

A halftone illustration of a street scene. In the foreground, several bicycles are parked on the sidewalk. Behind them is a building with a shop named 'PRITCHETT' on the ground floor. The shop has a display window showing a man and a woman. Above the shop, there are signs for 'PRITCHETT' and 'WHE'. The building has a gabled roof and a small tower-like structure. The overall style is a detailed halftone print.

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JUNE 1979

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OPERATIONS

		As of March 1	
		1979	1978
Members carrying Group Life		2693	2751
Group Life in Force		\$50,527,800	\$50,861,950
Enrolled in Foreign Service Benefit Plan		11,054	11,226
Claims paid during year:			
Group Life,	Number	28	29
	Amount	\$ 347,500	\$ 295,000
Family Coverage,	Number	13	14
	Amount	\$ 35,500	\$ 39,000
Accidental Death,	Number	0	0
	Amount	0	0
Foreign Service Benefit Plan		\$ 6,791,708	\$ 5,200,000

Changes in Foreign Service Benefit Plan

The Plan now pays for any covered services performed by a licensed podiatrist. Formerly the Plan covered only specified podiatrists' services.

Under Special Benefits, the Plan now pays 100% of reasonable and customary charges for general anesthesia and its administration in or out of hospital. Formerly these services were paid at 80%; out-of-hospital anesthesia charges were also subject to the deductible.

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The Diplomacy of Foreign Assistance

The American Foreign Service Association is the exclusive representative of Foreign Service people in the Department of State and the Agency for International Development, as well as the professional organization for active duty and retired members of the career Foreign Service.

In both these roles, we have struggled over the years to overcome what we believe to be one of the principal obstacles to the effective administration of foreign assistance—the lack of a coherent and permanent AID personnel system which reflects the agency's overseas mission.

Today, of AID's 3,642 full time US personnel, 1,642 or 45 percent are non-foreign service employees here in Washington. Moreover, of the approximately 350 senior policy and executive positions in Washington, 65 percent are filled by individuals with no obligation to serve overseas. In fact, all Washington positions presently are classified as GS. When they become vacant, they are normally initially offered to GS employees. Only if a qualified civil servant does not apply is a Foreign Service Reserve officer sought.

As a result, a very high percentage of the more important substantive and policy-making positions are filled by GS personnel who lack first-hand experience with the problems of less developed countries, the diplomacy of foreign assistance, and the conditions of service—in short, with the circumstances in which AID's mission is actually carried out overseas. These officials tend not to leave these positions unless an even more attractive position becomes available. Meanwhile, Foreign Service personnel stationed in Washington are routinely under-utilized, with resultant damage to AID's effectiveness and to their own morale. This Washington-orientation of AID's personnel system stands in contrast to the personnel systems of the other two foreign affairs agencies, the Department of State and the International Communication Agency, which are, quite correctly, oriented toward the overseas missions of those organizations.

These were some of the reasons which prompted the Congress to include Section 401—the Obey Amendment—in the International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1978. The Obey Amendment called for a unified personnel system for AID. For various reasons, the proposal just submitted to the Congress by the Administration falls far short of a complete blueprint for a "unified" personnel system—however unified is defined. Nevertheless, if the proposal is carried out diligently and in good faith, it does at least constitute a major step in the right direction toward increasing the Agency's consciousness of its overseas mission and therefore its effectiveness in performing that mission.

Section 220.04 (b) of the proposed new AID personnel regulations provides that "a position shall be designated as a General Schedule position rather than a Foreign Service position *only* if the position is in the United States, and if it is determined:

"(1) that the functions of such position are primarily of a clerical, administrative or program support character and can be performed without overseas experience or understanding of the overseas development process; or

"(2) that such position requires continuity of incumbency and specialized knowledge and skill to the extent that it is not practicable for incumbents of such position to be assigned abroad."

AFSA has no problems with these criteria. They also appear consistent with those proposed by the president of the American Federation of Government Employees, which represents

the AID civil servants, in a March 9 letter to the then Administrator of AID. What we are concerned about is that AID may not apply these criteria diligently and objectively.

• We understand that AID management has provided information on its "rough cut" at designating Washington positions and that they have identified some 700 positions which in the course of the next five years would be filled by foreign service personnel. AFSA believes that this is a low estimate. Moreover, the bureau-by-bureau, office-by-office designations that we have seen perhaps illustrate better than any other data the strong non-foreign service bias of management toward those now holding top and middle management positions in AID Washington. For example, the Offices of Legislative Affairs and Public Affairs will continue to have no foreign service-designated positions. This would be a serious mistake. These offices would have little credibility with the Congress and the public if none of their officials had overseas experience. In addition, Foreign Service officers would be unable to gain the understanding of public and Congressional views on foreign assistance which are increasingly vital to their performance throughout their careers. Another example is the Bureau of Program and Policy Coordination, in which only 27 percent of its mid- to senior-level positions are to be designated Foreign Service. That bureau, with its key role in planning and giving advice to policy-level officials, needs more of a worldwide perspective. It is true that AID's proposal permits the assignment of a Foreign Service employee to a position classified GS, but we believe that if the required employee qualifications include overseas experience, the position must be classified Foreign Service.

• We are also concerned about the escape clause in Section 220.4 (c) of the new AID proposal which permits non-foreign service employees to fill up to 10 percent of the Foreign Service vacancies in Washington. We believe that if the position is properly classified Foreign Service, only a Foreign Service employee should be assigned to it, unless no qualified Foreign Service employee is available. Unless and until AID management demonstrates the need for this provision, we urge that the Congress indicate its disapproval and willingness to repeal it through legislation.

• We are concerned that the AID proposal does nothing to allay the severe problem presently faced by Foreign Service Staff personnel in obtaining assignments to rotation positions in Washington which are commensurate with their ability and rank. Under current practices, they get the leftovers after civil servants have had their pick. Foreign Service Staff people need an occasional break in Washington from a succession of tours in the Third World posts where AID people serve overseas. A related problem is the lack of recognition of skills acquired overseas; the agency's current upward mobility programs have yet to make a significant impact. We urge that a reasonable number of program support positions in Washington be reserved for Foreign Service Staff on rotation.

• Finally, we would like to reiterate our long-held belief that generalists in the AID Foreign Service, like their counterparts in the Department of State and the International Communication Agency, be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, and be designated Foreign Service Development Officers, a much more accurate title than their present one of Foreign Service Reserve Officers, which is normally applied to temporary appointees and technical specialists.

In conclusion, we want to make clear that, despite what the AID proposal lacks, and some things it includes, we support the proposal because it represents a step toward improving AID's ability to perform its mission overseas. We urge that the Congress not veto the proposal, while indicating its willingness to nullify the escape clauses we have cited. If the proposal survives Congressional scrutiny, we shall be watching vigilantly to ensure that AID carries out the position designation criteria diligently and objectively. We urge that the Congress also keep watch, and we will call on you for help if we think it is warranted.

Statement by Lars H. Hydle, president, before the Subcommittee on Employee Ethics and Utilization of the House Post Office Civil Service Committee on Section 401 of the International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1978 (P.L. 95-424), on Tuesday, May 2, 1979.

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End of the Picnic Era

CHARLES SCHWARCK

Sixty-five years ago, on Sunday, June 28, 1914, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, Franz Ferdinand, and his wife were assassinated in Sarajevo, the capital of the Austro-Hungarian province of Bosnia.

News of the deaths earned a rare four-column headline in Monday's *New York Times*: HEIR TO AUSTRIA'S THRONE IS SLAIN WITH HIS WIFE BY A BOSNIAN YOUTH TO AVENGE SEIZURE OF HIS COUNTRY. The tragic event was important enough to momentarily draw most peo-

ple's attention from the late June heat, summer clearance sales, and the approaching Fourth of July holiday. But only the most clairvoyant American could have guessed then that the murder of a Hapsburg archduke and his wife would spark a war that would eventually take the lives of over 100,000 American men and help transform the United States into a major world power. On June 29, 1914, Sarajevo was just another name in the news.

Sarajevo, the ancient capital of Bosnia, is situated in the fertile valley of the Dinaric Alps in what is today Yugoslavia. The city had been under the rule of the Ottoman Empire until 1908 when Bosnia became a province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and its hundred mosques and Turkish bazaar still lent an oriental charm to this "Damascus of the North," as Sarajevo had often

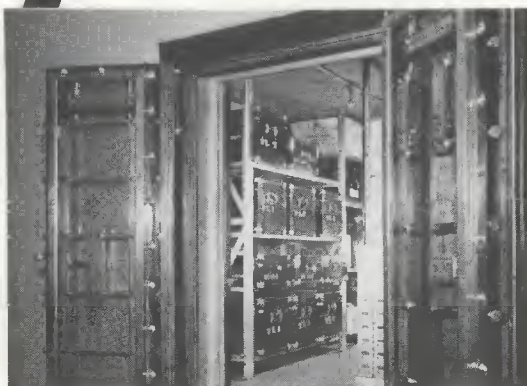
Charles Schwarck is an FSO-6 at the American Embassy in Santiago. His previous assignment was at the Consulate General in Frankfurt. Mr. Schwarck has a B.A. in English from Penn State and a masters in International Management from Thunderbird in Arizona.

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been called. The population in 1914 was over 78,000.

Sunday, June 28, was hot and sunny. The royal train, carrying Franz Ferdinand and his wife, Sophie, arrived in the capital at 9:15 a.m. from the nearby bathing resort where the couple had been staying. Franz Ferdinand and Sophie had made an unscheduled visit to the city the evening before, shopping for rugs and antiques in the bazaar, and today they were in Sarajevo for an official visit that would take them in an open car for a drive through the city and to a reception at the city hall.

The archduke, as head of the Imperial Austrian Army, was in Bosnia to attend the grand maneuvers of the crack 15th and 16th Army Corps. Franz Ferdinand had been reluctant to come to Bosnia, fearing anti-Austrian demonstrations and even the possibility of assassination. But throughout their short visit both Franz Ferdinand and Sophie were surprised and delighted by the friendliness and warmth of the people.

Nevertheless, Franz Ferdinand was fiercely hated by those wishing to see Bosnia united with the neighboring Kingdom of Serbia, and authorities in Sarajevo were concerned about the couple's safety. As heir to the throne, Franz Ferdinand had intentions of granting more autonomy to the Empire's southern Slav population, a concession which might have thwarted, for good, any chance of a union between Serbia and Bosnia.

Active bands of Serbian nationalists had prepared to greet the royal couple with Serbian flags, but these flags were removed prior to their arrival in the city. There were also rumors being circulated about a plot on the archduke's life, but the governor refused to call in any of

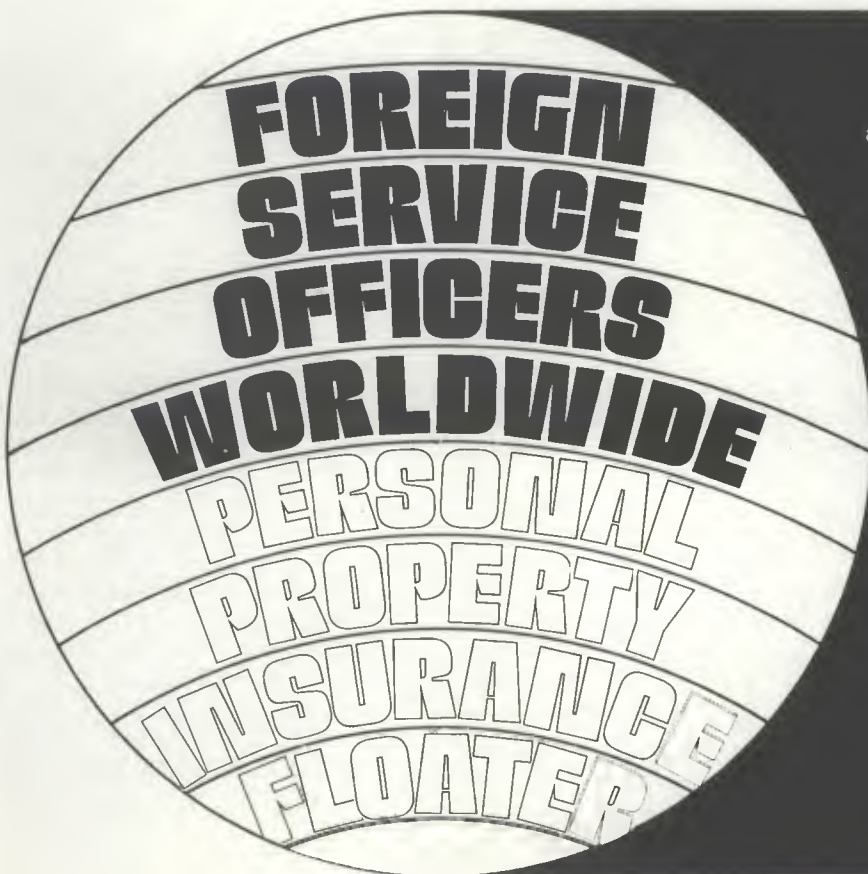
the 22,000 troops stationed outside the city in fear of angering the city's nationalistic population.

A friendly crowd awaited the archduke and Sophie. Franz Ferdinand, a big, burly man with broad shoulders and a high forehead, was dressed in the uniform of an Austrian general. A row of medals hung prominently from his massive chest, and on his head he wore a tall military helmet adorned with bright green feathers. Sophie looked equally regal in a sweeping white dress and oversized plumed hat. A single strand of pearls complimented her pretty face, and in her small hands she carried a parasol to protect her from the sun.

The six-car motorcade departed for the city hall at 10 a.m. The cars traveled a short distance before halting for several minutes while several young girls, dressed in native costumes, presented flowers to the archduke and his wife. They exchanged a few cordial words and the cars moved on.

