western allies, would have barred these allies from developing nuclear arsenals. Britain bitterly protested America's high-handed tactics, and Eisenhower blamed Stassen for not first gaining the approval of America's key allies. Actually, the problem was more fundamental, and not simply procedural: America was locked into its alliance system, and its allies would not have endorsed the agreement. In addition, Secretary Dulles opposed a settlement and, hence, used Stassen's tactlessness and the outcry by allies to kill the Soviet initiative.

The administration also acted—though not energetically or efficiently—to improve delivery systems for nuclear weapons. Recognizing the Soviet Union's lead in ballistic missiles, the administration overturned the Truman administration's earlier decision to move slowly on missiles. The Eisenhower administration neutralized much of the resistance from the Air Force, which had preferred to

reply upon bombers, and decided to speed up work on intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and intermediate range ballistic missiles (IRBMs)—the Atlas, the more advanced Titan, the Polaris submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM), and the remarkably similar Thor and Jupiter, rivals of Army-Air Force bureaucratic competition. The programs were marred by bitter struggles, inter-service rivalries, and contractors' pressures that were usually translated into congressional and administrative politics.

By late 1957, after defeating the claims of a "bomber gap," the administration was pressured to overcome the likely "missile gap," and close the anticipated "deterrence gap." The chief demands came from liberal Democrats, members of the private foreign policy "establishment," many Keynesians, and hopeful contractors and their political allies. All argued that the United States was in or near peril: the missile gap would increase, America itself might be endangered, its nuclear deterrent would lack credibility, European allies would lose faith, and the US would have to accede to Soviet nibbling.

The Gaither Committee, an elite presidential panel, in November, 1957, synthesized those arguments in its ardent plea for greater defense spending. Its report called for acceleration of the missile programs, creation of an invulnerable second-strike capacity (including hardened, dispersed missiles), restoration of the capacity for large-scale limited war, protection of the bomber deterrent by placing the Strategic Air Command (SAC) on operational "alert," establishment of an early warning system for missiles, and construction of bomb shelters for civilian defense. Priced conservatively at an additional \$5-\$12 billion in annual defense spending, the program promised to develop a second-strike capacity, implied the creation of an effective first-strike capacity, and suggested there were tolerable limits for mass death in nuclear war. "The next two years seem to us critical," the report warned. "If we fail to act at once, the risk, in our opinion, will be unacceptable."

Despite Sputnik, the pressures of the Gaither group and its infor-

mal allies, and the surging popular fears about the missile gap, Eisenhower responded cautiously. He slightly strengthened SAC, speeded the development of ICBMs, and deployed some IRBMs in Europe, where they were the functional equivalent of ICBMs. But he refused to increase the military budget significantly, for fear that excessive spending would ruin America. The president also questioned "worst-possible case" estimates of Soviet programs, and rejected his critics' theory of strategy and deterrence.

Eisenhower struggled to control the arms race. He emphasized the "mutual balance of terror" and the need for "sufficiency," not superiority. Both the United States and the Soviet Union, he contended, had the nuclear weapons and delivery systems to destroy one another. Small imbalances in delivery systems were immaterial and, in his opinion, the forecasts of a huge missile gap were wrong. There was no deterrence gap, Eisenhower repeatedly explained. Even if the Soviets launched a first strike, the chief executive explained, "our [remaining] bombers would immediately be on their way in sufficient strength to accomplish . . . retaliation."

In his last State of the Union address in 1961, Eisenhower declared that "the 'bomber gap' of several years ago was always a fiction, and the missile gap shows every sign of being the same." He was probably correct about the bomber gap and certainly about the missile gap. At the end of 1960, the Soviet Union had a handful of operational ICBMs, and America had more—32 Polaris missiles and nine ICBMs. The administration's plans for the next few years would actually mean a *reverse* missile gap, with the United States in a very favorable position. "The relative strategic position of the United States as it entered the new decade was," according to one analyst, "one of overwhelming dominance."

Eisenhower was the only post-war president with the prestige, popularity, expertise, and confidence to resist the great pressures for sharply increased military spending. In his farewell address,

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URBAN
TECHNOLOGY
ABROAD:

Where is it going?

GEORGE G. WYNNE

The New York World's Fair of 1939 projected all sorts of technological innovations for the last quarter of the century, ranging from videophones to robots to do the household chores. We are not there yet and the government spokesman whom I once heard telling reporters at a press conference: "Gentlemen, it is very dangerous to make predictions—especially about the future," probably was a lot shrewder than he seemed at the time. These disclaimers out of the way, what are some of the research and development trends in urban sector technology abroad which are likely to surface in products and processes to change the lives of our neighbors in the other affluent nations as the century winds down?

The shape of the future will be big and far out in a few sectors, but largely the changes it brings will be incremental. When these are tallied up, however, the daily lives of city dwellers are likely to differ in a startling way from today. The greater sensitivity to future shock and the loss of identity in urban en-

vironments subject to constant change will probably result in a less "futuristic" face of the city than would have been predicted a generation ago for the start of the 21st century. However, behind and below a lot of restored facades, bordered by familiar trees and greenery, the large- and small-scale technology that impacts on life styles will be radically different, barring the Great Crash of 1979 that we seem to be avoiding.

In the major hardware department, Japan and Germany both are working on magnetic levitation trains pushed at 500 km/h through the air just above the tracks. Powerful super-conducting magnets stored in liquid helium will levitate and propel the train by magnetic repulsion reacting against the magnetic field of the track or guide rail. We have nothing like it on the drawing boards but both Germany and Japan will have full-scale pilot models operational next year. A test vehicle on a one-mile track is to be featured next year at Hamburg's International Transportation Exhibit—IVA 79. In Japan both national railways and airlines are working on High Speed Surface Transport (HSST) for the 1980s and beyond. The pollution-free, wheelless Japan Air Lines vehicle will cut transit time from downtown Tokyo to the new Narita Intercontinental airport from nearly two hours to 14 minutes. The Japan National Railways version will replace the bullet trains, already the world's fastest (at 210 km/h), with the 500 km/h "floating train" by the late '80s. Not only the trains will be floating in Japan. A \$6 billion airport will float on 27,000 cylindrical bodies five km offshore Osaka by the end of the '80s if the unprecedented

project obtains the government funding now under discussion. With more than seven km of runways, the projected Kansai international airport will replace the on-shore Osaka airport which has been the target of noise and pollution complaints. Another HSST will connect the downtown air terminal with the floating steel box weighing 5.5 millions tons!

Less far out but significant changes in the cityscape will be provided by the coming generations of people movers, group rapid transit systems and horizontal elevators or "cabin taxis" also now being tested in the two countries. By 1982 a fleet of paired, electric, rubber-tired vehicles rolling silently along guideways six meters above street level will connect a suburban new town with a subway terminus, also in Osaka. The 7.2 km eight-station line is expected to carry some 70,000 passengers daily back and forth from Nanko Port Town built on reclaimed land. By the end of the 1980s or the early 1990s, Tokyo will be criss-crossed by driverless, computer-operated, four-passenger capsules, guided electronically along elevated tracks. The plan is to have some 8,000 of the capsules circulating along 230 km of guideways in the major downtown centers.

Government-funded R&D in Germany has concentrated on monorail-like cabin taxis and demand-responsive small suburban bus systems, some of which have already been placed in operation. But perhaps the most interesting development is the *duo-mode O Bahn* system pioneered by Mercedes which offers systems managers an incremental building block approach to meeting public transportation needs in tomorrow's

"Just in case you've been wondering where I've been," writes the author, a frequent Journal contributor who has been missing from these pages since last year, "I've been looking abroad for good ideas to improve the quality of life in our cities." George Wynne, who retired early from USIA last year, directs the communications effort of a non-profit group commissioned by local government in the US and Canada to identify foreign methods and hardware to upgrade urban service delivery. George asks readers of the Journal to keep a sharp lookout for practical overseas ideas in coping with urban and environmental problems that seem worth trying over here. "Drop me a note with details," he says, "I promise to answer every letter."

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cities. Today's diesel and tomorrow's hybrid diesel/electric buses will be converted to guideway operation in congested downtowns by mounting retractable rubber guide wheels which extend horizontally to engage the side walls of the guideway installed along sections of the route along exclusive rights of way. Outside the traffic bottlenecks, the guide wheels would be retracted and the bus resume conventional operations. The development of electric buses goes hand in hand with the *O Bahn* and experimental electric bus lines have been operating for several years in a number of German cities and have already clocked millions of kilometers in public service. Municipal service vehicles are also becoming increasingly electric. After years of tests, Volkswagen has just started a production line for a three-ton electric pickup which may be recharged from any electric outlet and returns a part of the braking energy to the battery.

A particularly encouraging aspect of German R&D for electric service vehicles is the simultaneous development of battery recharging infrastructure nationwide. The battery pack exchange stations are a regular part of the service and logistics chain for the city bus lines where the pollution-free transport system is already in operation. France and Great Britain have likewise taken major steps in the development of electric buses and service vehicles while Japan is charging ahead with a plan to have a quarter of a million electric cars in the hands of private owners by 1986. Boosted by a reported breakthrough in both range and speed, the Japanese government program aims at reducing the cost of a four-passenger electric vehicle to around \$2,800, which is half of the prevailing price.

The growing emphasis on smaller, lighter, pollution-free electric vehicles for public and private use is not only a reaction to the cost of imported fuels and concern over pollution. In Europe at least, the city of the future will be a more human place, a development paced by the spread of pedestrian zones and the noiseless electrics are compatible with the sort of environment promoted by pedestrianization. In France, for example, a silent, small electric bus with a

lower floor to ease access will provide service along special electric bus lanes in downtown pedestrian zones. As US tourists will have noticed, it is now possible to stroll through historic downtowns and inner city shopping centers in most of Europe without having to make way for a single vehicle. Germany has well over five hundred pedestrian zones by now, more are coming, and car restraints, or what is called "traffic tranquilization"—the creation of residential zones free from through traffic—is being extended to the suburbs. The greater livability that results celebrates the concept that cities are for people, not for cars. The move gained momentum when the retail trade realized that pedestrian zones are good for business rather than cutting into sales as had been feared earlier. (According to a HUD publication, the United States has only 68 pedestrian malls at present.)

In general, it seems clear from present research trends in the other industrialized nations that technology is taking the tack of creating greater comforts for the private individual and facilitating the conduct of business or operations for private and public institutions. The communications revolution lies at the core of this new technology. In the municipal sector, local government-owned central and regionally-linked computer centers are already performing a vast range

of services from payroll processing for all local government employees in one federal German state to three-dimensional displays of urban data bases in France to enhance planners' abilities to assess the impact of proposed decisions. Even more sophisticated applications are on the drawing board, such as EURONET, a continent-sized on-line information network that will link computer centers in nine European capitals from Rome to Dublin and Copenhagen. In turn these will interface with well over a hundred data bases and data banks throughout the member states of the European Community, including local government systems. Already no town in Germany with more than 25,000 population is more than 30 km away from a regional computer center, funded jointly and performing services for participating communities. In Japan, local government computerization has reached the point where vital records such as extracts from the birth or marriage register can be exchanged among major jurisdictions by facsimile teleprinter with the speed of a telephone call. Storage and retrieval techniques using COM (computer on microfiche) for municipal records are also starting to be phased in and will be increasingly in the picture over the next twenty years to lower record keeping and personnel costs.