Cheering crowds had assembled along the narrow, winding streets in the old section of town to watch the royal couple pass by. Sophie smiled and bowed graciously as they drove by, and the archduke raised his hand to his military cap to acknowledge the cheers.

The car was in front of the Girls' High School when the archduke's sharp eye caught sight of an object flying at him through the air. A young printer named Gabrinovics had leaped from the shelter of the building and had thrown a bomb at the royal car. But the bomb missed its mark and fell to the street where it exploded under the car carrying Count von Boos-Waldeck and the archduke's aide-de-camp, Colonel Morizzi.



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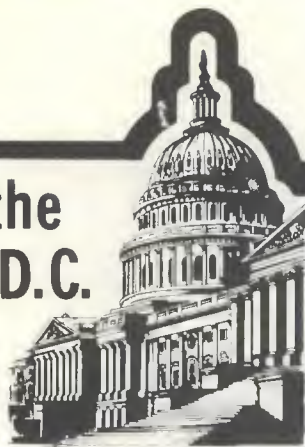
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The explosion engulfed the entire area in a cloud of smoke, and several spectators, some of them women and children, were injured by flying fragments of steel. The archduke's car ground to a halt and Franz Ferdinand leaped out and ran to the aid of the count and Colonel Morizzi, both of whom were bleeding from their hands and faces.

The scene of the explosion was chaotic. Gabrinovics tried to escape, but he was surrounded by an angry mob and finally taken into custody by the police. Boos-Waldeck and Morizzi were rushed to the Garrison Hospital and Sophie personally sent members of her staff to attend to the wounded spectators.

Franz Ferdinand was furious. He attempted to persuade his wife to return to the governor's palace, but she refused. So the royal party proceeded, hurriedly, to the reception at the city hall.

An enthusiastic crowd, led by the town councilors and the mayor, were waiting for the couple. News of the bomb had not yet reached the city hall and the mayor, unaware that anything was wrong, began to read his prepared welcoming address. Franz Ferdinand's anger had not subsided and he interrupted: "Herr Burgermeister, it is perfectly outrageous. We have come to Sarajevo on a visit and have had a bomb thrown at us." After a pause, the archduke regained his composure and gave the stunned mayor permission to continue.

Following the address and a short tour of the city hall, the archduke decided to abandon the tour through the city and to drive directly to the hospital to check on the condition of the count and colonel. Riding opposite the archduke and his wife in the car was the governor of Bosnia, Field Marshal Oskar Potiorek, and standing on the running board of the car was a young count. Francis von Harroch, who had appointed himself bodyguard after the bombing incident.

Earlier in the day the archduke had sent a telegram to his three young children relating the events of the previous day, and now as the royal party proceeded through the town, their car stopped briefly at the post office in order that they might receive a return telegram from the children.

By this time the archduke's spirits had been revived. He was joking good-naturedly with Count von Harroch about the precautions he was taking, when the chauffeur made a mistake and continued to drive straight on Rudolphstrasse rather than make the necessary turn to drive to the hospital. The car came to a halt, and this provided the perfect opportunity for another young conspirator, Gavrilo Princip, to accomplish what his friend, Gabrinovics, had failed to do earlier. Princip, who had been waiting all morning for the archduke, leaped from the crowds, jumped onto the car's running board, and fired two shots in quick succession. The first shot struck Sophie in the abdomen, severing one of her main arteries, and the second shot struck the archduke in the neck, piercing his jugular vein. Field Marshal Potiorek thought at first that the bullets had missed their mark. Sophie muttered a few words, clutched the telegram she had received minutes earlier from her children, and fell unconscious against her husband. The field marshal heard the wounded archduke cry out: "Sophie, don't die! Live for our children."

The car sped to the governor's palace. Sophie was unconscious when lifted from the car, but the archduke opened his eyes several times and seemed to grab the air

with his hands. Six doctors were called and they attempted to save the royal couple, but their efforts were in vain. Sophie had already died before reaching the palace and Franz Ferdinand died twenty minutes later. All that could be done was to call for a priest to administer the last rites of the church.

News of the assassinations was broken to the aged Emperor Franz Josef at his summer resort at Ischl, in Upper Austria. The emperor, who was not known to be particularly fond of his nephew, Franz Ferdinand, and who was openly hostile to Sophie, took the news calmly. Although he had reluctantly given his permission, he had never approved of the marriage of the heir to the throne to Sophie, a mere countess before her marriage. Before the emperor would give his consent, Franz Ferdinand had to sign a document renouncing all rights of succession for his future wife and unborn children. Franz Ferdinand signed that document at noon, June 28, 1900. Fourteen years later, to the very day and hour, Franz Ferdinand and his wife were gunned down on the streets of Sarajevo.

Other European capitals quickly responded to the news of the crime. Franz Ferdinand and Sophie had been very popular in England, and in London King George gave orders postponing the state ball which was to be held that evening at Buckingham Palace and declared a week of court mourning.

Reports from Rome indicated that the pope was very much depressed by the crime. He spent several hours at the altar praying for the souls of the archduke and his wife, both of whom were devout Catholics.

Probably the European leader most upset over the assassinations was the German Emperor, Wilhelm. He and the archduke had been close personal friends. Wilhelm was aboard the royal yacht *Hohenzollern* viewing the annual regatta at Kiel when news of the assassinations reached him. The kaiser was visibly moved. He ordered the regatta to continue, but left early the next day for Berlin where he was joined by his wife who was vacationing in Schleswig-Holstein.

In the United States the *New York Times* ran an editorial describing the archduke as "a popular prince, a sagacious and resourceful man." It described the crime as "one of the most horrible assassinations ever shamefully associated with the sacred cause of liberty. . . . No political murder was ever more deliberately performed."


Newspaper reports on the second day hinted that the assassinations may have been planned in Belgrade, the capital of Serbia. One article went into detail describing the anti-Serbian demonstrations which took place the night before in Sarajevo. Thousands of pro-Austrian rioters marched through the streets of the city carrying portraits of Emperor Franz Josef and singing the Austrian national anthem. They looted, broke windows, and destroyed property of the pro-Serbian citizens. Finally martial law had to be declared and hundreds of arrests were made.

American newspapers also published a message of condolence sent to the Austrian emperor by President Wilson: "Deeply shocked by the atrocious murder of his Imperial and Royal Highness, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his consort at an assassin's hands. I extend to your Majesty and to the Royal Family and to the

(Continued on page 35)

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Outer Space and Foreign Affairs

MICHAEL A. G. MICHAUD

Ten years ago, outer space seemed to be more a part of our lives than it does today. The Apollo-11 mission lifted off from Cape Kennedy on July 16, and the lunar module Eagle landed four days later in the Sea of Tranquility. As we watched Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin shuffle and bounce through the lunar dust, we sensed a dramatic recovery in the prestige of the United States as a scientific and engineering power in the dozen years since Sputnik I. The United States had won the

Michael Michaud has served overseas in Dacca, Tehran and Bombay (with ICA) and in Washington with INR, NEA, EA, PM and ISP. A member of the the Editorial Board, he has been a frequent contributor to the Journal and other periodicals (22 published articles). He was founding editor of Open Forum magazine and is working on a book.

The views expressed here are those of the author, and do not necessarily represent US policy.

Moon Race, and had more than overcome the imagined missile gap. All things seemed possible; planning was under way for a Moon Base, and in 1970 the Nixon Administration officially attached itself to the idea of landing men on Mars.

Apollo soon died a budgetary death: the last Moon landing took place in December, 1972. Apollo technologies were used in the Skylab missions of 1973-1974, and in the Apollo-Soyuz Test Project of 1975. But no American has flown in space since then. NASA's budget, cut back steadily in real terms after the mid-1960s, has leveled out. But, as development funding for the Space Shuttle declines and no new starts are made on major projects, the space agency faces an uncertain future.

All this could lead one to conclude that the Space Age was a temporary aberration, a technological high-water mark in the tides of the Cold War. But space as a factor



Artist's concept of proposed geosynchronous Space Solar Power satellite beaming microwave energy to earth for conversion into electric power.

in international affairs is only dormant. Though they attract little attention, unmanned satellites are part of the structure of international communications, international science and public service, military rivalry, and arms control. The Soviet Union continues to conduct space activities on a much larger scale than we do, including a manned spaceflight program almost unbroken since 1961. Other nations and groups—the European Space Agency, Japan, and China—are diversifying space power, launching their own satellites; a private company, the West German OTRAG, soon may join them.

Even more important is the fact that the United States will soon open a new era of manned space flight with the first launch of a reusable transport from the surface of the earth to low orbit and back, making possible a wide range of new space activities at reduced unit cost. The Soviet Union reportedly is building its own space shuttle.

There is new concern over military activity in space which could threaten satellites on which the superpowers have come to depend. Scientists and engineers have proposed new ways of using space that could involve colossal projects of potentially great benefit to mankind—projects which would raise complex questions about international relations in space. By the early 1980s, the Second Age of Space may have begun.

The Present Uses of Space

Perhaps the most familiar use of space—now taken for granted—is the communications satellite. In a 1945 article titled "Extraterrestrial Relays," Arthur C. Clarke pointed out that three communications satellites 120 degrees apart in geosynchronous orbit (22,300 miles high) could cover the entire earth except for the poles. Early in the Space Age, the United States began testing communications satellites; in July, 1962, TELSTAR I relayed television signals across the Atlantic. The first worldwide TV broadcast, made possible by satellites, took place in 1967, and the Moon landing two years later was experienced through media by more people than any other event in history. An innovative interna-

tional organization, INTELSAT, was created in 1971 to manage an international communications satellite system.

We discovered during the Vietnam war the immediacy that satellite communications can give to distant events; it is a giant step toward the creation of Marshall McLuhan's Global Village. Clarke, speaking at the signing of the INTELSAT Treaty, predicted that satellite communications would erode national differences and told the assembled dignitaries that they had signed the first draft of the Articles of Federation of the United States of Earth. Today, the Direct Communications Link ("hot line") between Moscow and Washington is routed through satellites, as are communications from many of our Foreign Service posts. Less developed countries now have the option of leapfrogging the land line stage of communications development, jumping directly to cheaper satellite relays and standardized ground stations.

Another early use of satellites was to monitor the earth's weather. Both the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration and the Department of Defense operate meteorological satellite systems, which report continuously on

weather patterns around the world. Information is provided to other nations, encouraging a global perception of climate, and citizens can even set up their own weather ground stations to receive weather satellite imagery. The elevated vantage points of these satellites allow them to see large-scale patterns—nearly an entire hemisphere—so that meteorologists can study weather as a planetary phenomenon. We may deride the weathermen for their mistakes. But their satellites, by warning us of hurricanes and other events, have helped save thousands of lives and billions of dollars.

Since 1972, the United States also has engaged in remote sensing of the earth's surface through its LANDSAT satellites. LANDSAT does not take photographs, but repeatedly scans each area of the earth like a TV camera in a variety of wavelengths. The resulting images, rich in information, allow analyses of vegetation, snow cover and river flows, and human use of the landscape. The Large Area Crop Inventory Experiment (LACIE) is testing the use of LANDSAT for collecting information on agriculture and remote sensing also could have important uses in forest management.



NASA's Space Shuttle will be the first reusable manned spacecraft, giving the United States new flexibility for operations in low orbit.

Successive models of LANDSAT are producing imagery with more information and finer resolution of detail; the next will achieve resolution equivalent to 60 to 90 meters by photography. Even finer resolution—not presently planned for civil satellites—could be used for town planning, the inventory of small agricultural plots in oriental countries and disaster relief. The United States makes LANDSAT imagery available to the public through the Earth Resources Observation Satellite Data Center in Sioux Falls, South Dakota. Foreign nations have built LANDSAT ground stations to receive satellite data, and the United States provides training in the analysis and use of LANDSAT imagery.

In 1978, the United States put up SEASAT-A, an experimental ocean observation system. Unlike LANDSAT, SEASAT-A was not simply a passive recorder of reflected light, but used active sensors—a synthetic aperture radar and a radar altimeter—to map the ocean surface. SEASAT-A has stopped functioning, but the images it returned showed such details as individual ships in the St. Lawrence river, and may have implications for iceberg patrol and the management of the sea lanes. The Soviet Union reportedly uses radar ocean reconnaissance satellites for military purposes; the Cosmos 954 satellite whose pieces fell on Canada last year was said to be such a device.

A large variety of other satellites are used to conduct scientific observations of the earth and its environment. One, LAGEOS, reflects laser beams to allow precise location of points on earth, and can be used to show the slow movement of land masses along fault lines. Others study such phenomena as the chemical composition of the upper atmosphere, and the magnetosphere that deflects the constant stream of particles and radiation from the sun. In this field too, scientists cooperate across national lines.

Satellites are used increasingly for astronomy because they are above the filtering, distorting effects of the earth's atmosphere. These orbiting observatories let us see the universe not only in the narrow bands of visual light and radio,

but in its full colors—infra-red, ultra-violet, X-ray. Some are international cooperative efforts. Italians operated the San Marco launch platform off the coast of Kenya for the US X-ray satellite Uhuru.

Spacecraft also have been exploring the solar system since the first Soviet Moon probe in 1959. Before the Apollo astronauts set foot on the Moon, our natural satellite was studied by crash-landing Rangers, Lunar Orbiters, and Surveyor landers; the Soviets also used unmanned roving vehicles, and robot craft that returned samples of lunar soil to the Earth. The US and the USSR have exchanged samples of lunar material.

Soviet spacecraft have landed on Mars and Venus, returning the

“While few states challenge the right of others to collect information by satellite, many believe that the prior consent of the sensed state should be obtained before such data is disseminated to third parties.”

only pictures from the surface of the latter. US spacecraft have flown by Venus, Mars, Mercury, and Jupiter, and are on their way to Saturn; they have landed on, and orbited, Mars and Venus. One of the Voyager craft which flew by Jupiter earlier this year may go on to Uranus and even Neptune. If it does, humankind will have completed an initial reconnaissance of its planetary system, except for Pluto, by 1986. The US and USSR exchange data from planetary missions; the United States and West Germany sent Helios probes close to the sun, and the French are cooperating with the Soviets on a Venus atmosphere balloon probe for the 1980s.

Keeping the Peace

Satellites also contribute to strategic stability and arms control. For years, US early warning satellites have watched for signs of a missile attack, providing a vital

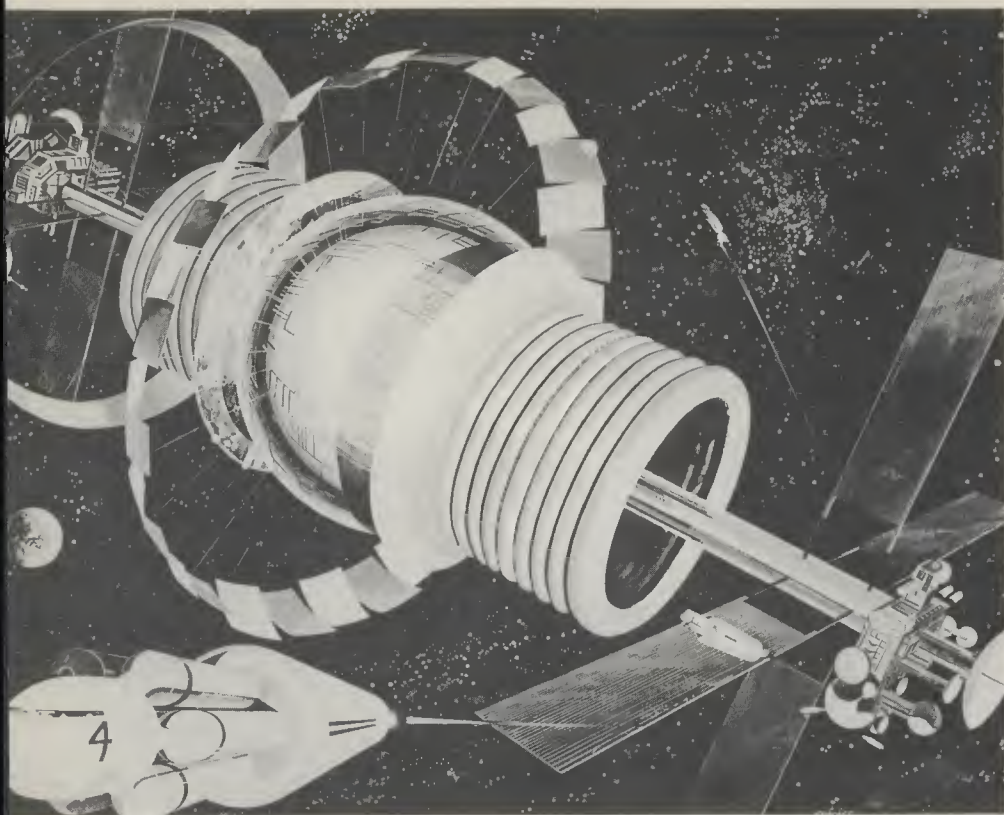
supplement to the more familiar ground-based radars. Other satellites are designed to detect nuclear explosions, and contribute to nuclear test ban agreements. Communications satellites, by allowing instantaneous worldwide command and control, also are an important factor in the strategic balance.

It has been widely known for many years that the US and the USSR use satellites for reconnaissance. US systems such as SAMOS were discussed openly until 1962. Philip Klass provided descriptions of intelligence satellites in his 1971 book *Secret Sentries in Space* and made the case that they have been a major factor in reducing tensions between the superpowers. But it was not until 1978 that the United States government decided to declassify the fact that the US uses reconnaissance satellites. Now United States government spokesmen refer to them in public statements, and describe them as an important means for the monitoring of arms control agreements. Many experts agree that the SALT agreements and the ABM treaty would not have been possible without these eyes in the sky.

Law and Order in Space

Even before the launch of Sputnik I in October, 1957, a few lawyers and State Department officials began to think about the need for international regulation in the new environment of outer space (see Craig Eisendrath's article on the Outer Space Treaty in the May, 1967 *FSJ*). US initiatives led to the formation of a United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, and to the discussion of principles that were incorporated into the Outer Space Treaty of 1967.

Outer space also presented an opportunity to extend some of humankind's nobler values into a new environment before its character was determined by international competition. Several nations had signed a treaty on Antarctica in 1959 which made that continent a nuclear weapons free scientific preserve, where nations would cooperate rather than compete. That experience had some influence on the legal regime for outer space. The 1967 treaty bans nuclear weapons and other kinds of



This is a view of the exterior of a possible space habitat for some 10,000 people. The colonists, members of a space manufacturing workforce, would live in homes on the inner surface of a large sphere nearly a mile in circumference which rotates to provide a gravity comparable to that of earth. The concept is a result of a 1976 Study on Space Manufacturing at NASA's Ames Research Center.

weapons of mass destruction from being placed in orbit or being stationed in space in any other manner. It also bans military installations and exercises on celestial bodies. But the treaty does not ban other military activities in space.

Since 1966, nations have worked out other agreements for the uses of space, such as those on the return of astronauts, the registration of objects launched into space and liability for damage caused by space objects. But some issues—whose resolution (or non-resolution) could influence the future in space—remain under discussion in the Legal, Scientific and Technical Subcommittees of the UN Outer Space Committee.

Perhaps most fundamental is the question of national jurisdiction. The 1919 Paris Convention on the Regulation of Air Navigation and the 1944 Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation allow states to exercise exclusive (though not unqualified) sovereignty over the air space lying above their territories. By contrast, international agreements and customary practice prohibit claims of national sovereignty over outer space. As there is no accepted definition of outer

space, and no agreed delimitation of the boundary between air space and outer space, the upward extent of national sovereignty is unclear. Definition and delimitation could have important implications for military measures used to counter intruding foreign vehicles. Since this issue was first raised in the UN in 1959, there have been many proposals for a boundary, based on physical characteristics or on arbitrary distances. The United States, which wishes to retain maximum freedom to use space, has argued that definition and delimitation are unnecessary and premature. The general issue was given a new twist in 1976 when eight equatorial nations claimed the segments of geosynchronous orbit lying above their territories, raising the prospect of an equatorial OPEC that would charge rent for the use of orbital slots (the United States has rejected this claim). The issue also may be revived if future large stations in geosynchronous orbit take on a more permanent character than current satellites. Meanwhile, the World Administrative Radio Conferences of the International Telecommunications Union have begun assigning geosynchronous

orbital slots, as well as frequencies for *direct broadcast* satellites to nations.

Geosynchronous orbit positions, which allow a spacecraft to remain nearly stationary above a specific point on the earth's equator, also are attractive for satellites which broadcast television signals directly to home receivers—Direct Broadcast Satellites (DBS). The United States satellite, ATS-6 orbited in 1974, has been used for experimental TV transmissions to community receivers in India and in this country. Other nations also are experimenting with DBS, and may deploy operational systems. But many want the right to control or prevent foreign broadcasts into their territories. The United States has opposed any principle requiring the prior consent of the receiving country, though it is willing to consult prior to broadcast.

Another area of disagreement is remote sensing. While few states challenge the right of others to collect information by satellite, many believe that the prior consent of the sensed state should be obtained before such data is disseminated to third parties. US policy is to openly disseminate data acquired by civil remote sensing systems. The USSR has proposed that imagery which resolves details smaller than 50 meters be subject to a prior consent regime, while coarser data could be disseminated openly.

In 1971, the USSR proposed a draft treaty on the Moon. After many subsequent drafts and much discussion, members of the Outer Space Committee are still working on a treaty which would establish a legal regime for the Moon and other celestial bodies more elaborate—and restrictive—than that created by the Outer Space Treaty. The main issue has been the exploration and exploitation of the Moon's natural resources. Some less developed countries have in the past proposed a moratorium until specific rules are negotiated. Both the US and the USSR oppose such a moratorium as unnecessary and undesirable (a strict legal regime for Moon mining could have adverse implications for resource exploitation in other environments, particularly the deep seabeds). In the present draft treaty, a compromise postpones

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Old China Hand

EDWARD DEVOL

Leonard Woodcock may be a great success as the first US ambassador to China in many years, but there is no way he can match the later career of the man who headed the first US diplomatic mission in Peking more than 100 years ago.

Anson Burlingame went to China as United States minister in 1861. When he returned to the United States in 1868 he came as diplomatic representative of the Imperial Chinese Court. On his arrival in Washington he proceeded to negotiate with his former boss, Secretary of State Seward, on behalf of the Chinese government.

In the resulting "Burlingame Treaty"—which the former US diplomat signed without prior authorization of its terms by his new employers—the United States pledged to respect the independence and territorial integrity of China and granted Chinese the right of immigration to the United States.

Three years earlier Secretary Seward had instructed Burlingame to encourage the Chinese to send diplomatic missions to Western countries. He cannot have anticipated that the recipient of those instructions would one day arrive in Washington as living evidence that the Chinese had taken his advice seriously.

Burlingame had not only become a Chinese diplomat; he had also become an enthusiast for China and things Chinese. In speeches as florid and emotional as those which



Anson Burlingame and his Chinese colleagues on arrival in the United States in 1868.

had gained him a considerable reputation as an orator in the Massachusetts legislature and the United States House of Representatives, he painted bright pictures of the future of US-Chinese relations and of the great economic benefits of increased trade between the two countries.

After a few months of propagandizing for the Manchu Court, he was off to Europe to negotiate agreements with other powers having interests in China. Several European countries (and the United States) had signed treaties with China in the past, but Burlingame and his two Chinese colleagues were the first official Chinese diplomats in the West. The first permanent Chinese mission in Europe was not established until 1877; the first in Washington in 1878.

Burlingame came to diplomacy late in life. He was born in 1820 in New York, raised in Ohio and Michigan, graduated from Harvard Law School, and became an attor-

ney in Boston. After a term in the Massachusetts legislature, he was elected to Congress in 1854.

He was a good party man and effective debater in the House. In 1856, his speech denouncing the assault of South Carolina Congressman Preston Brooks on Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner was so vitriolic that Brooks challenged him to a duel. Accepting the challenge, Burlingame chose the weapons: rifles; and the site: the Canadian side of Niagara Falls. Brooks rejected these conditions and the duel never took place.

Burlingame ran for a fourth term in 1860 and was defeated. However, his spirited campaigning for the Republican ticket earned him the gratitude of Lincoln men and he was nominated as Minister to Austria-Hungary. The Hapsburg Court declared him unacceptable because he had supported the movement for Sardinian independence and had publicly praised Louis Kossuth, the leader of the 1848 Hungarian revolt against the

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Vienna regime. Peking was offered instead, and he accepted.

Arriving in Peking late in 1861, Burlingame found himself in a country that was suspicious of foreigners both from an innate sense of superiority and from the events of recent history. The Chinese government had signed treaties granting trade concessions to several Western nations, but sometimes found it hard to enforce them against the inroads of bandits, rebels, and insubordinate provincial officials. The British and French had the habit of sending troops to create conditions satisfactory to their merchants in the ports covered by treaties. As recently as October, 1860, British and French troops had occupied Peking and set fire to the Summer Palace.

Chinese xenophobia kept foreigners at arm's length except when Western military force threatened disaster. Not until 1844 were foreigners legally entitled to learn the Chinese language. The foreign occupation of Peking in 1860 had stemmed from outrage at the Chinese insistence that foreign diplomats—only recently promised permission to reside in Peking—enter the capital by a route customarily used by bearers of tribute from subject states.

Burlingame and the representatives of France, Britain and Russia were the first foreign diplomats to establish residence in Peking. Before 1861, there had not even been a separate Chinese government office to handle foreign affairs.

The novice diplomat was a success from the start. He became the informal leader of the Western diplomats in Peking and, under his guidance, they adopted a more tolerant attitude toward the imperial government's problems, and became less likely to cave in when Western merchants demanded drastic action to increase profits.

Burlingame soon made up his mind what US policy toward China should be: In a dispatch to Seward in 1862, he listed three main principles that ought to be followed:

1. The United States should acquire no Chinese territory.
2. The United States should not interfere in internal Chinese political struggles except "to maintain our treaty rights."
3. The United States should help the Chinese authorities resist at-

tempts by rebels or bandits to counter the rights granted by treaty.

Chinese officials liked the US minister's attitude, and welcomed his guidance of his Western colleagues in the direction of restraint and fairness. They sought his advice on various problems. When he learned that their blunders were sometimes caused by ignorance of the agreed principles of international law he arranged for a translation of a treatise on the subjects to be presented to the foreign office.

In November, 1867, he informed his Chinese contacts he intended to resign from the US diplomatic service. They inquired delicately if he would remain interested in China. He assured them of his undying interest and hinted that he might even be willing to mediate disputes between China and foreign powers. He was then offered appointment to an official mission to visit the United States and Europe to negotiate revisions to treaties. He resigned as US minister early in 1868, and he and two Chinese colleagues sailed eastward across the Pacific on this mission.

In accepting this assignment to represent China in negotiations with inscrutable Occidentals, Burlingame said:

"When the oldest nation in the world, containing one-third of the human race, seeks for the first time to come into relations with the West, and requests the youngest nation, through its representative, to act as the medium of such change, the mission is one not to be solicited or rejected."

On arriving on the West Coast, Burlingame began making speeches on behalf of his new employers. "The hour has struck, the day has come," he proclaimed. China welcomed "the shining banners of Western civilization," and wanted American business and American technical know-how. As he traveled across the continent, he continued to emphasize China's friendly attitude toward the United States, and the rich harvest to be reaped from diplomatic relations between the two countries.