At the level of the individual as

"Japan and Germany both are working on magnetic levitation trains pushed at 500 km/h through the air just above the tracks."



we get closer to the end of the century, there will be such conveniences as in-home computer terminals that will allow the tapping of vast information stores and the conduct of many household finance chores that now require lining up at bank, post office and local government windows. Down the block will be an electronic mail box (now being worked on by Lorenz Elektrik, Stuttgart) that combines the convenience of a photocopy with the speed of a teleprinter. Activated by a credit card and inserted face down in the letter box slot, the "mail box" will convert the written or typed text into signals, stored and transmitted during off-peak hours via the phone network. The sender will keep the original letter, the addressee gets an exact facsimile copy delivered by the mailman next morning—unless he has his own receiving device. The dial-a-letter system already exists in prototype (photo) and it will be as simple to use as today's telephone. After inserting his credit card (or the proper amount in coins) the user dials the zip code of the addressee then inserts the letter the way he would make a Xerox copy. Instead of copying the master, a scanner registers it line by line and stores the impulses for transmission at night. Letters dialed during the day will arrive anywhere in the country by the first mail the next day. Special delivery letters will be transmitted instantaneously to the addressee's post office and hand-delivered the same day for an extra fee.

The world's largest daily newspaper—*Asahi Shimbun* of Tokyo—has already installed an experimental service for well-heeled subscribers that prints facsimile editions of an abbreviated paper five times a day in their own homes or offices! The mini-paper with the latest news comes out of a specially-adapted television receiver. In a generation this in-house service may do away with part of its seven million daily newsstand circulation. In Europe, "talking computers" will provide up-to-date railway time table information if a special number is dialed. Tests are underway.

Quicker and more effective service in emergencies likewise forms part of the citizen-oriented technology now under develop-

ment in Europe and Japan. New generations of modular ambulances for on-site life support are on the drawing boards as are new fire fighting techniques and command/control equipment that is reducing response time to a matter of seconds. For example, data processing equipment now being installed in German and Japanese central fire stations continuously monitors local hospital emergency facilities and displays the number and locations of all available beds for the reception of fire and accident victims. The needs of special population groups—the aged and handicapped—are getting more and more special attention from local government. Besides the low floor and "kneeling" buses already mentioned, platform lift taxi service for the wheelchair-bound will help provide greater access to the world around them while apartments for the handicapped are being designed and outfitted with all kinds of equipment to allow independent living and a barrier-free environment. (A personal flashlight-sized radar set for the blind, just developed in Germany, will be making the tapping cane obsolete.)

The growing reliance on alternative sources of energy that, like the sun's rays, are virtually inexhaustible, will be reflected in a gradually changing urban landscape over the next generation and into the next century. Solar panel roofs are already beginning to make an appearance but they are still an oddity. Within the next thirty years entire cities may derive a portion of their energy needs from the sun if they have enough space for elaborate solar farms on their outskirts. A forerunner may be the coastal village of Nio in Kawaga Prefecture, Japan, where 2,200 households are scheduled to receive electric power from two solar generators starting in February 1981. Prefab solar homes including roof panels are already being marketed in Japan for the equivalent of \$45,000. Meanwhile probes for geothermal heat are being drilled to a depth of 1800 meters (5,900 ft.) in Germany in a European Community experiment to harness the hot rock found at that depth to heat water virtually forever to the boiling point. Scientists involved in the project note that if just one percent of the heat

available at 5,000 meters below the surface of the earth were tapped, mankind could meet its energy requirements for 4,000 years. Both in the United Kingdom and again in Japan experiments are in progress to see whether it might be possible to harness another inexhaustible energy source—the power of the waves forever rolling in towards the coast. Prospects for an economic use of this resource are fairly remote at this point, well into the next century, but the research goes on and a breakthrough might occur. Contained nuclear fusion, a process that would eliminate the bothersome disposal problem for nuclear wastes and keep reactors going for decades on a handful of material, may be only a decade away.

Whatever the energy source, European cities of the future will step up the "district heating" that in the case of Sweden already supplies a quarter of the nation's urban energy demand. District heating of densely populated urban quarters makes for greater fuel economies and less pollution. Though the initial investment is higher, the system saves money in the long run. And one super-tall smokestack (with scrubbing equipment) for a whole section of a city discharges far fewer fumes far higher up than a lot of apartment house chimneys. As many as 50,000 households can be (and are already) serviced from a single plant, as in Cologne, Germany. These plants will increasingly accept into the system energy generated from garbage incineration.

These technological developments will not bring radical change to the city scape of the 1990s, but beyond the watershed of the century, urban densities and competition for limited space may force cities into new directions. Underground and multi-tiered domed cities, with climate and daylight man-made, may be in the offing in response to environment and population pressures. Forerunners may be the vast underground shopping arcades, offices, theaters, hotels and restaurants that already connect central train stations with city centers in Japan or the 200 acres of underground Montreal that invite the pedestrian to shop, stroll, eat, pursue sports and be entertained without traffic or weather worries.

The Gold Model



JAMES MAXSON

Early on that Saturday morning in January he called. The voice was soft and cultivated and he apologized for the inconvenience of the hour. He had seen the ad. Could I tell him about the Cadillac?

I had run the ad for a week and only a 16-year-old boy had responded. The boy lost interest when I told him it got only six miles to the gallon.

It was really a wrench—this selling of a 21-year-old car—like taking a loved but broken old dog on his last trip to the vet's. I had bought the car in the early '60s—secondhand. I had just returned

James Maxson is the pen name used by "Jake" Canter, who for many years was involved with our international educational and cultural programs. He served in a half-dozen posts abroad—in Latin America and Spain. His Washington assignments included Cultural Affairs Adviser (USIA), Director of Inter-American Programs, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs and US Representative on the Executive Committee of the Inter-American Council for Education, Science and Culture.

from a succession of consular posts in Third World countries and I bought it, at least in part, because it spoke to me of stability, order, standards. It gave me reassurance, made me feel at home again.

But now the car's time was up and it would cost a fortune to put it back in shape. Maybe with this nostalgia craze it would bring me 200 dollars.

It was a painful subject; so, to get it over with, I began by reciting the details of the car's failing condition. My new client stopped me in the middle. He did so with grace and courtesy, as though sensing the anguish the recital was causing me. "Let's get to the brighter side," he said.

For example, the color?

White-cream, somewhere between the two.

Good. Leather seats or cloth?

Leather-like seat covers, but cloth underneath.

Disappointing, but he could live with cloth. Did the upholstery harmonize with the body paint?

Very well—blue.

Was it one of the gold models? I didn't understand.

He explained: 1956 was Cadillac's golden anniversary and the company had marked the jubilee by giving certain goldlike touches to its most expensive models—for example, goldtoning the lettering, the emblem, the "V."

I said no, I didn't think it was a gold model.

Too bad, but not serious. The mileage?

About 125,000.

Remarkable. You couldn't wear them out. Air conditioning?

Certainly. The old-fashioned kind, with the intake vents on the outside.

"Beautiful," he said. Other options?

Power brakes, power steering, power seat, power antenna.

"All power," he said. "And way back then. A real pioneer."

I was quickening to the possibility of a sale.

He went on. Had I had other calls?

"Several," I said.

Could he come see it?

I gave him directions. He would be there at eleven.

"My name," he said, "is Richard. Richard Lee."

Ah, that was it. A scion of the Lees of Virginia. That's where it all came from—the civility, the refinement, the search for tradition, even in a car. Come to think of it, the accent did have a trace of the South in it, though modified, say, by the St. Pauls and the Harvards of New England.

Eleven came—but no Richard. Twelve—no Richard. I gave up. In the end the car's impairments, even though imperfectly delineated, had turned him away.

At 2:00 o'clock he called. He begged forgiveness—he'd had to drive a friend to the hospital. An emergency—a hemorrhaging nose. Could he come now? He could be there in twenty minutes.

I was moved by the plight of the stricken friend. "All right," I said. "But hurry. I have to go out at 3:00."

At 3:20 Richard hadn't appeared and I left the house. It was crystal clear: it was a hoax. I pictured this inheritor of Southern *gentillesse*, the list of used cars in hand, setting up bogus appointments all over town. For the joy of it. Another instance of the perversion of the age—the barbarians had taken over. Or it was a plot, the groundwork for a burglary, the caller collecting names, addresses, other pertinent information, to facilitate operations. A modern-day enrichment of the burglar's art.

The next day—Sunday—I had settled down for the "Super Bowl" when the phone rang. This was no lowbrow fan calling. It was a Southern gentleman.

He was desolate. A sudden turn for the worse had made him fly to the bedside of his friend. He might still have made yesterday's appointment, though he would have been a little late. But that would have interfered with my social engagement, which would have been inconsiderate. Yet it had not been all loss. He had indeed come by, around 3:30, and had looked at the car. He had liked what he saw—in fact, the car was without question a gold model.

A gold model! Then he was ready to make an offer?

No, not quite—he would like to hear the motor. He could be there around 4:00. "I hope you have no objection, sir," he said.

It was too much—his contrition, his devotion to a friend, the pride I felt in finding myself the owner of a gold model, and the certainty that I had a sale. "Come ahead," I said.

At five minutes to four I went out to warm up the car. It sputtered, coughed, then settled into a rhythmic purr. "Good as gold," I puffed.

The heater wasn't working, so I shut off the motor and got out. A car was moving slowly toward me. As it came closer I got a better look: a faded gray-blue wreck, piloted, with difficulty, by a little old lady. It wobbled on, then came to a stop at the opposite curb. I went over to help out, perhaps give directions to a frail and uncertain grandmother. The driver rolled the window down, thrust out a thin smile and said, "I'm Richard."

What! That was Richard? That was the Virginia patrician? Those long strings of black matted hair? That bespattered orange-and-black stocking cap? That pudgy Chinese face that peered out through thick, heavy-rimmed glasses?

He got out of his car and I saw the rest: a threadbare black overcoat held together by a safety pin; black knitted gloves with bare fingers sticking through; "desert" boots, once brown but now gray with age and grime. He was tiny, no more than five feet, if that, and the face, refuting its aspect at a distance, was smooth and baby-like.

"You're too young to be buying a car," I quipped.

He laughed. "I'm thirty-one," he said. "Been out of college ten years."

This refugee from a flophouse had gone to college? Impossible. Yet maybe he had. One never knew any more.

I started her up. He quickly signaled that he'd heard enough. "Excellent motor," he said.

I raised the hood. "Good carburetor," he said. "Must be new." (I hadn't changed the carburetor in years.)

I reminded him of the leak in the braking system. "Not irremediable," he said. "It can be cured."

I walked him around the car. I pointed particularly to the erosion of the rear bumper ends, which I

had camouflaged with metal tape, now peeling off.

"The only fault in an otherwise perfect design," he said. "But mechanical, not aesthetic."

Mechanical?

Why yes. They'd run the exhaust pipes through the bumper ends and the gases had caused the damage. "But easily replaceable," he said.

I recounted my own futile pursuit of replacements.

"You didn't look in the right places," he said.

"Tell me," I said, "if you bought this car, what would you do with it?"

I had asked a foolish question. "What I would do with it! Restore it, of course."

He spelled out the stages: He would strip it down; fill in the rust holes, spray on a primer; keep the primer on for two months (to seal the pores); pick up body parts at highly specialized junk yards (he called them "salvage yards"); have new engine parts, as necessary, custom made at the best machine shops; put on one coat of paint; let that coat sit for ten days; apply the second coat; a few additional touches and the car would be returned to its pristine splendor.

I couldn't help wondering where he would carry out this extensive procedure. Did he have a backyard? A garage? Would he do it on the street?

"None of the above," he said. "I have a place. In Iowa."

"You'll sell it of course. Restored antiques bring a pretty penny these days."

I had uttered a desecration. "Sell it? Not on your life."

He wanted it for himself, that's all. A Cadillac of that year and model did something for him. He didn't know why. The sheer beauty perhaps. The simplicity of line. The gentle flow of curve. The mass, the weight, the bumpers that were armor, the fenders that truly defended. And the height—you sat high in it and people saw you. He didn't know why—sitting behind that wheel would make him feel good.

"So you're not in the business?" I asked.

"I work in other areas."

"You work?"

"I paint. I exhibit. I sell. I do commissions."

"You make enough to live on?"

"I get by."

"And you can afford to buy a car?"

"Certainly. Besides, I have other sources of income."

"You do?"

"I play the violin. I give recitals."

But he wanted me to understand: his turning the violin into a moneymaker was a mere sideline, only occasionally practiced. The violin was a sacred instrument, not to be casually defiled. Music was the highest form of art and the violin its loftiest expression. He had a large collection of the old masters—Heifetz, Elman, Kreisler. Really rare, on 78s. Probably worth hundreds of dollars. He sat and listened to them for hours.

It was time to get down to brass tacks. "Listen," I said, "you like the car. It runs. It's a gold model. It's rare, just like your record collection. What's your offer?"

He didn't answer. But his lips twitched and his bare fingertips fumbled with the safety pin.

"I tell you," I said, "I'd like to get a thousand dollars for the car."

I had jacked up my price by 800 dollars. Just like that, suddenly. I didn't want him to buy it.

Why? I wasn't sure. It had something to do with values. And with pity. This bloke had warm impulses. But he needed bread, not cake.

"It's a fair price," he said. "But I don't know if I could manage it right now."

"I understand," I said. "Think it over for a few days, then give me a call."

I was sending him on his way. For good. Not a chance that he would call. I had done the right thing. He would thank me for it some day.

As a matter of fact, he didn't call. He did better than that: he presented himself in person. At my door, about 10:30 p.m. the next Friday. Not even a safety-pinned overcoat this time, on that blustery January night. Only a rag of a scarf loosely draped over a greasy gray sweater. I rushed him into the house.

"Richard," I said, "you'll die of pneumonia. Where's your coat?"

"I lent it to a friend."

"Your sick friend? The one with the bloody nose?"

"That's right."

"Then he's out of the hospital?"

He fidgeted, and I thought I saw some red flush through the yellow face.

"He was never in the hospital," he said. "I made it all up. I fought all day. I knew if I came to see the car I couldn't resist it. I lost."

"Jesus Christ!" I said.

"I'm glad I told you. But I didn't come for that."

No, he hadn't come for that. He just happened to be driving by, saw the car outside and thought he'd drop in. Then the car wasn't sold?

I led him into the living-room and sat him down next to the blazing fireplace. A new disharmony in his socks—one blue, the other red—blended nicely with the flame.

"No," I said, "the car hasn't been sold." Then I lied: "But I expect a buyer tomorrow afternoon. A 16-year-old boy. He's been calling me every day for a week. Now what do you suppose a kid like that would want with a 21-year-old car? Ought to save his money for college or something."

"Money isn't everything," he said.

"No, but it helps. If you'd had the money we would've made a deal last Sunday."

"I'd have had the money if I hadn't been robbed."

"Robbed?"

"That's why I didn't call. My tenant absconded with the whole take."

"You have a tenant?"

"The sharecropper on my farm in Iowa."

"You have a farm?"

"Soybeans. I've made some good money. It's all down the drain now. I can't meet the mortgage payments. I was on the phone all week with my banker."

"And in the midst of all your problems you were still thinking about the car?"

"Of course," he said. "First things first." He smiled. It was one of those Oriental smiles I couldn't penetrate.

He thanked me for my hospitality. He did not wish to disturb me further at that late hour. He had accomplished his mission: he had learned that the car hadn't been sold. He now had a second opportunity. He would call me on Sunday to ascertain the results of my audience with the teen-ager.

"I'll call you," I said.

I'm afraid my teen-ager never did show up on Saturday. But the game had been going on too long. The insurance was due, the license tags were expiring, the approaching yearly inspection would uncover infirmities both documented and unsuspected. I would be strong, overcome sentiment, forget those long years of service. I would junk the car. It had become a burden.

But the game wasn't over at all. Richard didn't wait for my call. He called *me*. Had the boy bought the car?

I said no, but the deal was still hanging fire. The boy had called and begged off. Because of the weather.

What was wrong with the weather?

Well, the kid was bringing his father. Some people were chicken-livered—a little snow, a little ice, and they become paralyzed. It was only a postponement—they'd be around in a day or two.

So I still had it?

Yes, I still had it. But not for long. Because if that foolish teen-ager didn't take it soon, I was going to junk it.

What! Sell it to a salvage man? "You can't do that!"

"I can't wait forever," I said.

"What about 500?" he said.

He hadn't put me to the test. He didn't say he would meet the salvage man's offer, perhaps throw in a little more. I asked him why.

"Because I don't want to cheat you. It's worth much more than what they'll give you. They'll pull out the good parts. Then they'll scrap it and sell it to the Japanese. It'll be a crime."

"Richard," I said, "you need that car like a hole in the head. You'll kill yourself—the brakes don't work!"

He laughed.

"The engine misses. The valves are shot. The horn doesn't blow!"

"I like the design," he said.

He had me. But it didn't matter. Economic reality would come to the rescue—he could never put together 500 dollars. With all his financial problems. With foreclosure threatening his farm. *If* he had a farm. *If* he did paint on commission. *If* he did give recitals. No, there wasn't a chance he could come up with the money.

I could afford to appear mag-

Continued on page 35

Poems

The Grass Was August In Memoriam

I

I saw them from the road
a flock of heartbeats
swerving in arterial turns
pulsing to a point of blue
then full stop skidding air
as if impelled to back wing
and make one final dip then
zooming at the eye's horizon
feathering the lucent white
like flakes of winter snow
to merge in distant passage
lost triumphantly to sight.

II

If you had chosen when
it would not have been
in August, this heavy month,
the end of summer
when the mind wilts.

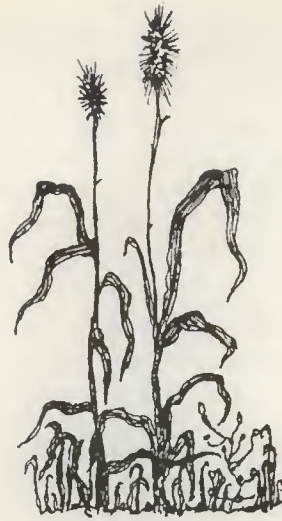
You might have asked for May,
eruption of Persephone
with lines of color
racing a taut perspective
to fire wit.

Or a month of deep winter,
snow skirting before the wind
through eternities of form,
a tracery of time
and heaped whiteness of the past.

But choice bounced
with the green dot
disputing who's in charge,
muting this once the call:
sleepers awake!

III

Pray not for what is not
you might have said while
grasping at the envelope
of bone, ramming racing
thoughts against the scope.
Quick the flashing eyes
where ideas fell as tears
seeing foiled friends, drawn,
too much for you. Was it
then you declined to stage
revival and with eyes to now
pierced the rubbed and burning
lids to vault the whirl of
white: prepared to catch
the entrance on proscenium
as the elevator knob went red.



IV

You would have been annoyed
to see how many came,
how precise the music,
fitted to remembrance,
touched the sorrow of ourselves,
how well the eulogy
missed the point,
how we sat, perplexed,
expecting you to set
the order of your going.

We strained to hear
the memory of taste
recreated by its friends:
the music's bitter tinkle
when the melody has gone.

Outside the grass was August,
bitten through with sere:
we rested in the elm's soft shade,
cozening our fears from you
who would have had us laugh.

V

In our old town
the snow in heaps
and the cold
drowning us

We'd trudge the hill
and flop all down
cracking sleds
against the ice

We'd battle
the burning wind
forcing winter
upon the heart

And race exulting
hands beating
to push us out
beyond the world

Ending as ever
pasted into snow
our sleds and we
buried in delight

Now I alone
my heart winded
one sled in hand
... waiting

William A. Sommers

Old Man Running

old man running down the towpath
(patches of sun, patches of shade)
eighteen miles where the mules once
trod
running for hours by the still brown
water
passing a brown girl laughing, her wet
dog jumping, a brown young man run-
ning fast
waving a runner's greeting
(patches of shade, patches of sun)
shedding in the sun the dripping failures
of years and years, the failed
loves and jobs, this woman's sobbing
and that man's silence, an empty mail-
box,
a list without his name
feeling in the shade his mother's touch
one night in a city of fevers, remember-
ing
a picnic under a tree
remembering miles and years and
nights and days
(patches of sun, patches of shade)
old man feeling a kind of death begin
as always in his ankles and slowly
climb to his knees and thighs
living old man on dying legs
feeling his thirst begin as his lust once
did
no longer remembering now but look-
ing forward
to the white lockhouse and the drinking
fountain
(patches of shade, patches of sun)
dying old man on living legs
looking forward a few more miles
a few more hours and years and days
old man running well and strongly
toward the last, the coolest
patch of shade

Carleton Brower

Gift for a Friend's Pain

We huddle from the hurricane,
crying why;
see sawdust
in a thousand trees,
night lightning cutting azure fire
on your wild cyclamen
beneath the Turkish pine.
Our tears link,
jeweling an amulet
for your pain.

Agnes Nasmith Johnston

Armchair Traveling

CARAVANSARY: ALONE IN MOSLEM PLACES, by Richard de Combray. Doubleday, \$12.00.

Morocco. Dakar. The Arab Emirates of the Perian Gulf. Iran. Algiers. Tunisia. These are the places visited by the author. This is a book for armchair travelers. Better yet, for those who, having once traveled, now wish to sit in their armchairs and remember. It will evoke many pleasant memories, wry smiles, and occasional knowing nods from those who have lived through similar frustrations, experiences, and glimpses of insight. This is a book of witty descriptions (Tehran policemen: "matadors in the midst of a stampede") and clever observations (Sharjah—where "the chaos of building is so complete . . . it could be a massive demolition"), to be read for pleasure and enjoyment, rather than to gain depth of understanding. The writer does not go beyond the recording of his impressions to analyze their meaning, foregoing the opportunity of weaving them into some fabric of interpretation which we might accept or take issue with, but if his intention was merely to entertain then he should not be faulted for having achieved his objective. A nice book, but not a deep one.

The black and white photos are worthy of mention, conveying, as many of them do, the loneliness alluded to in the subtitle.

—CHARLES O. CECIL

Richness and Range

PRIMACY OR WORLD ORDER, by Stanley Hoffmann. McGraw-Hill, \$12.50.

As might be expected from the pen of a Harvard Professor of Government, this book reveals a high and incisive intelligence. The author's grasp of world economic problems is excellent, and his command of the complexities of North-South issues is admirable.

This reviewer was less impressed with Dr. Hoffmann's understanding of East-West realities. The Professor finds the Sovietologists' arguments about Russian motives for their arms buildup "unexciting"; and he

seems over-facile in labeling those who write for *Commentary*, the *Public Interest* and the *Committee On The Present Danger* as "gloomy, grumpy or flamboyant" nostalgics of the cold war crusade. He advocates unilateral American strategic "restraint," including restraints on research and development, in hopes that our example may be reciprocated. Unfortunately, the historical record of success for this line of approach has not been encouraging.

The title of the book is somewhat misleading. Professor Hoffmann does not really offer a vision or a prescription for world order. He ends the book with the metaphor of America and the rest of the world community being in the same boat, and sets the goal of our making port together. But he shows us no port. The book is really a set of guidelines for better navigation on the high seas.

Reading the book is hard work. This reviewer repeatedly found himself going back over sentences a second time in order to understand them. While this might have had something to do with the reviewer's own acuity or state of mind, the trouble also seems to derive from the complexity of Professor Hoffmann's writing style. His metaphors take sudden turns in mid-course, and his vocabulary tends toward such words as divagation, epigone and anomie. The very richness of Professor Hoffmann's thought and the range of his scholarship slow the reader's progress. Nevertheless, Professor Hoffmann has a lot to say.

—NATHANIEL DAVIS

Prisoners of History

SUEZ 1956—A PERSONAL ACCOUNT, by Selwyn Lloyd. Cape Publishers, £6.50 (\$12).

Historians agree that the 1956 Anglo-French-Israeli Suez invasion was a disastrous exercise in the use of force. It resulted in the collapse of British influence in the Middle East and had a traumatic effect on the British people which is still felt today.