On July 28, 1868, Burlingame's delegation and Secretary of State Seward signed additional articles to the Tsientsin Treaty of 1858; they became known as "The Burlingame Treaty." In Europe no for-

mal agreements resulted, but Burlingame persuaded the British to issue a declaration that China was "entitled to count on the forbearance of foreign nations." Similarly vague but reassuring statements resulted from his talks in Paris and Berlin. He was in St. Petersburg to work out agreeable language with the Russian government when he caught pneumonia and died in February, 1870.

Historians disagree about the significance of Burlingame's diplomatic mission to the Western capitals, although there is general agreement that he was an effective representative of the United States government in Peking. The immediate effects of the agreement with Seward were good, and Peking ratified it. However, historian C.U. Hsu writes, it encouraged the mandarins to believe "that foreigners after all could be managed at a price."

Another modern historian writes that although Burlingame's intentions were good, his speeches in America in 1868 "laid the foundation for a species of oratorical reporting that was to deceive the American public from that day to the present."

This was the view of J. Ross Browne, Burlingame's successor in the United States legation in Peking. Only a few months after Burlingame and Seward put their signatures on the new articles, Browne wrote the secretary:

"The impression exists in the United States that the government of China is peculiarly friendly to our country and that great advantages to our commerce are about to accrue from this preference . . .

"I need hardly say that these anticipations are without foundation. The government of China may have preferences, but it has no special regard for any foreign power."

Browne may have been more perceptive than Burlingame, or perhaps only more cynical. Kenneth Latourette characterizes Burlingame's mission to the West as "an attempt by an American idealist to safeguard the independence and territorial integrity of China." It was an attempt made by generations of American diplomats, until events of 30 years ago made it evident that the United States could not influence developments in China any longer.

"A good pun may be admitted among the smaller excellencies of lively conversation."—James Boswell

PACIFIC OVERTURES WITH MARSHALL GREEN

PETER A. POOLE

I first interviewed Marshall Green in 1969, not long after he took charge of the State Department's Asian bureau. For the past twenty years, most major developments in US foreign policy had focused on Asia. Ambassador Green was deeply involved in the resolution of some of these issues—opening relations with Peking, adjusting our partnership with Japan, and disengaging from Vietnam. As the department's senior specialist on Asia, he seemed in line to head the embassy in Tokyo. Yet over the next few years, with the invasion of Cambodia and the Watergate crisis, his relationship with President Nixon and Henry Kissinger deteriorated. In 1973, the year Kissinger replaced Rogers as Secretary, Green was named ambassador to Australia, an important US ally but not on a par with Japan, where many people expected him to be sent.

When I returned to interview Ambassador Green in 1978, I took an elevator to the State Department's prestigious seventh floor. A large sign over his outer door read "Ambassador Marshall Green, Coordinator of Population Affairs." Here was an important story in itself, because the department is gradually moving away from its once exclusive emphasis on bilateral political relations. Officers are being recruited and trained to work on multilateral social and

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economic problems, both on a regional and global basis. However, before looking at the ambassador's current activities, I wanted to trace the role of the area specialist and career Foreign Service officer in the growth of one of State's key geographic bureaus.

Marshall Green belongs to the second generation of career Foreign Service officers.* Shortly after graduating from Yale in 1939, he went out to Tokyo as Ambassador Joseph Grew's private secretary. He thus had a ringside seat as Grew tried with all his skill to avert or delay the coming of war with Japan. After Pearl Harbor, Green joined the Navy; he was sent back to school at Berkeley to learn Japanese before serving in the Pacific theater. After V-J Day, he resumed his Foreign Service career. He was assigned to the Japan desk in Washington just in time to help lay some of the groundwork for the Japan Peace Treaty. Apart from the early 1950s, when he served in Stockholm, his entire career has been devoted to Asia.

Ambassador Green received his first chief of mission assignment in 1950, when he became charge d'affaires in Korea. He next went to

*The first generation, who entered the service just after the 1924 Foreign Service Act was passed, includes such men as George Kennan, Charles Bohlen and John Carter Vincent. The second generation, who entered around the time of World War II, are perhaps the last who could expect to rise to the level of ambassador purely on the basis of ability, energy and ambition. The expansion of the service in the 1950s and '60s has greatly slowed the rate of advancement for most officers. Moreover, neither Congress nor the executive branch shows any sign of reducing the number of key diplomatic jobs reserved for political appointees.

Hong Kong as consul general at a time of great unrest in mainland Chinese affairs; then back to the department, where the end of the Kennedy era found him acting chief of the Asian bureau.

The Johnson years were spent as ambassador to Indonesia, a time of turmoil following the overthrow of Sukarno. President Nixon, traveling as a private citizen, met Ambassador Green in Djakarta and put him in charge of the Asian bureau in 1969. Green served with distinction—and his term was longer than that of any other FSO.

This fact suggests a number of conclusions about the degree of professionalism in the State Department. For example, "non-career" officers have led the bureau most of the time since World War II. The FSOs who have run the bureau all had prior service in Asia, and most were area specialists with a working knowledge of one or more Asian languages.* None of the non-career men spent as much time in Asia or learned an Asian language.

Yet these facts are somewhat deceptive. For example, Dean Rusk, Averell Harriman, and William Bundy have each devoted most of their lives to public service and diplomacy. Their style is not very different from that of many career FSOs.** Indeed, there is far less contrast between career and non-career heads of the Asian bureau than between FSOs and political ambassadors who are sent abroad.

Do career ambassadors tend to have the most influence on the governments to which they are accredited? And do political appointees back home in the State Department tend to have more clout with Congress and the White House than FSOs serving in the same position? Ambassador Green had no trouble answering yes to the

*John Carter Vincent is included in this list, although the division was only raised to bureau level when Walton Butterworth took over.

**The same applies, to a lesser degree, to other non-career members of the succession. Walter Robertson and Robert Ingersoll, both businessmen, had prior service in Asia before taking charge of the bureau. Robertson was deputy chief of mission in China, and Ingersoll was ambassador to Japan. Roger Hilsman, a former Army officer, and Richard Holbrooke, a former FSO, had both served in Southeast Asia.

first question. He was less positive about the second.

Of the non-career officers who have run the Asian bureau, all had ready access to the top levels of their administrations; most of them also enjoyed good relations with Congress. Rusk and Harriman each played a major role in shaping US policy (not just toward Asia) during the Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson years. However, their views were sometimes in conflict,

"Green continued to play a key role in coping with the offshore islands crisis, which lasted about six weeks. He brought a fresh and impartial viewpoint to the task, because the China desk officer and Robertson and Dulles were all strongly committed to Chiang Kai-shek."

and Rusk was often in a position to make his own views prevail. Like Harriman, Roger Hilsman had direct access to the White House, but neither of them managed to alter the basic thrust of Rusk's policy on China or Indochina.

During their long terms in office, Robertson and William Bundy each served their respective secretaries with exacting loyalty and helped them to place their stamp on all the Asian bureau's activities. However, it would be hard to say just how much Robertson or Bundy influenced their respective secretaries. Ingersoll's influence on Kissinger may also have been marginal, particularly since Kissinger seemed to lose interest in Asia after the 1973 Paris agreement was signed.

Of the career officers who have run the bureau, Vincent, Butterworth, Allison, Green and Habib were all highly influential. Each of them held office during times of turbulent legislative-executive relations. Vincent and Butterworth became the targets for personal abuse

by Congress because they resisted the views of the Taiwan supporters and tried to protect the Truman administration's political flank. (Robertson and Rusk, on the other hand, enjoyed good relations with Congress because they invariably supported Taiwan.) John Allison assisted Dulles in the Japan peace treaty negotiations, both abroad and in dealings with the US Congress.

Although Marshall Green's exposure to Japanese affairs goes back to pre-war Tokyo, his first important chance to influence US policy came in 1948, when he was still a relatively junior officer. He was assigned to accompany George Kennan on a mission to Japan in 1948. Their reports helped bring to a close the period of tutelage of the American Occupation. It was Kennan's first visit to Asia, and Green was impressed by his rapid assimilation of a highly complex situation. Kennan was also able to dictate telegrams that were so well phrased and organized that he had no need to edit them before sending.

At first, MacArthur's vast imperial staff in Tokyo had little time for their visitors. But after Green arranged for Kennan to lecture on Soviet affairs to MacArthur's top aides, all doors were opened. MacArthur honored brains; he and Kennan turned out to be in agreement on many issues.

One of the most troubling problems before US policy-makers at the time was the question of economic "reforms." Did it serve US interests to dismantle Japanese factories and send the machinery to China—where it was often seized by the communists or allowed to rust and become useless? One day in Osaka, Marshall Green was struck by the sight of enormous crates of machinery waiting on the docks for shipment to China. He sent a cable which helped persuade Washington to rethink an economic policy that was preventing Japan from resuming its natural role as the workshop of Asia.

Back in Washington, Green also pursued the task of ending the purge of war-time collaborators. He tells the story of how one day he sought Dean Rusk's clearance for a cable to MacArthur summarizing all the reasons for ending the purge. This had been decided

by the National Security Council, but MacArthur and his staff tended to ignore orders they disliked. Rusk read the draft and asked if he thought it would do any good. Green said perhaps not, but at least it put the case strongly on record. Rusk reminded him that the aim was to get some action, not to make a record. At his suggestion, Green redrafted the cable, indicating that MacArthur had earlier expressed doubts about the purge—doubts

“Relations between Green and General Park were extremely tense. Yet finally, Park invited the American to a back alley restaurant in Seoul; for four hours they thrashed out their problems to their mutual satisfaction.”

which the State Department had not shared at the time, but which now seemed eminently reasonable. Though MacArthur had never expressed such views to Green's knowledge, the ploy worked. For once, MacArthur complied as soon as he received the cable.

Green's only absence from Asian affairs coincided with the start of the China containment policy in the early 1950s. At the request of Walton Butterworth, who was virtually hounded out of the Asian bureau by critics in Congress, Green went to Stockholm as chief of the embassy's political section.

In 1956, Green returned to the Asian bureau as regional affairs adviser to the redoubtable Walter Robertson. (Secretary Dulles consulted the pro-Taiwan group in Congress before naming Robertson to head the bureau.) A suave, charming, ultra-conservative Virginia businessman, Robertson presided over the bureau for six long years and made certain that no one in Congress could get to the right of

Dulles on Asia policy. Though their views were far apart on many issues, especially China policy, Green and Robertson liked each other personally. Green's responsibilities included a great deal of testifying on Capitol Hill, writing speeches and press statements, and organizing the annual chiefs of mission conference in Asia.

The 1958 crisis over the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu provided Green with a major opportunity to show his mettle. Just before the outbreak of this crisis, Green served as head of an interagency war-gaming exercise. By coincidence, their task had been to draw up detailed plans for a PRC aerial interdiction of these islands.

When the crisis struck, Dulles and Robertson were away and the head of the China desk was ill. Green had no choice except to take charge. Within a few hours, he was able to present Robertson and Dulles with a comprehensive list of recommendations for action—with full clearance by all the US agencies that would be involved! There was little left for Robertson and Dulles to do except approve Green's suggestions, which they did.

Green continued to play a key role in coping with the offshore islands crisis, which lasted about six weeks. He brought a fresh and impartial viewpoint to the task, because the China desk officer and Robertson and Dulles were all strongly committed to Chiang Kai-shek. Green realized before they did that Chiang was exaggerating the severity of the situation in hope of getting stronger US support against the mainland.

After several weeks, Dulles became so concerned by the gloomy reports emanating from Chiang and his supporters that he went to New York to try to persuade the UN Security Council somehow to “neutralize” the offshore islands. Green realized this could lead to endless complications and that he must try to prevent it. He persuaded Acting Secretary Herter to call an interagency meeting, which heard new evidence about the tenability of the offshores and instructed Green to go to New York and talk the Secretary out of his initiative.

When Dulles returned to Washington, Admiral Burke, chairman

of the Joint Chiefs, assured him that Green was right; the islands could be resupplied and held without escalating the conflict. Thus, eventually, Peking backed down from its effort to take the islands by force and settled eventually for shelling them on alternate days, mainly with propaganda shells.

On the strength of his performance in this and other crises, Green's stature grew, and he was sent to Korea as deputy chief of mission. He became charge d'affaires in 1960, just before General Park Chung Hee overthrew a democratically elected government, whose election the United States had urged and applauded.

At 3:00 a.m., Green learned of the coup from General Magruder, commander of the Eighth Army in Korea (As UN Commander, Magruder was also in tactical command of South Korean Combat Forces). Magruder suggested and Green approved an order to all US forces in Korea to stay off the streets and not become involved in the coup. Green also decided that they should immediately announce that the United States had nothing to do with the coup and that it still supported the duly elected government. His statement and that of General Magruder were taped in English and in Korean and broadcast every hour over the US Armed Forces radio in Korea. This decision created consternation in Washington and, of course, in Seoul, but it failed to prevent Park's coup from succeeding.

For two months, relations between Green and General Park were extremely tense. Yet finally, Park invited the American to a back alley restaurant in Seoul; for four hours they thrashed out their problems to their mutual satisfaction. At the end of the meeting, Park smiled and said “Mr. Green, I want you to know you have done me a great favor.”

“What is that, General?”

“You have made it so difficult for me to pull a coup d'état that I don't think anybody will try it again in Korea!”

Looking back on the episode, Marshall Green was inclined to think it showed the benefits of standing on principle. If he had yielded to pressures in Seoul—and pressures from some in Washington (but not the bureau, which gave

him full support) to be more compliant—Park would have taken the United States very much more for granted. By taking a principled stance, the United States retained the respect of most Koreans and was able to assist many who were jailed during the coup.