Selwyn Lloyd's posthumous *apologia sua*, a brilliant re-creation of the mood of the time, is important because it clearly illustrates the pitfalls of crisis diplomacy. It is evident from the book that both

Eden and his foreign secretary Lloyd totally misjudged the reaction of Eisenhower and Dulles, as well as that of the Arabs. These misjudgments were largely the result of their personal diplomacy—their lack of consultation with their own professional advisors who could have told them something about the consequences of the Suez invasion, including the crucial American reaction. During the planning stage of the Suez operation Lloyd, according to his own account, held no meetings with his subordinate career officials, despite his enthusiastic endorsement in the opening pages of the book of "office meetings" as a "most effective" method of dealing with problems.

Another pitfall illustrated by the book is the tendency for policymakers to remain prisoners of their own historical experience which is then applied in what is assumed to be a parallel situation. Not only Eden and Lloyd but many other political figures of the 1950s, Hugh Gaitskell, Paul Henri Spaak, Dag Hammarskjöld among them, saw Nasser as a new Hitler. Obsessed by Britain's economic weakness and its dependency on Middle East oil they saw Nasser as an expansionist and a potentially deadly foe. They had all lived through the appeasement years of the 1930s and, just as our own Vietnam policymakers, saw nationalization of the Suez Canal as the equivalent of the occupation of the Rhineland. Selwyn Lloyd's unrepentant book is unconvincing; like Vietnam, Suez was the wrong action at the wrong time done the wrong way.

—CHARLES R. FOSTER

17th Century China

THE DEATH OF WOMAN WANG, by Jonathan D. Spence. Viking Press, \$10.95

This book is not for Hollywood nor TV: it's not about happy people with happy problems. It may, however, be for you.

Time: early Ch'ing dynasty (1668-1672); *Place*: a county in Shantung province; *Dramatis Personae*: farmers, farm workers, and their wives; *Synopsis*: The drama centers on how a grasping tax collector, a tough-minded widow, an irascible farmer and a despairing wife try to cope with crises in their

lives. A woman named Wang, hoping to escape from an intolerable present, runs away from home and husband, But, she returns—to die at his hands. Not a happy ending.

The author of this book, a Yale Professor of History and Chairman of the Council on East Asian Studies, bases this absorbing account on official records, memoirs and other 17th-century sources. Those who share his respect for scholarship will admire and benefit from 20 pages of notes (with Chinese characters) and an annotated bibliography. Yet, in drawing us deep into the troubled world of rural China of 300 years ago, he writes in simple, non-convoluted, pellucid prose. A sample may attest: “. . . (W)oman Wang . . . has been to me like one of those stones that one sees shimmering through the water at low tide and picks up from the waves almost with regret, knowing that in a few moments the colors suffusing the stone will fade and disappear as the stone dries in the sun. But in this case the colors and veins did not fade; rather they grew sharper as they lay in my hand. . . .”

Dr. Spence has written three other books on Chinese history, most recently *Emperor of China: Self-Portrait of K'ang-hsi*.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

After Tito?

THE YUGOSLAVS, by *Dusko Doder*. Random House, \$10.00

Yugoslav-born Dusko Doder, who served as chief of the Washington *Post's* East European bureau in Belgrade from 1973-1976, has written the best introductory book on contemporary Yugoslavia in print. Previous service as a foreign correspondent in Moscow, extensive travels in Eastern Europe while based in Belgrade, and fluency in the SerboCroatian language provided Doder with a unique background to assess the maverick Titoist experiment in communism and the complex forces which make up Yugoslavia. Doder has had conversations with US and foreign diplomats, Yugoslav officials, intellectuals, dissidents—including the country's most prominent dissenter, former heir-apparent Milovan Djilas, etc.,

to depict his highly-personalized and panoramic view of society. Yugoslav officials undoubtedly will bridle at some of the unflattering portraits Doder has painted of their leaders and of the political system which denies the population fundamental political liberties and shows no inclination to tolerate political pluralism in the future. These same officials can hardly deny the accuracy of the portraits, whatever historical rationale they use to defend the system.

Like virtually everyone interested in the fate of this strategically located country, which could well be the locale of a superpower confrontation, Doder is concerned about its fate after the charismatic, 86-year-old Tito departs the scene. Although aware that Tito has been the glue that has held Yugoslavia together and that his successors will inherit considerable problems, Doder does not predict the apocalypse—as some of his contemporaries are wont to do. Despite its ethnic rivalries, which constitute the potentially most divisive issue threatening Yugoslav unity and which the communists

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have not been able to solve in 30
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—P.K.

Bargaining Today

JAPANESE INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIAT-
ING STYLE, by Michael Blaker. Co-
lumbia Univ. Press, \$18.75.

Does a nation have a singular style
of negotiating? Does this style re-
main the same under widely vary-
ing historical circumstances? How
does the style affect the substance
of negotiations? To answer these
and other questions in the Japanese
instance, Michael Blaker, a Co-
lumbia University researcher,
plunged into the diplomatic ar-
chives in Tokyo and studied the
documents of 18 negotiations start-
ing with Shimomseki Treaty of 1895
and ending with the Soviet-
Japanese Neutrality Pact of 1941.
He analyzes how Japanese saw the
world (hostile) and Japanese re-
garded negotiations (the preferred
instrument for advancing national
goals). He shows how a clumsy de-
cisional system coupled with a
penchant for secrecy engendered
delay and fostered doubts, mis-
trust, and exasperation among
other nations—emotions which did
little to bolster Japan's interna-
tional image no matter what the re-
sult of the negotiations. Finally, he
delineates patterns of diplomatic
strategy—patterns which may well
be present in Japanese negotiations
today. Blaker comes up with con-
clusions that scholars may wish to
test against the diplomacy of other
countries. One example: Blaker
found no significant variations be-
tween the professional diplomat
and the "amateur" politician-
negotiator. Diplomatic training
could not "learn out" cultural
habits. A second example: "The
data examined shows that the rela-
tionship of sheer military power to
negotiation outcome tends to be
exaggerated . . . The Japanese
bargaining experience shows that it
is even possible for a country in a
greatly superior power position to
be thrown on the negotiation de-
fensive." Finally, Blaker con-
cludes that the spoils in negotia-
tions many times seem to go not to
the most ruthless or the craftiest
but to the slowest and most stub-

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born and that international bargaining is enormously influenced by unpredictable actions.

—NATHANIEL B. THAYER

Male and Female

IMAGES AND SELF-IMAGES: *Male and Female in Morocco*, by Daisy Hilse Dwyer. Columbia University Press, \$12.00 Cloth; \$3.95 Paper.

In this short volume the author describes the role of women, and their relationship, a subordinate one, to men in the Moroccan town of Taroudant.

Her description and analysis is based on eight years of study in Taroudant and on an examination of South Moroccan folktales, 35 of which are printed in the book. The author seeks to demonstrate the resonance of the folktales on the lives of Moroccans, male and female, and to show how the ideological and moral nature of these tales reinforces the imperatives of the life-style of the townspeople. The subtitle is somewhat of a misnomer since women get the most attention and the point of view, perfectly properly, is feminine.

The reviewer is not an an-

thropologist and was chosen as reviewer largely because he had previously reviewed books for the *Journal* and is currently assigned to Morocco. As such he learned a good deal from both the description of life in Taroudant and from the tales themselves, which, educational benefit aside, are rather fun to read. Whether, however, the book represents any advance on research already conducted by others the reviewer has no means of knowing.

Moreover, there are two distinct problems with the analysis. The first is methodological: how were the tales selected? Since they are oral, which version was chosen? Even if all versions were essentially the same, how were nuances treated? Who did the translation and what problems arose?

Even if one were to accept the methodology (which is almost completely unexplained), many of the tales seem to bear many different interpretations than those adduced by the author. Thus one has doubts about whether it is not possible that the stories, consciously or more probably unconsciously,

have been selected and interpreted to fit a thesis; and even if one resolves these doubts, one still finds that the tales fit the thesis only if one goes along with the author's interpretation.

A further caveat has to do with Taroudant. It is a particularly isolated community not influenced strongly by recent non-Moroccan contacts. But it is not quite as isolated as Dwyer sometimes implies. There is, for instance, an expensive and very luxurious hotel catering for the most part to foreigners which is not mentioned in the book. It may be that this is because the hotel was not there when the research took place. The problem is that we are never told when this was.

Still much can be learned in a book that is well-written and the idea of which is attractive and thought-provoking. One thing which was most disturbing to learn is that women are forgiven their sins and mistakes during pregnancy. Another incentive for more children?

—ERIC GRIFFEL

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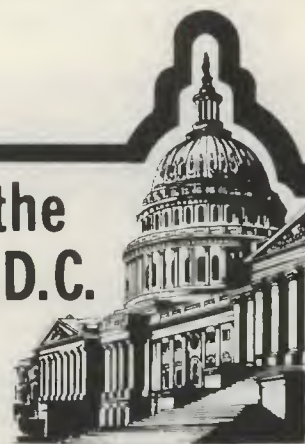
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AFSA SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM AWARDS — 1978-1979

The proposed 1978-1979 AFSA Scholarship Program Awards have been announced by Ambassador Arthur L. Richards, Chairman of the Committee on Education. The names of the recipients, the scholarships which they have received and the colleges and universities which they will attend are as follows:

Sylvia Bargas, Howard Fyfe Memorial Scholarship, Newcomb College; Margaret Ann Brogley, AAFSW Scholarship, Catholic University; Mary S. Brogley, Isabel Preston and John Calvin Hill Memorial Scholarship, Marquette University; Virginia M. Brogley, AAFSW Scholarship, Barry College; Lindsay C. Brooks, The American Women's Group, Bonn, Scholarship, Kenyon College; Earl R. Brown, Maurice L. Stafford Memorial Scholarship, University of Utah; Mark Stephen Coor, AAFSW Scholarship, Northern Arizona University; Alexander B. Dobson, AAFSW Scholarship, Marquette University; Jan M. Dropik, AAFSW Scholarship, Northwestern University; Patricia L. Dropik, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Minnesota; Sharon L. Dropik, Edward T. Wailes Memorial Scholarship, University of Tennessee; Paul Sheridan Dwyer, Jr., Wilbur J. Carr Memorial Scholarship, Tufts University; Carol E.

Farrand, Hope R. Bastek Memorial Scholarship, College of William and Mary; William P. Farrand, AAFSW Scholarship, College of William and Mary; Eveline V. Ferretti, Ruth Hazen Hopkins Memorial Scholarship, University of Virginia; Jonathan A. Fischer, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, Regis College; Elizabeth E. Hayden, Selden Chapin Scholarship, Mary Washington College; Ivan A. Holsey, John Foster Dulles Memorial Scholarship, Howard University; Philippe J. Holsey, AAFSW Scholarship, Morehouse College; Anthony M. Hoylen, The American Women's Group, Bonn, Scholarship, American Academy of Dramatic Arts; Brenda Jones, AAFSW Scholarship, San Jose State University; Mary F. Jarecky, David K. E. Bruce Scholarship, Lake Forest College; Thomas P. Kozlowski, AAFSW Scholarship, Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University; Marsha F. Levy, Paris Fund, Rhode Island School of Design; Jeffrey Paul Maish, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Arizona; James C. McClure, AAFSW Scholarship, Abilene Christian University; James W. McNeill, John Campbell White Memorial Scholarship, University of South Carolina; Kevin M. McNeill, Julius C. Holmes Memorial Scholarship, West Virginia

Wesleyan College; J. Felicia Moreland, Jefferson Patterson Scholarship, Brown University; Joseph Novak III, Vietnam Memorial Scholarship, University of Wyoming; Lisa Novak, Norman L. Smith Memorial Scholarship, Miami University; Michael A. Paulin, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Massachusetts; Carolyn R. Phillips, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Tennessee; Patricia R. Phillips, Edward T. Wailes Memorial Scholarship, University of Tennessee; William F. Pogue, William O. Hall Memorial Scholarship, George Washington University; Valerie Price, Timberlake Scholarship, University of North Carolina; Kai J. Reinertson, Edward T. Wailes Memorial Scholarship, Antioch College; Kari C. Reinertson, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, George Mason University; Kestina Marie Roesch, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, Longwood College; Robert T. Roesch, AAFSW Scholarship, Virginia Polytechnical Institute and State University; William H. Roesch, David K. E. Bruce Scholarship, Miami University; Leslie C. Sapp, AAFSW Scholarship, Virginia Commonwealth University; Tracy D. Sapp, George H. DeMange Memorial Scholarship, Oberlin College; Anne M. Scanlon, AAFSW Scholarship, Indiana University; Mary K. Scanlon, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship,

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The AFSA Committee on Education consists of Hon. Arthur L. Richards, Chairman, Mr. Robert L. Barry, Dr. Mette Becroft, Mrs. Dawn Jones, Mr. Edward Jay Ruoff, Mr. James P. Thurber, Jr., and Mr. Carl E. Lovett. AFSA expresses once again its ap-

preciation to all those who have supported the Scholarship Program, and, in particular, to the Association of American Foreign Service Women for its continued support of the program.