At the start of the Kennedy administration, Green was chosen for the senior China-watching post of consul general in Hong Kong. This was a compliment to his skill and objectivity, because he was not a Chinese language officer. Under his direction, the consulate achieved a distinguished record of reporting on the troubled aftermath of Mao's Great Leap Forward program and particularly on the widen-

preparation of a major speech by Roger Hilsman, who was then in charge of the Asian bureau, calling for a "civil dialogue" with China. The speech was not cleared by Secretary Rusk (Hilsman had a personal relationship with Kennedy, and he and Rusk found it difficult to work together). Shortly after President Kennedy's death, Hilsman delivered the China speech in San Francisco. This was one of the factors in Rusk's decision to replace him with William Bundy, whom he found more compatible.

Many people in the bureau had thought Green would be named assistant secretary, and he was undoubtedly disappointed at being

"Green, on the other hand uses humor (puns are his specialty) for the purpose of relieving tense situations. For example, he once interjected into a discussion of a Korean crisis, 'These are the times that try Seoul's men.' "

ing Sino-Soviet split. Green was called back to Washington in August 1963 and named deputy assistant secretary. His main task was to devise a strategy for improving US relations with China.

This was a highly sensitive subject. The Kennedy administration was divided on both the substance of China policy and the tactics to be employed. The crumbling of the Saigon regime at this time made it all the harder to address the issue of China. Green's proposals foreshadowed those which he helped put into effect almost a decade later. They included such measures as revising the Foreign Assets Control Act, allowing Americans to attend the Canton Trade Fair, and normalizing relations with Mongolia. One proposal that was adopted in 1963 was the creation of separate State Department desks to deal with Taiwan and the Peoples Republic of China—a move that hinted at US interest in having relationships with both Taiwan and mainland China.

Marshall Green helped in the

passed over. Rusk's choice was probably based partly on his belief that it is unfair to put a career officer in a position where he must bear a great deal of heat from Congress. William Bundy survived as assistant secretary throughout the difficult Johnson years. Green's tenure, which followed, was just as long and every bit as difficult. As it turned out, he served an administration that was more open to change in our China policy.

Green's first ambassadorial post was Indonesia. He arrived in 1965 to find that vast island nation in a state of frenzy. Sukarno's erratic leadership had reduced the economy to a shambles while he blithely provoked "confrontation" with Malaysia, Britain and the United States and withdrew from the United Nations. Organized demonstrators greeted the new US ambassador with large signs saying "Green Go Home." (He noted one marcher who had added the message in lipstick "and take me with you.")

As the demonstrations got worse

from week to week, and led to violent attacks on US consulates, Green persuaded Washington to threaten the expulsion of all Indonesian diplomats from America unless the violence ceased. His demarche, made to leftist Foreign Minister Subandrio, produced instant results. Subandrio arranged a meeting with the chief of police, who received the ambassador at his office with a brass band and honor guard! More important, the American embassy and consulates were henceforth protected rather than attacked by the local authorities.

A month later, Sukarno's regime was overthrown in a series of events that still remain murky. Apparently, the Indonesian Communist Party sought to assassinate the nation's top generals to forestall a military coup which the communists anticipated following the demise of the ailing Sukarno. If so, they miscalculated. The army soon gained the upper hand, and thousands of known or alleged communists were jailed or executed. The violence in the capital touched off an epidemic of political and racial vendettas throughout Indonesia, resulting in untold murder and mayhem over the next six months.

Ambassador Green did everything possible to prevent the United States from being implicated in these chaotic events, although some US officials wanted to claim credit for what the media loosely termed an "anti-communist revolution." Eventually, Indonesia settled down, under a competent, though autocratic, regime. In many ways, the events in Indonesia followed the opposite course of developments in Indochina. Ambassador Green became a strong advocate of the "less is sometimes more" approach. He argued for smaller US missions and pointed out to Washington that there were many situations we could not and should not try to control. Meanwhile, he worked hard to promote US public and private investment to help the Indonesians get back on their feet. It was in this period that he realized the basic importance of population planning to economic development.

One of the many American visitors to Indonesia in the late '60s was Richard Nixon. He was obviously preparing for another try at

the presidency, and he and Ambassador Green had several long talks on world affairs. The upshot was that Nixon, once elected, asked Green to head the Asian bureau.

During 1969, their relationship remained direct and cordial. Green provided Nixon with the basic outline of his famous "Guam doctrine": America would help those nations who were prepared to help themselves. He urged the president to reduce the size of US missions in Asia, particularly the ones in Vietnam and Laos, where our high visibility made it easy to attack our Asian friends as "puppets." Some scaling down of US personnel resulted—not just in Vietnam and Laos but also in Korea, Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines and Thailand.

However, it soon became apparent that Henry Kissinger was determined to undercut Secretary Rogers as Nixon's main foreign policy adviser. Green liked and respected Rogers. In 1970, they both opposed the idea of a US ground invasion of Cambodia. As described elsewhere, Kissinger sealed his relationship with Nixon by supporting the invasion. While the White House advisor hid behind the cloak of executive privilege, Rogers and Green made frequent trips to Capitol Hill to try to explain administration policy to an increasingly skeptical Congress. As the country lapsed into bitter domestic conflict over the invasion of Cambodia, Marshall Green and others at the State Department could feel the White House shutting itself off from the advice of career diplomats. The morale at state plunged to the depths it had reached in the 1950s, when Dulles purged the Chinese language officers.

Ambassador Green's relationship with Kissinger involved a lot of banter, which they both enjoyed.* But Kissinger's need was mainly for younger or more subservient men. Green was very good

at many of the things that Kissinger had not yet had time to learn about—dealing with the Japanese government, testifying before Congress, understanding the fine shadings of Asian regional politics. Moreover, Ambassador Green was becoming known to the Washington press corps. It is unlikely that Kissinger's regard for Green was enhanced by reading a major columnist's judgment that "Green's understanding of US-China relations perfectly complements that of Chou En-lai." Ironically, Green may have lost his chance to be ambassador to Japan because he was "overqualified." He could speak Japanese and he had many high-level friendships and contacts in Japan dating back to the time of Joseph Grew, who was enshrined in the memories of many Japanese as a peace-maker.

At any rate, Green was named ambassador to Australia in 1973, the year in which Kissinger took over the State Department. His tour coincided with the election of a Labor Government. However, it was not only a lack of ideological rapport between Washington and Canberra that made relations sticky at this time. In the aftermath of our Indochina involvement, many Asian allies began to wonder aloud just what value our commitment to them had. Having finally overcome their fear of Japanese expansion, the Australians had granted Japan enormous mineral concessions. They had long since normalized relations with China, and were now intent on aiding Indonesia's development to prevent their giant neighbor from once again running amok, as it had in 1965.

In these circumstances, it was not unnatural for many Australians to regard the patron-client relationship with America as out of date. A few months after Green arrived in Canberra, the minister of trade made a public statement denouncing the United States as the aggressor in Vietnam. Ambassador Green happened to be passing through Sydney airport a few hours later, and the press corps flocked around him to seek his comments on the statement. Green replied that, however unfortunate the result in Vietnam, he doubted many Americans or Australians shared the minister's views—and he him-


self found them quite unwarranted.

Green's comment produced headlines in Australia; some columnists even called for his dismissal for "attacking" the minister. Green learned an important lesson: that in a public controversy between an American and Australian, most Australians would side with their countryman.

Thus, Ambassador Green kept silent when, a few months later, a back bench member of parliament attacked him as America's leading hatchet man sent out to topple the Australian Labor Party from power. Eventually, Prime Minister Whitlam delivered the rebuttal for Green, calling the MP a "miserable, cowardly creature to attack a foreign diplomat who could not respond." The prime minister then went on to praise Green's contributions to Australian-American relations.

In 1975, Ambassador Green completed his tour of duty in Canberra and returned to Washington to join the new Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs. While serving in Indonesia, he had become deeply concerned with the problem of limiting population growth in poor nations to make economic development possible. Instead of resisting the trend toward a broader State Department focus on world issues of this kind, as many of his colleagues did, Green decided to enlist in the struggle. He did so with all his customary energy and dedication.

He now spends part of every year traveling to out of the way parts of the poorest nations, such as Indonesia, India and Bangladesh, updating his knowledge of this complex and rapidly changing subject. Back in Washington, he supervises a staff of young Foreign Service officers, most of whom have served in Third World nations, writing reports on current research and position papers for the Carter administration and Congress.

It is a different life from the old Foreign Service, epitomized by the courtly style of Green's first boss, Joseph Grew. However, Green believes that the Foreign Service remains a valid career for young men and women who are prepared to meet the challenge of a more complex and interdependent world. 

*Kissinger learned to use humor mainly as a device to disarm his audience and keep them off balance. An example was his outrageous quip, "The illegal we do today; the unconstitutional takes a bit longer." Green, on the other hand, uses humor (puns are his specialty) for the purpose of relieving tense situations. For example, he once interjected into a discussion of a Korean crisis, "These are the times that try Seoul's men."

Who Trusts the Russians?

The Political Issue of Arms Control Verification

DUNCAN L. CLARKE AND ROBERT H. GROMOLL

On the evening of April 3, 1979, several hundred people, including many congressional staffers, a number of executive branch officials concerned with congressional relations, and at least three Russian diplomats—including the first secretary of the Soviet embassy—crowded into an auditorium at The American University. They came to witness an opening shot in "The Great SALT Debate." Speaking in support of the SALT II treaty were Senator Joseph Biden (D-Del.) and Paul Warnke, director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) and chief US SALT negotiator from March 1977 through October 1978. On the opposing side were Senators Jake Garn (R-Utah) and John Tower (R-Tex.). The debate soon became a free-for-all which continued well beyond its scheduled time. Neither side clearly prevailed, but one thing was certain—the fate of SALT II, and arms control generally, would be decided in major part by Congress's perception of the verifiability of arms control agreements. This perception, in turn, would hinge critically on views about the Soviet Union's overall interna-

tional behavior. Congressional uneasiness about Soviet behavior and arms control verification had been percolating for some time. Here we examine some of these concerns as they evolved from 1977 through April 1979.

Arms control verification is the process by which parties to an agreement assess compliance. Verification is a political issue in three senses. First, it is a subject of international arms control negotiations. Second, only rarely—as with large yield above-ground tests of nuclear devices—can arms control agreements be verified with certainty. Governments conclude arms control accords if they believe that their national interests will be furthered and the agreements are adequately verifiable. Perceptions of "adequacy" are affected by numerous factors, including: capability of national technical means of verification, ability to respond to violations in a timely fashion, a nation's past record of compliance, the degree of risk posed by possible violations, and whether the benefits of a treaty compensate for verification problems. Therefore, a national decision about the adequacy of verification, given the inherent lack of certainty, must be a political judgment, one which is ultimately made by the president himself. Finally, since the Arms Control and Disarmament (ACD) act requires congressional approval of arms control agreements negotiated by the United States, verification can be a political issue in Congress.

Congress's interest in verification predates the Carter administration, but it gained particular prominence in 1977 when Con-

gressman Edward Derwinski (R-Ill.) sought to amend the ACD act by requiring the director of ACDA to report to Congress on several matters relating to verification. Most important, the Derwinski bill, as enacted by the House, stipulated that "effective verification of compliance is an indispensable factor in any international arms control agreement." Congressional arms control supporters and ACDA feared that this wording could be construed as establishing an unduly restrictive standard of compliance, especially concerning SALT, that would be impossible to meet. More bluntly, they saw it as an attempt to kill SALT II. Hence, they concentrated their efforts in the Senate, successfully it turned out, to substitute the term "adequate verification" for "effective verification."

The debate on this bill, now section 37 of the ACD act, highlighted Congress's concerns about verification, concerns which continue to gather momentum. While conservatives are the most outspoken, some moderate and liberal legislators have also voiced reservations. These reservations fall into four categories:

- **Untrustworthy Russians.** "You can't trust the Russians," said Derwinski, and other legislators, like Senator John Glenn (D-Ohio), agreed. But arms control, certainly as practiced by the US, has nothing to do with trust. Said President Carter, "SALT will not rely on trust. It will be verifiable." Paul Warnke stated, "We don't trust them [Russians]." This is precisely why so much attention is properly given to verification.

- **Soviet SALT Compliance.** Those expressing distrust of the Russians often allege, with former Defense Secretary Melvin Laird ("The Russians are Cheating," *Reader's Digest*, November 1978), that Soviet violations of the SALT I accords have been "multiple and gross." This is false. Of all the charges against the Soviet Union, only one, their failure to meet the time schedule for dismantling old ICBM launchers, which were being replaced by newer submarine-launched ballistic missile launchers, has substance. But even before the United States raised this issue, the Soviets acknowledged the problem and

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predicted correctly that all their dismantling actions would be completed by June 1, 1976. "We have demonstrated," said the State Department, "our ability to verify compliance with the SALT I agreements with high confidence."

Several staff members of the Senate Armed Services Committee, however, were delighted with Laird's article. One staffer remarked happily, "it's pure dynamite," not because of the incisiveness of its argument, but because of where it was published and the kind of grass roots effect it could have. Another added that it could incite "middle Americans" against SALT by sensitizing them to verification problems and instilling distrust of the Soviets.

Congressional doubts about Soviet compliance understandably arose in the SALT II process. A House Armed Services Committee panel concluded in December 1978 that, "Independent verification of several important aspects of SALT II will not be possible." Not only would the Soviets have a license to cheat, but, it was feared, such malfeasance could drastically shift the strategic balance. These concerns were sharpened by three specific developments: the loss of US intelligence facilities in Iran which, among other things, monitored Soviet missile tests; Soviet development of an antisatellite (ASAT) system with a potential for jeopardizing US photoreconnaissance satellites; and Soviet encryption (coding) of telemetry (transmission of data by radio signals) during their ICBM tests which prevents accurate monitoring of these tests by US ground and airborne listening posts.

SALT II was more difficult to monitor than SALT I since it sought not only quantitative, but qualitative restraints on strategic arms. Still, the State Department had good reason for assessing SALT II as "adequately verifiable." Even General George Seignious, former staff director for the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Warnke's successor as ACDA's director, was "very comfortable with the verification provisions of the treaty." The State Department stated that:

Although the possibility of some undetected cheating in certain areas

exists, such cheating would not alter the strategic balance in view of US programs. Any cheating on a scale large enough to alter the strategic balance would be discovered in time to make an appropriate response. There will be areas of uncertainty, but they are not such as to permit the Soviets to produce a *significant* unanticipated threat to US interests and those uncertainties can, in any event, be compensated for with the flexibility inherent in our own programs [emphasis added].

SALT critics, of course, challenged State's assessment of what might constitute a "significant" threat to US interests; the Administration foresaw a fight on this issue. To be sure, important verification difficulties, perhaps decisive ones, would arise in any SALT III process, but SALT II supporters argued that it was premature in 1979 to cross that bridge.

The United States has promptly raised any question about Soviet SALT compliance in the joint Soviet-American Standing Consultative Commission which was established by the SALT I accords to monitor compliance. The Soviets have raised several questions of their own. One Soviet objection caused the United States to modify its environmental shelters over Minuteman ICBM silos. In the SALT II negotiations Moscow was reasonably forthcoming on verification issues (Warnke flatly asserted that "the Russians adopted the American position on verification"). For instance, they dropped their insistence for a range limit on air-launched cruise missiles—a restriction which could have posed intractable verification problems. The Soviets also agreed to ban *all* deployment of their SS-16 land-based mobile ICBM after the United States raised serious objections about that system on verification grounds. In addition, SALT II contained innovative verification procedures including advance notice of some ICBM tests and, for the first time, a Soviet agreement to regularly provide specific data on its deployed strategic arms.

Senator Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) felt that the loss of US facilities in Iran did "irreparable harm" to our SALT monitoring capability. This was expressly denied by the administration, which promptly labeled Jackson's assertion "alarmist." In mid-April 1979 this issue erupted after the *New*

York Times reported that CIA Director Stansfield Turner told a congressional committee that it could take five years to fully make up for the loss of the facilities. The White House immediately denounced the report as "inaccurate" and Defense Secretary Harold Brown stated that the Iran-based capabilities *which related to SALT verification* could be compensated for within "about one year." President Carter went even further when on April 25, he delivered the administration's most comprehensive defense of SALT II. Said the president:

There is no question that any cheating which might affect our national security would be discovered in time for us to respond fully... This overall capability... was certainly not lost with our observation stations in Iran, which was only one of many intelligence sources we use for following Soviet strategic activities. We are concerned with that loss, but we must keep it in perspective. This monitoring capability relates principally to the portion of the agreement dealing with the modernization limits on ICBMs and to only a portion of such modernization... If there is an effort to cheat on the SALT agreement—including the limits on modernizing ICBMs—we will detect it...

Soviet development of an ASAT system (the US, incidentally, has not been idle in this area) was not forbidden by SALT I, though its actual use against US photoreconnaissance satellites was prohibited. The Soviet Union had, since May 1978, refrained from testing of hunter-killer satellites and those systems which had been tested were decidedly inferior to the US system the Pentagon was pushing to test in 1980 and incapable of threatening high-flying American satellites. An ASAT treaty had been under negotiation since 1977 and there was some hope that it might complement SALT II.

Finally, by early 1979, agreement was reached banning any encoding of telemetry which would impede verification of SALT II, though some clarifications were necessary before final submission to the Senate.

• **General Soviet International Behavior.** Verification, revealed a Senate Armed Services Committee staffer, was really a "catchword"

for "you can't trust the Russians because of their behavior in areas external to SALT." There is great uneasiness on the Hill about such things as growing Soviet military expenditures, incursions into Africa, and meddling in Afghanistan. Distrust of these actions spilled over into SALT. Soviet global behavior, it was asserted, was pertinent to SALT II since that behavior revealed the unreliability and hostile motivations of the Soviet Union. Hence, senators like Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.) and Paul Laxalt (R-Nev.) insisted upon forging explicit "linkages" between SALT and other aspects of Soviet foreign policy.

SALT proponents replied that it would be tragic if the process collapsed because of developments extraneous to SALT. The United States pursued a SALT treaty because, wholly apart from Soviet actions in Africa, it furthered American interests. If we are disturbed about Soviet involvement in Africa we can meet them (and have met them) in that currency. Our support for Western intervention in Zaire and our suspension of talks for naval limitations in the Indian Ocean are cases in point. If we are concerned about Soviet military expenditures, we can raise our defense budget—as Carter did for FY 1980. SALT advocates pointed out that the question of establishing linkages between SALT II and other issues had already been fought out within the administration between the proponents, led by Zbigniew Brzezinski, and such opponents as Cyrus Vance and Paul Warnke. Carter, to his credit, opted for the latter position. If Congress mandated linkages SALT would die, and we would all pay the price for years to come.

• **The ACDA "Crowd of Arms Controllers."** After SALT I, President Nixon, urged on by Senator Jackson, purged ACDA of many of its "arms controllers" (a pejorative term within the bureaucracy and among congressional conservatives). In their stead, from 1973 to January 1977, ACDA was staffed, in major part, by those sometimes referred to as "the Jackson underground." For instance, the agency's deputy director, John Lehman, was a close personal

friend of Jackson's top national defense aide, Richard Perle. Fred Iklé, ADCA's director during this period, made verification a separate specialty by creating the Verification Division whose chief came to the agency directly from the Pentagon. Several of the analysts in this division were "hardliners," often characterized by officials in ACDA and State as "politically obtuse Cold War ideologues."

When Warnke succeeded Iklé in 1977, after a heated Senate debate over his nomination led by Jackson, he abolished the division. This sparked charges by conservatives that verification was being deemphasized and erroneous press reports, such as a column by William Safire in the *New York Times* alleging that Warnke had fired several "verifiers." In fact, no one in the Verification Division was asked to leave; indeed, its conservative former head remained with the agency. Warnke actually

"A CIA analyst was fired after he passed papers relating to Soviet SALT Compliance to Richard Perle. These documents, containing eight classification categories above top secret, were later returned after CIA Director Turner reportedly demanded (unsuccessfully) that Jackson fire Perle."

upgraded the verification function by hiring more analysts in this area and by returning verification to its proper place, where it had always been before Iklé—the substantive bureaus. That is, Warnke, and most others in ACDA, felt that those with full-time responsibility for SALT should also deal with SALT verification. This arrangement best reflected the intimate tie between arms control and verification.

But this episode engendered ill-will and suspicions among conservatives who, subsequently, used ACDA as a scapegoat for supposed executive branch inattention to verification. For example, section 37 of the Arms Control and Disarmament act, in placing primary verification reporting duties on ACDA, was misdirected. SALT monitoring is an intelligence function; ACDA is not even a member of the intelligence community's SALT monitoring group. Concerning section 37, an ACDA official lamented, "All we can do is receive a report from the intelligence community, stamp 'ACDA' on it and send it over to the Hill." Yet SALT critics continued to accuse ACDA's "arms controllers"—whom they saw as soft, naive, and idealistic—of indifference to verification problems. It was largely to counter this kind of sentiment, and conservative hostility toward Warnke, that Carter named General Seignious (never suspected of arms controller leanings) as Warnke's replacement.

Verification as a political issue in Congress was also affected by additional considerations: (A) The views of key NATO allies, all of whom supported SALT II, were important. (B) Public opinion was a factor. While public opinion polls from 1977-spring 1979 showed 75 percent support for a SALT II treaty, they also revealed significant anxiety about Soviet treaty compliance. (C) Presidential aspirants like Senators Howard Baker (R-Tenn.) and Robert Dole (R-Kan.)—both of whom have raised the verification issue—apparently felt that it was politically exploitable. Most legislators hesitated to appear as blatant SALT opponents; hence, as a House Foreign Affairs Committee staffer remarked, "Verification is a political device by which opponents can oppose SALT without giving the appearance of opposing it." (D) "Stop SALT" groups like the Coalition for Peace Through Strength, which far outspent arms control interest groups, drummed away at the issue. (E) Another factor was the unauthorized flow of classified information from the executive branch to congressional SALT opponents. A CIA analyst was fired

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Ordinarily, one doesn't think of the Department of State as a sponsor of covert operations. Yet, after the fall of France in 1940, a handful of brave men in the guise of vice consuls risked their lives to obtain vital military information that paved the way for our spectacular invasion of French North Africa two years later. And thereby hangs a dramatic if little known tale.

Africa at the outbreak of World War II was a stepchild in the department's hierarchy—unwanted, unloved, and disdained as a factor in the world's problems. It didn't belong to any of the old-line geographical divisions; for lack of a better home, it was arbitrarily assigned to the Arab specialists of the division of Near Eastern affairs. Before long the Dark Continent—at least the northern part of it—would be put on the map with a vengeance. But, as the desk officer for the whole crazy-quilt colonial region, I had no inkling of what was in store when I was called into a meeting one brisk October morning to meet Arthur G. Reed, for many years general manager of the Socony-Vacuum company at Casablanca.

Diplomat, journalist, teacher, ambulance driver during WWI for the American Red Cross, Henry Serrano Villard is also a well-known author. The Great Road Races 1904-1914 was published in 1972, earlier books were Contact! The Story of the Early Birds and Affairs of State. Copyright © Henry S. Villard.

HENRY SERRANO VILLARD

**CIA in
Embryo:**



**OUR
SPIES IN
NORTH AFRICA**

Reed had arrived in Washington the night before with a plea for help in getting his petroleum products past the British blockade. He had also brought a message from Emmanuel Monick, secretary-general of the French residency in Morocco, urging that America step in to preserve the economic life of this Vichy-held territory at somewhere near its norm and thus keep political conditions stable. Reed subscribed fully to the idea. "By sending American commodities into North Africa," he pointed out, "the eyes of the inhabitants will be kept turned toward the Western democracies—not toward Fascist Europe. Economic disaster can be staved off, dangerous unrest among the Arabs prevented." As bait, the French Moroccan authorities were offering to sell us strategic minerals, such as manganese, cobalt, iron ore and molybdenum. A neutral United States would reap the benefit of trade in a region effectively cut off from its usual sources of supply.

The proposal fell on receptive ears in the Near Eastern office. Wallace Murray, its shrewd and incisive chief; his able assistant, Paul H. Alling; and career officer J. Rives Childs, about to assume his post as minister at Tangier, were quick to see the practical advantages. Moreover, the general conception fitted in with reports from the field, notably from Commander Roscoe Hillenkoetter, the US naval attaché at Vichy (later to be the first director of the Central In-

telligence Agency). In sum, the fighting spirit of the French in North Africa was still high; their military establishment under the command of an anti-Nazi, World War I hero, General Maxime Weygand, was still strong; surprisingly few members of the German and Italian Armistice Commission were exerting surveillance over that vast stretch of French empire with its population of 17,000,000 Arabs. Here, it was thought, lay the one hope of further opposition to the victorious Germans. North Africa could prove to be a springboard from which France might eventually re-enter the war.

At first, I had to confess, I was skeptical—both as to the wisdom and feasibility of the scheme. I knew the complex issues involved in dealing with an area under the jurisdiction of the "collaborationist" government of old Marshal Pétain, and I feared the British, with their country's back to the wall, would never go along. But when Robert D. Murphy, our astute counselor of embassy at Vichy, went to Algiers at the personal behest of President Franklin D. Roosevelt to explore the situation with Weygand, and then sent in a favorable recommendation, my doubts gave way to enthusiasm. I would need all of it if the project were to be kept alive over the difficult months to come.

The upshot of the Murphy-Weygand conversations was an innocuous-looking agreement initiated at Algiers on February 25,

1941, under which the French were allowed to import from the United States certain badly-needed consumer goods for the civilian populace of Morocco—and of Algeria and Tunisia as well. In return, a crucial clause in the agreement granted the United States permission to station a dozen "technical advisers," or "control officers," in North African ports to ensure that the goods were not re-exported or surreptitiously delivered to the army of General Erwin Rommel, the "Desert Fox" then campaigning in next-door Libya.

Overnight, the State Department was presented with an unparalleled opportunity to observe and evaluate Axis activity throughout the Western Mediterranean. It was an opening that couldn't be ignored; with its own inspectors checking every shipment from arrival to ultimate destination, it would be possible to make fruitful contacts among the Arabs and the French, to sound out disaffected groups, and to gather political and military intelligence of the highest order and value. Call it espionage if you will. But it was espionage with the consent of the spied upon; Weygand was perfectly aware of the advantage we intended to take of the control officers' presence, and welcomed the chance to let us know discreetly what he might need to combat or resist further aggression by the Axis.

The intelligence possibilities of the Murphy-Weygand accord were so great that they soon became the tail that wagged the dog of the supply program itself.

Once the plan had been approved, it was imperative to move swiftly, before the Germans could interfere or raise objections. Murphy remained in Algiers to assume charge of the coming inspection corps, to maintain contact with Weygand, and to report on developments as they occurred. Inevitably, it fell to me, as the African "specialist," to implement the accord from the Washington end.

Faced with unprecedented war demands, the department could spare none of its career men for the uncommon job of control officer, nor was it considered appropriate for regular Foreign Service officers to be used in such a highly irregular capacity. Qualified candidates would have to be found elsewhere.

No such thing as a CIA, of course, existed at that time; nothing like an operation of this kind had ever been tried before. General William J. ("Wild Bill") Donovan's Office of Strategic Services (OSS), whose cloak-and-dagger sleuths were already on the loose in French Africa, would have been glad to help; but this was a State Department affair, run strictly under its own diplomatic auspices. Instead, the department turned to Army and Navy Intelligence. Hurriedly, with something like an air of improvisation, the observers were recruited from civilian life, principally from among the New York business community. On the strength of recommendations by the chief of G-2 Washington and the chief of the Office of Naval Intelligence, they were accepted by the department, clothed with the protective rank of non-career vice consuls in the Foreign Service, and variously assigned to work at the strategic seaports of Casablanca, Oran, Algiers, Tunis and Dakar.