MERIT AWARD WINNERS

In addition to the 18 graduating high school students whose biographies and photos appeared in the *August Journal*, **Katherine Lela Quainton** and **Matthew D. Smith, III** also received merit awards. These awards, made possible by contributions from AAFSW and AFSA, are given in recognition of the excellence of high school records and extra-curricular achievements.

Katherine L. Quainton, daughter of Ambassador and Mrs. Anthony C. E. Quainton, State FSO. Lived in Australia, Pakistan, India, Paris, Nepal



and the Central African Empire. Princeton University (international affairs, economics). Queen Anne's School, Caversham. "O" and "A" level examinations. Fluent in French. Interested in a career in the World Bank, with the International Monetary Fund, with the Ford Foundation or even in the Foreign Service.



Matthew D. Smith, III, son of Mr. and Mrs. Matthew D. Smith, Jr., State FSO-retired. Lived in Ankara, Guatemala, Matamoros. Rice University (electrical engineering). Lettered in English. Cohn/Rice National Merit Scholarship. Interests: war games, reading, sailing, cartooning and harmonica.

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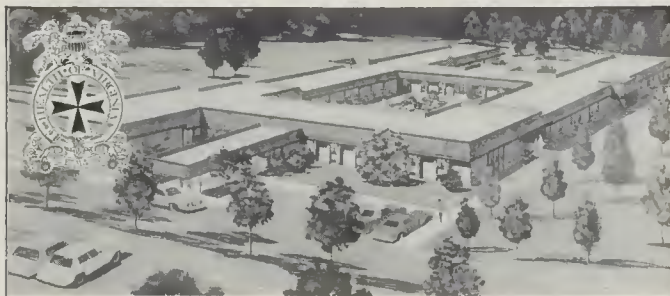
from page 7

one's view of a colleague with whom one has worked in the past and who presumably has demonstrated his/her competence and devotion/loyalty. The questions, as has been suggested, often have little to do with security/loyalty. The questioners are suspect. The answers are oversimplified and generally uninformative. The process is demeaning to the answerer, the person investigated and perhaps to the interrogator. More important the process is demeaning to the organization as a whole and to professionalism.

But it is undoubtedly the law. However one may disagree with the way questions are put, or with the wording of the questions, the process responds to the law of the land. Obviously the law needs to be changed. But this is hardly a major issue for many people and a change has little political appeal. Indeed advocating change may bring forth all sorts of demagogic political tendencies currently mostly buried.

So what is to be done? I suggest a compact among those who feel as I do to refuse to answer questions. If enough of us refuse, Joe Spade will not be hurt for it will be known that there is an objection of principle at stake. I agree that the whole thing is a small matter, but it is small matters that in the end often have grave consequences and, besides, how many of us can affect many large matters? In a very minor way, these small matters are our Watergates.

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A NIGHT AT THE OPERA

from page 8

dren and then the questions began: "Where do you go to school? French schools. What languages do you speak? French and Italian. Do you play baseball? No, soccer. What nationality are your friends? My best friend is Venetian; mine American; mine is the chauffeur's son. Do you ever see TV? Between 6 and 7 there is a children's program we can see if we have finished our homework." The vice president came into the room and the people gravitated toward him. He greeted the embassy staff, joked with his own party and then everyone moved into the dining room. When Aurelia, the older daughter, was presented to Mr. Humphrey he asked her to sit at his table and tell him all about Rome. In the midst of her account of life in The Eternal City the vice president's personal doctor came to whisper into his ear. Afterward he turned back to Aurelia and said, "Young lady, would you be my date for the opera tonight?" This was quite an invitation but she didn't understand as the governess had said that the children were only to have dinner with the guests, but the vice president went on: "You see, my wife has a bad cold and the doctor has ordered her to bed until tomorrow morning therefore I need another pretty girl to go with me to the theatre tonight." What an invitation! Riding with the vice president, police outriders, sitting in the royal (now presidential) box when she usually sat three tiers above. "Thank you very much, I'll have to ask my Mother." Mother said: "Have you done your homework? Good. Of course you may go. How exciting.

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I'll explain it to the other children." Aurelia knew that they would be envious, if only for the ride behind the motorcycle police.

On the way to the theatre Aurelia listened to her mother run over the list of people who would be sitting in the box, describe the singing stars, and give the name of the director of the opera who would greet them at the front door. When the car stopped, she stepped out behind the vice president and was pleased to hear the applause of the Italians and see Mr. Humphrey's waved response. She then followed him into the lobby where a railing held back another crowd from the official welcome.

The director was a big man, as tall as the vice president; he was wearing glasses and had a nice white ruffled shirt; he was smiling and seemed really pleased to see Mr. Humphrey. Then the welcome began. Aura stood two paces behind the vice president, on his left, and as these speeches are always much the same she turned back to her right to see if her father had arrived in the second car. She saw something flying through the air, heard a shout: "Assassin. Get out of Vietnam!" then heard a plop and there was an explosion of paint! The nice white ruffled shirt was dripping yellow paint, and the director removed his now opaque glasses, but continued his words of welcome in a tense voice. Mr. Humphrey stood smiling and attentive, although he too was splattered with yellow paint, and the ritual of welcome continued to its end before the guests moved up the stairway. Mr. Humphrey took Aurelia's hand as they walked to the box, and asked if she were all right. "Oh yes, thank you, you shielded me." "I'm glad, it would have been a shame

to ruin such a pretty dress."

In the anteroom of the box all was buzz and bustle, with the director apologizing for the incident; then, by some magic the wardrobe mistress arrived to whisk away the dinner jackets, leaving the vice president and the director hovering in shirt sleeves in the back of the box until the lights were lowered and the music began. The audience would just have to wait for the first act curtain to have a glimpse of the vice president. From the back of the box Aura saw the wardrobe mistress return with the two cleaned jackets but had she not seen it she would have known of the return by the smell of *Benzina* which filled the area.

All evening, in the box, and later at a reception for the opera singers, the conductor and prominent dignitaries, Aura watched Mr. Humphrey try to dispel the Italian embarrassment over the demonstration, for he sensed their hurt pride that the evening had opened badly and their dismay at the rudeness shown him his first night in Rome. He complimented the singing, the costumes, the orchestra and the splendid production of the opera. He was putting everyone at ease.

After returning home, in the front hall Aurelia said goodnight, with a great big thank you. The vice president hugged her and said: "You're the nicest date I've ever had." But when she was in bed, she didn't think of his compliment but rather of a conversation she had overheard in the box when two people were talking about Mr. Humphrey; about his innate politeness, his thoughtfulness and his kindness, and one said: "He is too nice to ever become President." She hoped it wasn't so.

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THE GOLD MODEL

from page 25

nanimous. And I didn't want to hurt him. "All right," I said, "I'll let it go for 500."

Not even the melting snow brought a call from the teen-ager. Nor from anyone else, not even from Richard.

The days passed into a week, two weeks. Burden as it was, the car was still out there. Huddling in the cold, forlorn, wretched. I could stand it no longer. I would act. The gold model would soon be on its way to Japan, flattened.

Then one night, a few days later, a stranger appeared at my door. A felt hat, hair neatly cropped, a silk scarf, a heavy well-buttoned overcoat, a blue shirt, a tie, leather gloves, wing-tip shoes, trousers ankle-high.

"Richard," I said, "is that you?"

"Richard Lee," he said. "In person." He could almost have said, "Mr. Lee of Virginia."

I brought him in and unconsciously led him to a seat by the fire. I saw that his socks—blue—

matched each other.

"What's got into you?" I said. "Have they caught the sharecropper?"

"Better than that," he said. "I'm taking a trip."

"Oh?"
"I'm going to my class reunion. I'd like to see how the guys are doing."

"A little early, isn't it? Class reunions are in May or June."

"It'll take that long to put the car in shape."

"You've bought a car?"

"Yes, sir. A '56 Cadillac. A gold model. *Your* car."

He glowed. "Here's the money," he said. He waved five 100 dollar bills in front of me.

"Then they did catch the sharecropper," I said.

"No," he said. "I've sold my record collection."

Sold his record collection! And now selling himself! To a broken-down old car. The vestments had changed but the rot had eaten into the core.

"Richard," I said, "I'm sorry to have to tell you this. Remember

that teen-ager? He came around this afternoon and I sold him the car. For a thousand dollars. Cash. He's picking it up tomorrow."

The glow on his face faded. He stood up and bolted toward the door. The only sound he made came from the squeaking of his new shoes.

"I'm sorry, Richard," I said. "Business is business."

He didn't say a word. He pulled the door open and plunged down the steps. He was still clutching the five one-hundred dollar bills.

The next morning I called the salvage man. He gave me 15 dollars for the car.

That spring, in the class-reunion season, I saw Richard Lee again. I saw him only because I happened to look over the heads of a circle of admirers gathered outside a fancy uptown restaurant. Despite the balmy night he was wearing that orange-and-black stocking cap and those fingerless knitted gloves. His hair fell on to his shoulders in streaky, matted strands. He was giving a recital.

I slunk away. As fast as I could.

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CHALLENGE & DANGERS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

from page 15

he warned against the rise of a military-industrial-scientific complex that had developed unwarranted influence in shaping military spending. Ironically, he neglected to understand that his policy of relying so heavily upon private industry for research and development of elaborate arms systems had nurtured the powerful institutions creating the very pressures he feared.

Conclusions

Both Truman and Eisenhower had struggled to resist demands for more military spending. Though fearful of an unbalanced budget, Truman had finally relaxed his opposition with the outbreak of the Korean war and had then implemented NSC-68. He diversified the American arsenal, provided a capacity for substantial conventional war, and moved to rearm Europe. Eisenhower, perhaps even

more fiscally cautious and surely more horrified of war, reduced the capacity for conventional war, relied upon the deterrent of nuclear weapons, and came to accept a strategy of mutual assured destruction—a balance of terror.

Were there missed opportunities in these years for a settlement of the arms race? Had Roosevelt or Truman approached the Soviets on the A-bomb during World War II, as some scientists urged, perhaps the nuclear race could have been avoided. By 1946, there was no possibility. The Baruch plan was unacceptable to the Soviet Union. There was probably no plan then that could have met the security needs of both nations. America's forbearance on the H-bomb in 1950 might have helped slow the arms race, and, as Oppenheimer and his colleagues argued, the United States would not have jeopardized its security. If the Soviets had started work on the bomb and begun testing preliminary devices, the United States would have learned of the tests and

easily joined the race, probably developed the bomb by 1955-56, as Herbert York has argued, and possibly delayed until 1958-59 the Soviet bomb, whose progress actually depended upon information gained from the fall-out from American tests. In 1955, the Soviet acceptance of the western plan for nuclear disarmament was probably insincere. But in 1957 there may have been real possibilities for a partial settlement in the arms race. Though negotiations in 1957 failed, largely because of the needs of NATO allies and the maneuvers of Secretary Dulles, both the United States and the Soviet Union resisted building the larger arsenals that powerful groups in each nation were urging. Despite their industrial capacity and technology, the Soviets constructed only a handful of ICBMs. Eisenhower denied there was a deterrence gap and refused to escalate the arms race. Thus, the leaders of both nations showed some restraint in an arms race that they could neither halt nor control through formal agreement.