Needless to say, these twelve "technical advisers" were rank amateurs by today's sophisticated "spy" standards: not one of them had training or experience as an intelligence agent, none could speak Arabic or was familiar with conditions in Moslem countries, and not one knew the first thing about shipping or the proper handling of cargoes. Taken together, they were a strange assortment of untried—if more than willing—undercover operatives.

But what the chosen twelve lacked in experience they made up for in knowledge of *la belle France* and the French language—a *sine qua non* for the work in view. Ridgway B. Knight, for example, an ex-Cartier salesman and wine merchant, had spent most of his life in France, where his father was an artist. Harry Woodruff, too, had been brought up in France and spoke French like a Parisian. John E. Utter had been employed by the National City Bank in Paris, John H. Boyd had worked as manager for the Coca-Cola subsidiary in Marseilles. Franklin O. Canfield, a young lawyer, spoke fluent French, and Kenneth Pendar, an art expert and archaeologist, had been to the Sorbonne. One member of the group—John Crawford Knox—was a graduate of the

French military school at Saint Cyr and a veteran of Foreign Legion campaigns in Morocco. Another—David W. King—was an adventurous, soldier-of-fortune type who had served both in the Foreign Legion and the French army during World War I, losing an eye at the battle of Verdun.

Other factors which went into the selection process—as in the cases of Sidney Bartlett, a California oil executive, and W. Stafford Reid, an investment counselor and real estate manager—were a background of travel or living overseas, tact, patriotism, resourcefulness, a sense of discipline, unquestioned loyalty and personal characteristics that indicated an ability to get on well with foreigners. How they were to be paid was a stumbling block. I remember the initial shock when it was found there was no money in the department's till for their salaries: the day was saved when someone discovered that the new appointees could be paid from the president's secret emergency funds at the rate of \$3,600 per annum—a small price indeed, it would seem today, for the returns that accrued to the national interest.

One by one, as they were inducted into the Foreign Service, the apprentice vice consuls came to me for instructions, assuming that I would be able to give them precise directions as to the nature of the experiences that lay before them. To explain the ostensible purpose of the mission was simple; the rest wasn't so easy. What exactly could I tell these neophytes, all of whom were eager to embark on what promised to be an extraordinary adventure, without sounding like a spinner of military mystery and intrigue? While there was no doubt that America's sympathies strongly favored the Allied cause, pressure was overwhelming in the tumultuous early months of 1941 to keep the country out of war. The United States government was technically neutral and the diplomatic branch had to lean over backwards to avoid giving an impression that its officials were collecting information to be used for some unspecified military purpose, such as, for instance, beefing up General Weygand's forces. This was hardly a matter that could be talked about openly; domestic politics required

that one proceed with infinite caution. So the control officers were warned to raise no false hopes among their French contacts or to intimate in any way what we might one day be able to do to provide support for Weygand, but to concentrate on securing good will for America and to stress our steadily growing productive strength. They might pose as twelve apostles of freedom, I suggested with a smile. "Beyond that," I told them, "we would like to receive detailed, comprehensive reports on the attitude of the local population, the presence or absence of Axis agents, the state of the economy, the extent of the resistance movement—in short, anything from the condition of the ports and railway centers to the price of American cigarettes on the black market that conceivably could be of help in building up an accurate picture of the region where you are stationed." It was really superfluous to say more. Most of the men quickly grasped the inner purport of the accord. Behind that formal facade of "neutrality" each one knew implicitly, as well as I, what it was all about.

There was one other point that had to be brought out. Nobody could deny that the enterprise was a hazardous one, for the Germans were widely thought to be preparing an attack for the spring of 1941. With France still reeling under the sting of defeat, the German juggernaut was expected to drive on through Spain and Gibraltar to occupy North Africa—in fact, it was largely because of this threat that Weygand had agreed to the economic plan, for he counted on using the supplies as an incentive to Arab cooperation in defense of the area. The control officers would be in an anomalous position at best; and they realized that if war should envelop North Africa they could find themselves in the hands of the Nazis, while those who happened to hold reserve commissions in the Army or Navy—as several of them did—could be shot as spies. But all were prepared to incur the risks without a moment's hesitation.

On a blustery March 1, the North African Economic Accord got under way with the sailing of the French tanker *Frimaire*, carrying a load of low-test gasoline for Casablanca, and late in April the

first of the control officers left for his post by Pan-American Clipper, via Lisbon and Tangier.

But however exciting the rewards seemed to its supporters, the economic accord was in danger of being torpedoed from the moment it was launched. To some people the thought of sending supplies to Vichy-dominated territory was sheer anathema; it was soon apparent that the plan had its vociferous opponents, both in and out of government. A choleric Herbert Feis, the department's adviser on international economic relations, was adamantly against the concept from start to finish and crossed swords repeatedly with the Near Eastern office and its African desk. I never would have thought that such bureaucratic passions could be unleashed for ideological reasons. At the outset, when I asked the newly-appointed assistant secretary for economic affairs, the usually suave Dean Acheson, to approve a shipment of coal for the Moroccan State Railways he responded acidly, "I'll see them in hell first." Officers in the European division gave the accord merely lukewarm acquiescence—and then only because the policy line, stemming from the White House, had been laid down at the top. Even Sumner Welles, the icily-objective undersecretary of state, lent it lip service only. Obstructionists in the Treasury Department of Henry Morgenthau intermittently and without explanation suspended the release of French funds for the purchase of previously-sanctioned goods.

The British—fighting for their lives—understandably resented what they considered even a semblance of aid to the enemy. To persuade them that they had more to gain than to lose by our entering wedge into Vichy Africa was an arduous and uphill task. Here and in Britain a hapless State Department was the target of vitriolic attack. "The worst kind of appeasement!" screamed the liberal and left-wing press. Secretary Hull, himself a liberal of the first water, was accused of "defying public opinion"; extremists called for his resignation as a "Fascist." One might have thought that the department's far-sighted diplomats, not Hitler and his cohorts, were the real foes of democracy and free-

dom.

In the midst of the controversy, David Eccles, later to be a cabinet minister, was sent over by Churchill to take a close look at what the Americans were up to. Eccles summed up the British attitude one memorable day in June when he informed Wallace Murray that "unless something tangible in the form of American military assistance could be expected . . . as a curtain raiser to a military adventure" and unless "staff talks with American participation" could be expected, as well as some definite evidence that we intended to follow up the plan "with the use of American armed forces or war materials," his government was "not interested in permitting economic supplies to reach General Weygand from the United States." While there were those in the late spring of 1941 who regarded our entry into the war as unavoidable and were psychologically prepared for it, it was by no means then the fashion to speak bluntly of staff talks or the use of American armed forces. Eccles's candid statement created something of a sensation, its approximate effect being that of a giant firecracker dropped by a mischievous boy at the back door of our diplomatic establishment. Most Americans were still resolutely determined to stay out of war and nothing like the assurances Eccles desired could possibly be given.

Tirelessly, the department argued that the control officers provided the necessary safeguards against misuse of the supplies. But before the British could be induced to issue their "navicerts" for free passage of the goods through the blockade, the benefits to be derived from the accord's covert aspects had to be stressed again and again. In the end, British intelligence was to express its appreciation for the matchless information we shared with it, and before leaving Washington Eccles was prevailed upon to drastically modify his views; but his tenacious colleague at the British embassy, Eric Wyndham-White, proved to be a tough negotiator, scrutinizing microscopically every item on the list I handed him and scaling each one down to a minimum.

Although the last of the control officers had reached his station by the middle of May, the supply pro-

gram didn't actually get into gear until mid-summer of 1941. A shuttle service of four French freighters—two sailing simultaneously from each side of the Atlantic—began to transport their American cargoes to Casablanca and bring back token amounts of Africa's natural resources to keep up the fiction of a trade. Thus the first direct links were forged with a city that would loom large in American history books, giving credence to a prophecy made by the distinguished French professor Louis Rougier, an emissary of Vichy to the British, when he called on me later that year. "In 1942 or 1943," he declared with uncanny prescience, "Casablanca will be the most important port in the world for the USA. By that time you'll be sending everything you've got into that area."

Meanwhile, under the imaginative direction of Murphy from his base in Algeria, the control officers were starting to accumulate information of incalculable value, some of it obtained at the risk of their lives—information about the beaches and their exits, including sketches of possible landing sites; about the tides, the currents and the seasonal winds and weather; about the air fields and the port works; about French defensive measures and the French order of battle. As a special concession, Weygand had accorded our consular staffs the rights customarily reserved for diplomatic missions—to travel freely as couriers, to make use of locked pouches, and to send cipher telegrams; he had signed a secret understanding with Murphy on the subject and the vice consuls made the most of their privileges.

As time went on, the band of amateur investigators expanded the scope of their activities, carefully sowing the seeds of friendship with key military and naval personnel who might be in a position to swing sentiment toward America; with tribal leaders and influential chieftains, such as El Glaoui, the pasha of Marrakech; with sympathetic French business circles, led by the prominent industrialist Jacques Lemaigre-Dubreuil; and with Polish workers employed by the government, who had an effective intelligence service of their own. From sources in the French underground they extracted details of

German intrigue among the Arabs, of the movement of Axis and French shipping, of the private views of leading political figures in the three different territories. Behind the scenes they made connections with individuals and groups who showed interest in renewing the fight against the Axis. They even contrived to set up clandestine radio stations for instantaneous communication with Allied headquarters at Tangier, Gibraltar and London—a contribution of enormous importance, especially when the zero hour of our landings arrived. As their expertise improved, four of the original officers were allowed to resign and return to the United States, where the first-hand

"The others were contemptuously dismissed as "a perfect picture of that savage conglomeration called the United States of America . . . We can only congratulate ourselves on the selection of this group of enemy agents who will give us no trouble."

knowledge they had acquired was made available to the State. War and Navy Departments and the OSS.

When Pearl Harbor plunged America into the fray on December 7, 1941, the stream of intelligence, for obvious reasons, took on added significance. A week before that pivotal event, Weygand was recalled to France at German insistence—the Nazis no longer trusted his loyalty to the Vichy regime—and the problems of carrying out the economic accord increased, if anything. Now North Africa was where America too might become militarily involved, yet because we couldn't broadcast the full objectives of the accord public criticism grew in intensity. The administration blew hot and cold in accordance with the political winds from Vichy and its pro-German premier, Pierre Laval, or

after a spate of reports that the Axis was about to take over defense of the African territories. Whenever France seemed to be drifting closer to the shoals of collaboration with the "New Order" in Europe, whenever rumors cropped up of massive German infiltration in Morocco, the future of the accord—and of the control officers—hung by a thread. At intervals, the thread seemed to have snapped entirely, and the trickle of supplies reaching North African ports would suddenly cease. Bowing to pressure, the department would suspend the sailings.

By the spring of 1942 French officials were hard put to resist German demands that the program be terminated forthwith and Murphy sent home. After all, the situation was unprecedented in the annals of warfare: a neutralized nation, Vichy France, was permitting the representatives of a belligerent power, America, to remain in its territory for the purpose of controlling shipments that didn't arrive. And if there were no shipments to control, what excuse was there for control officers?

Why indeed did the Germans tolerate for so long the existence of what amounted to a network of American spies, functioning as it did under the very noses of the Armistice Commission and with which it frequently came face to face? Such forbearance could only be explained by the incredible smugness with which the Nazis regarded individual members of the group. "Bob Murphy, the Big Boss of North Africa, is the only one to be reckoned with," boasted a report to Berlin from the German Consulate General in Casablanca, purloined for one of the control officers by an informant known as "Ritz." ". . . he is a man of ideas far above the average from the European point of view and certainly an extraordinary type for an American." The others were contemptuously dismissed as "a perfect picture of that savage conglomeration called the United States of America. . . . We can only congratulate ourselves on the selection of this group of enemy agents who will give us no trouble. In view of the fact that they are totally lacking in method, organization and discipline, the danger

presented by their arrival in North Africa may be considered as *nil*. . .

"It is unnecessary and would be merely a waste of time," the report concluded, "to describe their personal idiosyncrasies and characteristics." A grudging exception was made, however, in the case of David King, whose activities admittedly might "one day prove of inconvenience for us. Impenetrable, too polite, entirely centered on his work . . . to our mind he is the only one worth careful supervision. He is too ostensibly discreet not to be suspect." However grossly the Germans underestimated the qualifications of the rest, their appraisal of King was right on the mark: to illustrate, it was the close personal contact between him and the French general Emile-Marie Béthouart that encouraged the latter to cooperate with the United States, a factor of the utmost consequence when our attack finally came. As "Big Boss" Murphy was to note in giving him an "excellent" on his efficiency report, "Vice Consul King was the mainstay of our military and naval intelligence work at Casablanca."

There came a time when Cordell Hull could no longer stomach alone the hue and cry raised over our so-called "Vichy policy." The Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, had written him a confidential letter saying that the data furnished by the control officers was proving useful and that the shipments should therefore be continued. But that was not enough. He cast about for another agency to share the onus, and the Board of Economic Warfare under Milo Perkins, lured by the chance of pre-emptive buying in the North African territories, agreed to step into the breach. But from the State Department's point of view, this arrangement turned out to be a pact with the devil.

All through the sweltering summer of 1942 the department and the BEW locked horns over questions that verged on the absurd. For instance, the BEW's over-zealous and independent-minded blockade and supply branch, which controlled the issuance of export licenses, objected to the export of cotton cloth on the ground it might find its way into the hands of Rommel's soldiers and be made into Nazi uniforms; tobacco was held up for the same reason be-

cause it could give them "aid and comfort." To the frustration of 33-year-old Paul Guérin, patient son of the president of Morocco's railways, who acted as Weygand's purchasing agent in Washington, other non-military articles like bales of old clothing and typewriters were looked upon with equal suspicion and disfavor.