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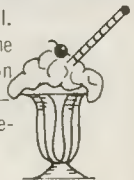
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This portion of the JOURNAL is the responsibility of the Governing Board of AFSA and is intended to report on employee-management issues, conditions of employment and the policy and administration of AFSA, including its Board, Committees, and Chapters.

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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HITCHCOCK DECISION

On June 12, Albert V. Bryan, Senior Circuit Judge, US Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, handed down his decision in the case of David I. and R. Lee Hitchcock v. Commissioner of Internal Revenue (No. 76-2330). This was an appeal from the United States Tax Court at Washington, D.C. Murray J. Belman appeared for the appellants. The decision follows:

This is an appeal from a determination of the Tax Court upholding the Commissioner's assessment of an income tax deficiency for 1972 in the amount of \$593 against David I. Hitchcock. 66 TC 950 (1976). The deficiency arose from the disallowance of deductions taken by Hitchcock (taxpayer) for expenditures made by him as a Foreign Service Information Officer for food, lodging and transportation—for himself only—while on mandatory "home leave" in the United States from Japan.

It is conceded by the Commissioner that these outlays were for "ordinary and necessary expenses" within the meaning of §162(a)(2), Internal Revenue Code.¹ The sole point of contest

is whether these sums were incurred in pursuit of his business.²

Home leave is periodically ordered by law for all Foreign Service Officers stationed abroad, so that they may and will reorient themselves to the American ways of life. Section 1148 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, ch. 957, Title IX, sec. 933(a), 60 Stat. 1028, 22 USC 801, et seq.³ The Tax Court agrees: "After considering the mandatory statutory language, the legislative history, and the record in this case, we have concluded that home leave is indeed compulsory." 66 TC at 959, footnote omitted. However, the Court held that the instant expenses were so "inherently personal and unrelated to the conduct of a trade or business" as to be nondeductible. 66 TC at 960. Judgment went for the Commissioner September 3, 1976. We reverse.

As a Foreign Service Information Officer, Hitchcock was assigned in 1970 to official duty in Tokyo, Japan. His family accompanied him. In 1972 he was ordered to return to the United States on home leave, and they all flew back at Government expense in June 1972. From August 4 until September 1, 1972, he was on home leave. During this interval he engaged in the following incidents with these expenses:

(a) Cottage rental—August 4 through 20	\$ 29
(b) Auto rental—August 4 through 18	227
(c) Auto rental—August 18 through 20	89
(d) Auto rental—August 21	19
(e) Trail Creek Ranch lodging—August 22 through 28	216
(f) Yellowstone National Park lodging—August 28	13
TOTAL	\$593

²The amount originally claimed was \$950.00, but on the Commissioner's objection that \$357.00 thereof had not been substantiated under Tax Code Section 274(d), the taxpayer has not pressed his suit for the items of the \$357.00, leaving on appeal only the remaining \$593.00 of deductions.

³This section provides in pertinent part: "§1148. Return of personnel to United States, its Territories and possessions on leaves of absence

(a) the Secretary may order to the continental United States, its territories and possessions, on statutory leave of absence any officer or employee of the Service who is a citizen of the United States upon completion of eighteen months' continuous service abroad and shall so order as soon as possible after completion of three years of such service. (Accent added.)

NOTICE TO MEMBERS FROM AMENDMENTS COMMITTEE

The Amendments Committee has received from the AFSA Governing Board fifteen proposed amendments to the Bylaws, each accompanied by a short statement of explanation which appear on pp. 38 and 39 of this edition of the *AFSA News*.

Article XIII of the present bylaws provides that "for 45 days following the date of publication of the proposal, the Amendments Committee shall accept statements of appropriate length submitted in opposition thereto, provided each statement is signed by not less than 10 Members, and no two statements shall be signed by the same Member." The Committee has decided that 500 words is a maximum appropriate length for such statements in opposition. Each such statement should identify by letter the draft amendment to which it refers, and should be signed by 10 current AFSA Members (not Associates). Each Member may sign no more than one statement in opposition to each draft amendment.

Any statements in opposition which are received by the Committee within 45 days of publication of the proposed amendments—i.e., by October 15, 1978—will be provided to the Membership, together with ballots and statements to be furnished by the proponents of the amendments, when polling on the proposed amendments commences. Polling must commence within 90 days of this publication—i.e., on or before November 30, 1978—and shall conclude 45 days thereafter.

Should any Member or Members wish to distribute at their own expense additional statements regarding a proposed amendment, the Association shall make available to them on request the Membership list or address labels. In such cases the Members concerned will reimburse the Association for all related expenses. Members may also take out advertisements in the *Foreign Service Journal* on this issue.

Statements in opposition, requests for the Membership list or address labels, and questions or comments relating to the amendment process should be addressed to the Amendments Committee, AFSA, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20037.

C. Robert Moore
Chairman, Amendments Committee

¹In the 1972 taxable year, §162(a), Int. Rev. Code of 1954, read as follows:

"SEC. 162. Trade or business expenses.

(a) In general.—There shall be allowed as a deduction all the ordinary and necessary expenses paid or incurred during the taxable year in carrying on any trade or business, including—

* * *

(2) traveling expenses (including amounts expended for meals and lodging other than amounts which are lavish or extravagant under the circumstances) while away from home in the pursuit of a trade or business;"

* * *

Continued on page 42

Draft Amendments to the Bylaws

Draft Amendment A

Lift constraint on Board's power to appoint Officers to fill vacancies.

In IV.2, delete "and whenever possible Officers shall be chosen from among the elected Representatives."

REASON: There is no reason that elected Representatives should be given preference to other qualified Members, or to considerations of balance among the various constituencies or interests within the Association in appointments to fill Officer vacancies.

Draft Amendment B

Subordinate Officers to Governing Board.

Delete V and delete VII except for 4.f, g, and i, renumber successive Articles accordingly, and insert a new IV.3.

"3. The Officers shall be a President, a Vice President, a Second Vice President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, elected by and from the entire Membership. *They shall have the powers and duties specifically conferred on them by applicable law and regulation, these Bylaws, and the Governing Board.*"

REASON: To avoid, and provide guidance for resolving, conflict between individual Officers and the Governing Board, by making it clear that the Officers are subject to the direction of the Board except to the extent that the Bylaws or applicable law and regulation specifically give them powers and duties.

Draft Amendment C

Clarify Composition of Constituencies and Date for Determining Number to be Elected.

Delete VI and insert new IV.4:

"4. The Representatives shall be elected by and from the Membership employed in the Foreign Service in each of the foreign affairs agencies and by and from the Membership formerly employed in the Foreign Service in all the foreign affairs agencies (State Department, ICA, and AID, or successor Agencies). One Representative shall be elected by each of the above constituencies for each 1,000 Members or fraction as of the last working day of the calendar year before the election year."

REASON: This makes it clear that retired Foreign Service people, regardless of present employment, are in a separate constituency; and establishes a date on which the number of representatives to be elected may be determined.

Draft Amendment D

Improve Procedure for Recall of Governing Board Members.

Delete X and insert new IV.5:

"5. The Membership has the right to recall any Officer, and the Membership of any constituency has the right to recall any Representative, in whom said Membership has no confidence. Two-thirds of the Governing Board Members or five percent of the Membership concerned, may recommend such recall by written request and supporting statement to the standing committee on Elections. The Committee shall submit the recall proposal, accompanied by such supporting statement and by statements, if any, submitted in favor of the Board Member in question, to the Membership concerned for a secret ballot election."

REASON: To make it clear that recall is a no-confidence vote; to restrict the recall decision on a Representative to the Membership of that Representative's constituency; to make it more difficult than at present to initiate a removal, and thus forestall frivolous and harassing recall proposals; but make the procedures more rapid once the recall has been duly initiated. The Elections Committee would promulgate detailed procedures.

Draft Amendment E

Clarify Power and Duty of the Governing Board to Keep Membership Informed. Seek its Advice, and Facilitate Communication Among Members.

Delete VII.4.f and g and last sentence of VIII.3 and insert a new IV.6:

"6. The Governing Board shall, to the extent practicable,

keep the Membership currently informed, seek its advice before making decisions, and inform the Membership of its decisions, on important matters affecting the Membership, the Foreign Service, and the Association. The Board shall report to the Membership annually on its management of the Association affairs and the Association's financial position, and its plans and budget for the succeeding year. The Board shall also facilitate communication from any Member(s) to the Membership, or any practicable portion thereof, on Association business, at the expense of the Member(s) initiating the communication."

REASON: This gathers together existing articles concerning the Board's obligations to the Membership with respect to policy and financial matters.

Draft Amendment F

Improve Procedures and Clarify Language on Board Meetings.

Delete VIII, renumber succeeding articles, and insert new IV.7:

"7. The Board shall meet at least once each month. The Board shall also meet to consider a particular subject or subjects upon the written request of the President, one third of the Members of the Board, one Chapter, or 25 Members, submitted at least five days prior to the date of the proposed meeting. Meetings shall be announced and open to members and Associates; provided, that the Board may adopt regulations to preserve good order, and may go into executive session. Minutes, except of Executive Sessions, shall be available to Members and Associates."

REASON: To empower the Board rather than the President to determine when and where it shall meet, while permitting the President to initiate meetings.

Draft Amendment G

Establish Standing Committee for Elections and Referenda.

Create new V entitled "Internal Organization"

Delete IX.1, reletter succeeding paragraphs, and insert paragraph V.1:

"1. There shall be a Standing Committee on Elections which shall have full power within the Association, subject to applicable law and regulation, these Bylaws, and the Association budget, to conduct regular elections for Governing Board Members, any election for the recall of a Governing Board Member, any referendum, and any vote on amendments to these Bylaws. The Committee shall establish regulations for these procedures and interpret relevant sections of the Bylaws, resolve disputes, and determine and declare results. The Committee shall be composed of at least five Members, including a Chairperson and including at least one Member from each constituency. The Governing Board shall appoint the Chairperson and Members of the Committee for two year terms beginning July 15 of each even-numbered year, and shall fill vacancies occurring during such term, but may not remove Committee Members except on recommendation of the Committee, or in accordance with disciplinary procedures. The first Committee to be appointed after ratification of this amendment shall be appointed as soon as possible, with a term expiring in July 1980. Committee Members shall be impartial in the performance of their duties. While serving on the Committee, and for six months thereafter, they shall not be Board Members, or candidates or nominators thereof, or accept appointment to the Chair of another Committee.

In XIII.1, delete "Amendments Committee" and insert "Standing Committee on Elections."

In XIII.2, line 1, delete "Amendments."

REASON: To have a standing committee, insulated from Governing Board influence, which would develop expertise and procedures for elections and referenda, and which would not have to be established on an ad hoc basis in the heat of an election, recall, referendum, or Bylaws amendment. The power to determine and declare results would include, for example, the power to establish procedures for breaking ties in an election.

Draft Amendment H

Institutionalize Constituency Standing committees.

Create new V.2:

"2. *Standing Committees for each of the constituencies shall have primary responsibility, subject to the overall direction of the Governing Board, for the interests of Members of said constituencies. The Chairperson and Members of each such committee shall be appointed by the Governing Board from among the Members within each such constituency.*

REASON: To institutionalize present practice of vesting responsibility for the affairs of the specific constituencies primarily with Members from such constituencies.

Draft Amendment I

Maintain Autonomy of Editorial Board.

Transfer VII.4. i as new V.3

REASON: To maintain the present quasi-autonomous role of the Editorial Board and put it with other paragraphs in the new article on internal organization.

Draft Amendment J

Establish Washington Membership.

Delete XI and insert following as V.4:

"4. *The Washington Membership shall consist of all Members resident in or assigned to the Washington area (the District of Columbia, Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia). The Governing Board shall call a meeting of the Washington Membership at least once annually; and must call such a meeting to deal with a specified agenda at the written request of one fourth of the Board, or 100 Washington Members. Such a meeting may make recommendations to the Board on any matter within the Board's authority.*"

REASON: This defines the Washington Membership; eliminates the June 1 date previously specified for the annual meeting, a date which currently comes in the middle of Governing Board elections; and eliminates the unenforceable provisions on chapter meetings.

Draft Amendment K

Transfer Chapters Article to Internal Organization.

Transfer XIV as new V.5.

REASON: To consolidate elements of internal organization in one Article.

Draft Amendment L

Modify Requirement for Campaign Meetings.

IX.5, line 8, delete "shall" and insert "may."

REASON: Campaign meetings have been poorly attended and are unduly burdensome to organize.

Draft Amendment M

Move Up Date of Counting Ballots.

IX.9, line 2, delete "10" and insert "1."

REASON: To remove the gap between receipt of the last ballots and counting them. Experience indicates that 45 days is sufficient for Members who wish to vote to do so. The change in schedule would also allow time for a two-week transition before the new Board takes office.

Draft Amendment N

Clarify Referendum Procedure.

Change XII to read as follows:

"*The Membership may, by majority vote in a referendum, determine the Association's policy on any matter within the Board's authority. One-third of the Board, 10 Chapters, or 100 Members may initiate a referendum by submitting a specific proposal to the Standing Committee on Elections. If the Committee determines that the proposal is within the authority of the Board, it shall submit the proposal, accompanied by statements, if any, from the proponents and opponents of such proposal, to the Membership in a referendum.*"

REASON: To make it clear that the Membership has authority concurrent with the Governing Board on any matter on which it chooses to speak in a referendum; to permit a minority of Governing Board Members to initiate a referendum; to pro-

vide explicitly for Elections Committee control over the process; to make specific reference to the possibility of statements for and against the referendum proposal. More detailed regulations for the conduct of referenda would be promulgated by the Elections Committee.

Draft Amendment O

Establish Parliamentary Authority.

New last Article entitled "Parliamentary Authority."

"*The Association's Parliamentary Authority shall be the most recent edition of Robert's Rules of Order Newly Revised: except as otherwise provided by applicable law and regulation, these Bylaws, and the Governing board.*"

REASON: To establish in the Bylaws parliamentary authority to which Board Members and Members can refer for settling disputes about procedures to follow in running the Association, while retaining the supremacy of the Bylaws and the Governing Board.

BYLAWS

As Amended 9/5/73

No amendments are proposed
for Articles I, II and III

ARTICLE IV

The Governing Board

1. The property and affairs of this Association shall be managed by a Governing Board composed of Officers and Representatives who shall be elected biennially for terms of two years in the manner prescribed in Article IX from among the Association's Members. Each Board Member shall have one vote.

2. Vacancies occurring during the term of the Board shall be filled by the Board by appointment from the Membership, provided that Representatives shall be chosen from the constituency of the vacancy as defined in Article VI(1), and whenever possible Officers shall be chosen from among the elected Representatives.

ARTICLE V

Officers and Their Duties

1. The Association shall have as Officers: a President, a Vice President, a Second Vice President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer.

2. Officers shall be elected by and from the entire Membership pursuant to Article IX as a slate or as individuals.

3. The President shall function as the Chief Executive Officer of the Association and shall exercise supervision of the affairs of the Association, subject to approval by the Board. The President shall preside at meetings of the Membership and of the Board, shall be the principal representative of the Association, and shall have such other powers and duties as the Board may delegate.

4. The Vice Presidents, in the order of precedence, shall assist the President in the performance of his or her duties, act as President in his or her temporary absence, and shall have such other powers and duties as the Board may delegate.

5. The Secretary shall supervise the Association's and the Board's correspondence, and meet its filing obligations, other than financial, under applicable law or regulations, and shall have such other powers and duties as the Board may delegate.

6. The Treasurer, under the general direction of the Board, shall have charge of the Association's moneys, funds

and assets, meet its financial filing obligations under applicable law or regulation, draft a budget for the Board, and render a statement of accounts and balance sheet of the books at each annual meeting of the Association, and at other times when requested by the Board. With the approval of the Board, he or she may make a limited delegation of powers and duties to the Executive Director. All extraordinary expenses and investments shall be made by the Treasurer only upon recommendation to and approval of the Board or by the Membership, if necessary to conform to the Constitution.

ARTICLE VI

Representatives and Their Duties

1. Representatives shall be elected as individuals or as a slate by and from the Membership employed in each of the Foreign Affairs Agencies (State Department, USIA and AID or successor Agencies), and from the retired Membership. One Representative shall be elected by each of the above constituencies for each 1,000 Members or fraction thereof.

2. In addition to their other duties on the Board, Representatives shall have special responsibility for the interests of the Members from whom they were elected with respect to any matters which affect only that particular constituency.

ARTICLE VII

Powers and Duties of the Governing Board

1. The powers of the Board shall be those vested in the Board by the Constitution, by these Bylaws, by powers given them pursuant to the laws of the District of Columbia, and by the general powers normally vested in a Board by virtue of their office.

2. The Board, in general, shall have the power to perform or authorize the performance of whatever is necessary to carry out the purposes and objectives of this Association and to respond to the views of the Membership.

3. The Board shall determine the Association's policy in all matters affecting the interests of its Members.

4. In addition, the following specific powers are hereby expressly conferred upon the Board:

a. To establish policies and programs to achieve the purposes of the Association;

b. To create and abolish Committees of the Association; to appoint the Chairmen and Committee Members of such; to direct the work of all Committees; and otherwise organize the internal structure of the Association;

c. To ensure the observance of the standards of conduct required of the Association by law and regulation;

d. To manage the assets and investments of the Association; to approve an annual financial plan; to authorize the disbursement of funds; provided, however, that no disbursement exceeding one-third of the Association's general funds shall be made for a specific purpose unless authorized by a majority present at meetings held in accordance with Article XI of these Bylaws; to provide for an annual independent audit of the Association accounts; and to report annually to the Membership on the financial position of the Association;

e. To authorize and approve the employment, compensation, conditions of employment, and duties of an Executive Director and such other salaried employees of the Association, the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, and the Foreign Service Club, as may in the consideration of the Board be necessary;

f. To keep the Membership currently informed of important matters affecting the interests of the Membership and the Association, including developments in foreign af-

fairs which are of concern to them as professionals. The Board shall also facilitate communications to the Membership from Members or a group of Members, on matters of Association business; provided, that the costs are borne by those initiating the communication;

g. To seek the advice of the Membership whenever practicable before adopting policies which will have major impact on the Membership or the Association;

h. To make regulations implementing the Constitution and these Bylaws; and to interpret the Constitution, the Bylaws; and any regulations issued. Except as otherwise provided in Article IX, the interpretations of the Constitution, these Bylaws and the regulations of the Association made by the Board shall be determinative;

i. To appoint the Chairman and members of the JOURNAL Editorial Board, who shall serve at the pleasure of the Board, and who, under the general direction of the Board, shall be specifically responsible for the publication of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL. The yearly dues shall include a payment of at least \$5.00 for a subscription to the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL.

ARTICLE VIII

Meetings of the Board

1. The Board shall meet at least once each month at a time and place determined by the President, and at such other times and places as the President shall determine. The Board shall meet to consider a particular subject at the written request, submitted at least five working days prior to the proposed date of the meeting to the President, of one-third of the Members of the Board, 25 Members, or one overseas Chapter.

2. A meeting shall be held only with a quorum present. A quorum shall consist of more than one-half of the Members of the Board. Decisions taken at meetings of the Board shall be by a majority of the quorum present at the meeting.

3. Regular meetings shall be announced and shall be open to Members. The Board shall maintain minutes of all meetings, including a record of any votes, which shall be available to Members and Associates. The Board shall publish in a timely manner all important decisions.

4. Special executive sessions of the Board in addition to regular meetings may be held upon the call of the President.

ARTICLE IX

Elections

1. The Board shall appoint an Elections Committee on or about January 10 of each odd-numbered year consisting of not less than five Members, including at least one Member from each constituency. The Elections Committee will administer the elections, interpret those sections of the Bylaws relating to elections, and resolve election issues and disputes. Elections Committee Members may not be candidates, nor may they be members of the Board, nor may they accept appointment to the Board or a Committee Chairmanship in the Association during the year in which the election is held.

2. The Elections Committee shall issue an election call to all Members in the February FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL and/or AFSA NEWS, prescribing the terms and conditions of the election and soliciting candidacies.

3. Candidates may make known their candidacies or Members may nominate candidates in writing to the Elections Committee not later than 30 days following the date of the election call for Officer or Representative positions. Candidacies may be filed for individually or in slates. Candidacies must be accompanied by evidence of eligibility as of June 30 of the year of the election.

4. The Elections Committee shall verify the eligibility of candidates for each position, and announce publicly the names of the candidates on or about April 1.

5. Candidates may submit campaign statements according to regulations to be established by the Elections Committee. The Elections Committee shall have published in the April FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, and/or AFSA NEWS, and/or elsewhere at Association expense, the platform statements of the candidates and/or slates during the beginning of a campaign period of not less than 30 days. The Elections Committee during this period shall organize and publicize campaign meetings. Should candidates wish to mail supplementary statements to the membership, the Association will make available to them on request the membership mailing list or address labels. In such cases candidates will reimburse the Association for all related expenses.

6. The official ballot bearing only the names of all qualified candidates, slate identifications when applicable, and voting instructions shall be mailed to each Member on or about May 15.

7. Each Member may cast one vote for each Officer position and, in addition, each Member may cast one vote for each Representative position available in the Member's constituency. Members may vote for candidates as individuals or as a slate, or may write in the name(s) of any Member(s) who fulfills the eligibility requirements as of June 30 of the election year.

8. The secrecy of each Member's vote shall be guaranteed.

9. The Elections Committee shall count on or about July 10 all ballots received at the Association as of the close of business the last working day of June. Candidates or their representatives may be present at the counting and challenge the validity of any vote or the eligibility of any voter.

10. The Elections Committee shall decide all questions of eligibility and declare elected the candidates receiving the greatest number of votes for each position.

11. The new Officers and Representatives shall take office on July 15.

ARTICLE X

RECALL

1. Fifty Members, or a two-thirds majority of the Board, may recommend with stated reasons the recall of a Board Member for behavior in contravention of the Association's Constitution or Bylaws, for committing fraud, embezzlement, or malfeasance in the management of Association funds or, for other such serious misconduct.

2. Special meetings shall be called of the Washington Membership and all Chapters to consider the recall recommendation. If endorsed by a majority vote of the Members attending these meetings, the Board shall appoint a Committee to organize and conduct promptly a recall election by secret ballot. The Committee shall accept, for circulation to the Membership with the ballots, such statements as may be presented by the proponents of the recall and by the Board Member in question.

ARTICLE XI

MEETINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION

1. The Board, on or about June 1 each year, shall present an account of its management of the Association's affairs and its financial program for the succeeding fiscal year in the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, and at a meeting of the Washington Membership and at such other locations as practicable.

2. The Board, at its own initiative, may call special meetings of the Washington Membership and/or of any Chapter for any specific purpose, and must call such meetings at the written initiative of one-fourth of the Board, five Chapters, or fifty Members.

3. A majority of Members present and voting at any Association meeting may, after a vote by count of hands, recommend a decision or course of action to the Board, providing that the item in question appeared on the Agenda of the meeting and is within the authority of the Board.

4. Procedure in Association meetings shall be in accordance with *Robert's Rules of Order* except for quorum requirements; provided, that the Constitution or Bylaws shall take precedence over *Robert's Rules of Order* in the event of conflict.

ARTICLE XII

REFERENDUM

The Board, ten Chapters or one hundred Members may, by written request, propose a referendum on any matter within the Board's authority which shall be promptly submitted to a vote of the Membership by publication in the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL or AFSA NEWS. A majority of Members casting valid ballots shall determine the Association's final position on the proposal.

ARTICLE XIII

AMENDMENTS

1. One hundred Members or the Board may propose an Amendment to these Bylaws by submission to the Amendments Committee. Each such proposal shall be accompanied by a short statement of explanation.

2. The Amendments Committee shall promptly circulate to the Membership each such proposed Amendment and statement in explanation by publication in the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL or AFSA NEWS. For 45 days following the date of publication of the proposal the Committee shall accept statements of appropriate length submitted in opposition thereto, provided each statement is signed by not less than 10 Members, and no two statements shall be signed by the same Member. Further, the Committee shall commence within 90 days following the date of publication of the proposal, and shall conclude 45 days thereafter, polling of the Membership on the proposal. The Committee shall provide to the Membership, together with the ballots, the statements in opposition accepted by it in accordance with this Article, as well as statements to be furnished by the proponents.

3. Should Members wish to distribute, at their own expense, additional statements regarding a proposed Amendment, the Association shall make available to them on request the Membership list or address labels. In such cases, Members will reimburse the Association for all related expenses.

4. The adoption of a proposed Amendment will require the affirmative votes of not less than two-thirds of the valid votes received.

ARTICLE XIV

CHAPTER ORGANIZATION

Members may organize Chapters, subject to regulations to be issued by the Board, to carry out the purposes of the Association. Chapters shall adopt Bylaws, subject to the approval of the Board. The Board shall delegate such authority to such Chapters as it deems necessary.

HITCHCOCK

from page 37

These expenditures are acknowledged by the Commissioner as "ordinary and necessary". The list includes the costs, first, of a stay of some two weeks in a rented New Hampshire cottage; then taxpayer drove a rental car to Washington, D.C.; next was a drive through Massachusetts to Boston; next a tour of Denver, visiting the United States Mint and a zoo; then six days' lodging at the Trail Creek Ranch in Wilson, Wyoming; further, a lodging for the night of August 28 at Yellowstone National Park; and finally, boarding a plane on September 1 for return to Tokyo.

Since these trips and stays concededly were "ordinary and necessary," the next question is whether the expenditures therefor were incurred *in the pursuit of a trade or business*. Considering the language of the law commanding home leave as well as the Congressional purpose of its enactment, we conclude that all of these items should be so classified. The Congress determined that this periodic return is essential to the duties of a Foreign Service Officer in a career or the *business* of representing the United States abroad. The Foreign Service Act itself announced:

"The Congress declares that the objectives of this chapter are to develop and strengthen the Foreign Service of the United States so as—

* * *

- (2) to insure that the officers and employees of the Foreign Service are *broadly representative of the American people* and are aware of and *fully informed in respect to current trends in American life*;" (Accent added.)

Section 111(2) of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, ch. 957, Title I, §111(2), 60 Stat. 999, 22 USC 801(2). See also 92 Cong. Rec. 9587, 9589 (1946).

Further, the House Foreign Affairs Committee in considering this legislation reported:

"... [O]ne of the prime objectives of the act . . . is to insure that the officers and employees of the Service shall return more often to the United States to *renew touch with the American way of life and so become better representatives of this country abroad*." (Accent added.) H. Rept. No. 2508, 79th Cong., 2d Sess. 139 (1946).

Also, the Congress was concerned about the "Re-Americanization" of Foreign Service personnel stationed abroad as is re-emphasized in the legislative history of the Act:

"'Re-Americanization'

There is perhaps no phase of Foreign Service administration about which there is more general agreement than that connected with the problem of insuring that Foreign Service personnel should come to the United States as often as possible to renew their knowledge of developments in the United States and their feeling for the American way of life. The new bill, as noted

above, provides compulsory home leave after 2 years' service abroad as against the present 3 years . . ." H. Rept. No. 2508, 79th Cong., 2d Sess. 10 (1946).

The travels of the present taxpayer provided him opportunity to sense the trend of life throughout a large segment of the nation. The circumstance that it may have been pleasant or, indeed, have the flavor of a vacation does not negate its nature as an obligation. Surely, the Congress was aware of this pleasurable potential, but nevertheless *required* it of Foreign Service Officers. Discharge might well have followed a failure to comply with the practice. In obeying, the taxpayer was pursuing his professional employment. He was meeting his duty to its full extent when he did not confine his stay to his Maryland home. No matter how understandably enjoyable his visit in Maryland, it could not have provided him the opportunity either to share with his fellow Americans the knowledge he had gained of Japan, or to inform himself of the advances or other changes in life in this country, as broadly as did his

⁴The compulsory service term was later again fixed at 3 years by the Foreign Assistance Act of 1962, Pub. L. 87-195, 75 Stat. 464, 22 USC 1148.

COMMENTS ON HITCHCOCK DECISION

In considering the impact of the *Hitchcock* decision on your own situation, you will want to be aware of the following:

1. The Government still has time to appeal the decision to the Supreme Court, but such an appeal is considered very unlikely.

2. The decision in *Hitchcock*, if it is not appealed, will have the same *mandatory* effect on the IRS as the *Stratton* case did. That is, the Tax Court only has to follow the holding in the two circuits affected—the Fourth (Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina) and the Ninth (Washington, Oregon, California, Arizona, Nevada, Idaho, Montana, Alaska and Hawaii).

3. The IRS refused to acquiesce in the *Stratton* decision and may do the same with regard to *Hitchcock*. There is a third case pending in the Court of Claims, and the IRS will probably await a decision there before making up its mind on what it wishes to do.

4. Notwithstanding any of the foregoing, all Foreign Service personnel (officers and staff) required to take home leave are fully justified in taking a deduction for uncompensated expenses for food, travel and lodging while on home leave. These should be listed as business expenses. Moreover, Foreign Service personnel are eligible to file for a refund on prior years' taxes if they failed to claim a deduction at the time

travel in the New England and Western States.

Our view of this case is reinforced by *Stratton v. Commissioner*, 448 F2d 1030 (9 Cir. 1971), especially in this from its opinion:

"To be sure, home leave is akin to a 'vacation'. In fact, that is probably what Congress intended. By what better method could a foreign service officer reorient himself with the American way of life in a short period of time than by osmosis, through travel, observation, reading, and communication with people, unburdened by the mundane duties of his everyday job? The Department realizes direct, albeit intangible, benefits in terms of the effectiveness of its employees by virtue of just such 'vacations.'" *Id.* at 1033, footnote omitted.

We therefore conclude that home leave is an unavoidable expense exacted under law of an employee. Because the travel expenses, including food and lodging, attributable solely to David Hitchcock while he was on home leave relate primarily to his trade or business as a Foreign Service Officer, we hold they fall within the meaning of §162(a), Int. Rev. Code of 1954. The judgment on appeal will be reversed and the case remanded to the Tax Court for entry of an order in accordance with this opinion.

Reversed and Remanded.

for home leave expenses. The statute of limitations on seeking a refund is three years from the applicable filing date, usually April 15. This means that taxpayers will be able to claim refunds for the calendar years 1975, 1976, and 1977. If a taxpayer claimed home leave expenses as tax deductible during those three years or an earlier year and the claim was challenged and settled with IRS during the past two years, we understand the taxpayer can ask that the settlement be reopened in order to take advantage of this *Hitchcock* decision.

5. In preparing your tax returns, remember that the deduction is available only for the Foreign Service employee, not for his or her family. It is also important to remember that records of payments (credit card chits, cancelled checks or receipts) are required in support of the deduction.

NEW CHAIRMAN OF THE INSURANCE COMMITTEE

Hugh Wolff, a retired Foreign Service officer, has succeeded John Krizay as Chairman of the Insurance Committee. He has a full-time job at the Congressional Research Service in the Library of Congress.

Mr. Wolff is anxious to enlist the assistance of any Members interested in serving on the Committee and can be reached at his office at 426-5057 or at his home at 320-4842.

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.

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Foreign Service People

Births

Henze. A daughter, Sabrina Briar, born to FSIO Christopher M. Henze and Shana Goss Henze, on July 4, in Paris.

Johnson. A son, Joshua David, born to FSO and Mrs. Sandor A. Johnson, on March 13, in Santa Monica. The Johnsons are assigned to Bangui, Central African Empire.

Marcus. A son, David Avner, born to Franklin C. and Meira Marcus on July 31 in Silver Spring.

Deaths

Keeley. Mathilde Vossler Keeley, wife of retired Ambassador James Hugh Keeley, died on July 15 in Winter Park. Mrs. Keeley worked for the YWCA in Russia, Beirut and Istanbul before her marriage and accompanied her husband on assignments to Istanbul, Damascus, Beirut, Montreal, Thessalonica, Athens, Damascus (as Minister) and Palermo, before his retirement in 1960. In addition to her husband of 850 Old England Ave., Winter Park, Florida 32789, she is survived by two sons, Professor Edmund Keeley of Princeton University, Honorable Robert Keeley, Ambassador to Mauritius, and two grandchildren. The family suggests that expressions of sympathy be in the form of contributions to the charity of the donor's choice or to the Scholarship Funds of AFSA or DACOR.

Norden. Ellen Hartt Norden, wife of FSO Carl Norden, died on July 31, in Washington. Mrs. Norden became a

director of Washington Opportunities for Women Inc. in 1966 and contributed to the guide it published. She also served in the OSS during World War II. After her marriage she accompanied her husband on assignments to Paris and Venezuela. She is survived by her husband and four daughters, Susan, Bettina, Elaina and Caroline, of 2724 Chain Bridge Road, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016, her mother and a brother.

Tomlinson. Jean Duncan-Clark Tomlinson, wife of FSO-retired John D. Tomlinson, died on July 22, in Bethesda. Mrs. Tomlinson, better known as Gay, was associated with Jane Addams at Hull House, served in the National Office of the American Red Cross and in the Washington Bureau of the *New York Times*. She accompanied her husband on assignments to Lebanon, South Africa, the former Belgian Congo and Morocco. She is survived by her husband, 3938 Morrison St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20015, her daughter, Mrs. Russell V. Theiss and three grandchildren.

Waring. Frank A. Waring, FSO-retired, died on July 21, in Santa Rosa, California. Dr. Waring joined the State Department in 1935 and served in the Office of Inter-American Affairs, with special advisory duties in Commerce and the Export-Import Bank. In 1946 he served as Chairman of the US-Philippine War Damage Commission and subsequently in Tokyo and Sydney. He retired in 1961. Dr. Waring is survived by his wife, Peggy, 7214 Fairfield Dr., Santa Rosa, California 95405, a daughter Joan and four grandchildren.

AFSA AWARDS

DISPEL THE COOKIE-PUSHER IMAGE

Nominations for the Herter, Rivkin, Harriman awards are needed for this year. These awards, given annually for "extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage and creative dissent," carry a stipend of \$1,000 each.

Thomas D. Boyatt, former AFSA President and twice an award winner, now the newly sworn-in Ambassador to Upper Volta, has this to say about the importance of the awards:

"The most important and perhaps least considered aspect of the Harriman-Rivkin-Herter Award process is the enormous benefit to the Foreign Service itself. For each award a panel of distinguished Americans learns first hand of the exploits, achievements, travail and sometimes sacrifice of several Foreign Service colleagues. What better way to dispel the 'cookie-pusher' image? What better way to build a Foreign Service constituency? Certainly, these

Awards recognize individual merit and promote openness as they were designed to do. The award process aids us all in its public projection of the Foreign Service."

Anthony C. E. Quainton, Rivkin Award winner, former Ambassador to the Central African Empire and now Director for Combatting Terrorism said, "The Rivkin Award represents a recognition that middle-level officers can have an important role in policy decisions and that views which run counter to received wisdom may in fact have a meaningful impact on crisis decision-making if pursued persuasively and with determination."

For information on the history of the awards and the format for nominations, see the May *Journal*, page 46, or phone or write AFSA, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037 (202) 338-4045.

Fact

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