In a barrage of cables and despatches, Murphy pleaded desperately that the fate of the operation was at stake, while the American Joint Intelligence Committee in Washington warned that if the control officers were withdrawn from Africa "there would be virtually a blackout of an entire and crucial region." Yet high officials appeared unable or unwilling to perceive the subtleties of the program: among them only Adolph A. Berle, Jr., the assistant secretary for political affairs, and the indefatigable Wallace Murray, recently promoted as adviser on political relations with the Near East and Africa, had the vision to try to salvage the plan and preserve the control officers' cover.

On the first day of a particularly hot August—air conditioning had yet to be widely used—I managed to assemble a number of responsible officials from various interested agencies in a last-ditch effort to break the deadlock. Admiral William D. Leahy, who had been our ambassador in Vichy and now was Roosevelt's strategy adviser, addressed the gathering on the president's behalf. "Even at the risk of dribbles of supplies going to the enemy," he directed, "the shipments to North Africa should be speeded up. The president wishes to please the French in every way possible." If a "good feeling" could be induced over there, he added cryptically, "it might save thousands of lives." To the admiral's amazement, chronic objectors from the BEW brushed aside his words and started to quibble over details. The stormy session that ensued, if witnessed by an outsider, would have dispelled forever the illusion that the State Department was a gentleman's club. Leahy walked out in disgust, the meeting broke up in disorder, and I landed in bed with a high temperature.

Admiral Leahy could not, of course, reveal the fact that "Oper-

ation Torch"—perhaps the best kept secret of the war—was by then in an advanced planning stage. Only a tight inner circle was informed of the great military venture in the offing. But when Vice Consul Frederick P. Culbert, a graduate of Annapolis and control officer at Dakar, was quietly recalled to Washington in September for duty with a "Western Task Force," I felt assured that our unique investment in North Africa was about to pay off. At the same time, Vice Consuls John Knox from Algiers and Leland Rounds from Oran were ordered to London, where, because of their personal familiarity with the projected landing areas, they were able to render outstanding services in the completion of final plans for the invasion—the former as a member of General Eisenhower's staff, the latter as consultant to Allied Force Headquarters. A month later Murphy came briefly to the United States for consultation with the highest military and naval strategists, which convinced me that the masquerade would soon be over and that the economic accord had at last fulfilled its purpose.

Then, on November 8, 1942, the world was electrified by news of the Allied landings. Culbert, Knox and Rounds returned with the assault forces and played an active part in the ensuing operations, while the other members of the team distinguished themselves like veterans. John Boyd, for example, organized and took charge of the headquarters of more than 500 French patriots who, on the night of the debarkation in Algiers, seized key points and held them until the arrival of the Allied forces. Kenneth Pendar volunteered to carry the famous message from Admiral Darlan to the French admiralty ordering the French to cease firing. Harry Woodruff volunteered to make contact with the first troops to land. When the American consulate general at Casablanca was surrounded by *Gardes Mobiles*, David King made his way through the French lines at great peril to his life and before capture alerted Consul General H. Earle Russell to burn all secret State and War Department codes, thus preventing them from falling into the wrong hands.

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Future Shock

THE THIRD WORLD WAR, *A Future History*, by General Sir John Hackett, and others. Macmillan, \$9.95.

In 1985, three superpowers—the United States, the USSR, and the China/Japan Co-Prosperity Sphere—confronted one another. The new American president, Thompson, was a Southern Conservative Republican who had defeated Vice President Mondale the year before (retiring at the same time Secretary of State Brzezinski). A Popular Front governed France. Britain was led by a Tory Prime Minister, Mrs. Plumber. An aging Politburo, headed by President Vorotrikov, ruled the USSR.

Major Soviet strategic gains in the past 10 years in the Middle East and Africa had at last awakened the NATO allies to the Soviet danger. The United States, recovered from its post-Vietnam malaise, had reinstated conscription, built up stocks of materiel in Europe, and significantly improved its air and sea transport capabilities. West Germany had expanded its army into the largest NATO land force in Europe, widely deployed its excellent Leopard II tank, improved its civil defenses, and created an effective reserve force. Britain had at last thrown off trade union rule, restored prosperity, improved its air and sea defenses, and reinforced the British Army of the Rhine.

The Soviet leadership was not unaware of these Allied gains, though they believed the USSR retained overall military superiority. Alarmed by uprisings in Poland and East Germany, they sought to regain ground by stirring up trouble in the Persian Gulf and Southern Africa. A February summit appeared to calm the crisis, but the Soviets perceived the new American president as weak. They thereupon invaded fragmented, post-Tito Yugoslavia in order to secure it for Socialism and caution their restless satellites. The United States unexpectedly intervened, and for the first time American and Soviet troops engaged each other in combat. The two superpowers might still have drawn back, but the momentum of military response

pushed the Soviet Union over the abyss.

The Third World War began at 0400 (Central European time) on the fourth of August, 1985. The Soviets launched a massive, conventional assault across the North German plain. Their objective was to knock the FRG out of the war, drive to the Rhine, and then halt and demand from the US a ceasefire in place or risk a full-scale nuclear war. If successful, this gambit would wipe the FRG off the map of Europe, push the frontier of socialism to the Rhine, destroy the NATO alliance, demoralize the US, and secure the Soviet empire from the temptations of capitalism and Eurocommunism and the threats of German revanchism. To succeed, the Soviet armies had to quickly reach the Rhine, before superior American material resources could be brought to the European theatre.

The Soviet invasion failed. Western intelligence had given the Allies several days' warning. To the Soviets' surprise, France committed her forces in Germany to NATO. SACEUR made two critical decisions, which proved decisive: not to use tactical nuclear weapons and not to commit his reserves before reinforcements arrived from America. Superior allied air and submarine defenses secured the Atlantic air and sea bridge, and men (thanks to the draft, the US had built up her ready reserves) and materiel flowed into Europe. After hard fighting on the land and in the air, the Allied center held. The Allies counterattacked on 15 August and the Soviets gave ground. Flexibility of command, tactical air superiority, anti-tank weaponry, and above all, incredibly sophisticated electronic warfare technology allowed the Allies to prevail over the Warsaw Pact's initiative, numbers, and fixed battle plan.

The Red Army in retreat had shown itself vincible. As in 1917, military defeat led to revolution. Polish partisans struck at Soviet communications. The Soviet Empire began to crack. Desperate Kremlin hawks decided on a last-ditch throw of the nuclear dice: destroy a single, non-US city as a demonstration of Soviet determination, then invite the US to enter into bilateral negotiations. Bir-

mingham was obliterated. The allies immediately destroyed Minsk in retaliation. Then Poland and Kazakhstan rose in rebellion. Ukrainian dissidents in the KGB led a coup in Moscow; many senior Red Army officers, willing to sacrifice the Soviet Union to save Russia, went along. The war was over; the Soviet empire, its military strength insufficient to compensate for its political weakness, collapsed.

Readers of this "future history" may disagree with its details. They may question if the USSR (or the US, for that matter) would risk war in Europe without the support of tactical nuclear weapons or accept defeat short of a full-scale nuclear exchange. But the authors, several senior British officers and military analysts, have invested their scenario with an awful credibility. Their lesson is clear: "if the crisis of 1985 had occurred . . . in 1978, it is . . . scarcely conceivable that the Soviet plan for an advance to the Rhine, the dismemberment of the Alliance and the total destruction of the Federal Republic of Germany could have failed given the state of preparedness of the Allies at that time." This book should be required bedside reading for the president and every member of Congress.

—MICHAEL DAVIS

Toward Peace in the Middle East

UNDERGROUND TO PALESTINE AND REFLECTIONS THIRTY YEARS LATER, by I. F. Stone. Pantheon Books, \$10.00.

I. F. Stone, a distinguished American journalist, recently retired from the active pursuit of his chosen profession and now devotes himself to study and reflection as a Scholar in Residence at The American University in Washington. One may well hope for and expect more from his gifted mind and pen. The reader is not likely to be disappointed.

This essay is a reprint of his 1946 volume in which he portrays his underground journey, essentially from New York and Eastern Europe (Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc.) to Palestine, traveling over land and sea with Jewish refugees (or displaced persons) who had survived the holocaust to Palestine. His original account appeared in a series of articles in Ralph In-

gersoll's *PM* and was then reprinted in book form in 1946. In many ways the book was a classic document of the period and seems likely to remain so. Mr. Stone approached the problem from the viewpoint of a journalist or reporter who wanted to see for himself what had happened to the Jewish DPs and what it meant to try to get to the much-too-much "promised land" of Palestine. His was also a humanitarian point of view. While sympathetic with his coreligionists, and learning much from his underground journey to Palestine, he did not allow his feelings to interfere with his attempt to get at the facts and present a responsible picture of what was going on.

During the ensuing thirty years, Mr. Stone changed his perspective and he so states very frankly. As a result—and despite his proved devotion to the Zionist cause—he found himself practically boycotted by the Jewish community. Because he had become a dissident, he was no longer invited regularly to lecture and publication became difficult. He now had the audacity to point out that Palestine was not "an unpeopled land" awaiting the advent of a "landless people." He wrote and said that the Palestinian Arabs, in their conflict with the Zionist Jews had been made to suffer unjustly and had lost their homes, their livelihood and their country.

As a follower of Hans Kohn, Ahad Ha'am, Judah L. Magnes and Martin Buber, Stone utterly rejects the point of view of Prime Minister Begin. Stone insists that Jews and Arabs "must live together in the same Palestinian state or side by side in two Palestinian states." He holds that the path to reconciliation alone can guarantee Israel's survival. It cannot achieve security by armed conflict. This is a book which ought to be widely read by all those who seek to promote the welfare and the peace and security of the Middle East.

—HARRY N. HOWARD

Liberty or Death

STEVE BIKO: *I Write What I Like, A Selection of His Writings edited with a Personal Memoir by Aelred Stubbs, C. R.* Harper & Row, \$8.95.

Americans are becoming increasingly aware that in the last three

years the United States government has begun to speak of the southern African region in a new way. This rhetoric masks a process of deepening involvement in southern African affairs. The United States is now actively engaged in trying to shape events in southern Africa. It now seeks a resolution to the problems of the region which will be compatible with the overall interests of the peoples of the area. As one of the most well known and articulate of South Africa's nationalists, the late Steve Biko pointed out that such was not always the case. During the early years of the Nixon Administration, Henry Kissinger called for a major review of US policy toward the whole area in April 1969. The review, known as National Security Study Memorandum #39, tilted US policy towards supporting the minority, white-dominated regimes of the area. It was only in April 1974 that this entire policy was called into question because of a revolution in Portugal which led to the independence of Angola and Mozambique. Even with this kingpin of US policy severely shaken, the United States remained committed to support for the regimes deemed to best serve its interests. Steve Biko, in an unusually well-articulated series of writings, tried to show the absurdity of this policy of the US to its allies.

It is most unfortunate that most of the world only knows Biko in the dreadful context of his death. Those who are qualified to do any definitive writing on Steve are either in detention, banned, on Robben Island (prison near Cape Town), or in exile. Even this selection of his writings is presented not by an African, but rather by an Anglican priest who first went to South Africa in 1969. The selections chosen for this book nonetheless demonstrate the type of person Steve Biko was. Contrary to South African propaganda, these writings demonstrate him to have been reasonable, non-racist, and genuinely interested in the future of his country.

Alas, the voice of reason is totally ignored by South African authorities. Steve Biko was detained by the South African police and died in detention. Thus it was clear to Steve Biko that in the southern

African syndrome, it is regrettable, yet clear, that independence and liberation can probably only be achieved by organized violence. It would seem that the powers that be in Pretoria now prefer to transfer titular power only after they have lost the mandate to exercise real power, and only after a crisis of confidence has occurred. Biko made it clear that he would have preferred it otherwise. But the South African whites are culturally and socially unable to deal with a black in this vein. They only know how to deal in a master-servant relationship.

This brief tome makes it clear that Steve Biko was prepared to die for the cause of South Africa. He was himself the living embodiment of the hope that freedom would one day come to South Africa. In order to understand what one powerful South African black leader dreams for his people, the hopes he has for them, and the way he envisages the future, the writings of Steve Biko are highly recommended reading. The price for the book is well earned because Biko powerfully and succinctly imparts that message. The memoirs of Father Stubbs are pale by comparison and need not be read.

—ROY A. HARRELL, JR.

The Polling Pace

AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION AND US FOREIGN POLICY 1979, by John E. Rielly. Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, \$2.00.

This small booklet is a report based on a Gallup survey carried out in December 1978. This is the second public opinion survey and analysis sponsored by the Chicago Council on Foreign Affairs, and it appears exactly four years after the first, conducted in December 1974.

The American public and the country's opinion leaders are preoccupied with what they see as the diminishing position of the United States as the pre-eminent global power. They exhibit economic and military insecurity, worrying over the steep decline in the value of the dollar and a perceived increase in Soviet military power. Their support for defense spending is high; yet they are wary of the kind of direct involvement in the affairs of other countries that characterized American foreign policy

during the past decade. Americans today have a heightened feeling of self-interest in their country's behalf. They are concerned about securing an adequate supply of energy and protecting American jobs, rather than about altruistic goals such as combating world hunger and bringing democracy to other nations.

Other interesting findings of the survey are that 40 percent of the public favors the United States taking an active stance in opposing apartheid in South Africa, 72 percent of the public agree that the Vietnam war was fundamentally wrong and immoral, and only four percent believe Africa to be an important foreign policy focus.

Yet those in the foreign policy field must be careful about the implications drawn from reports such as this one. Foreign policy survey data tend to be easily influenced by other considerations because foreign policy attitudes are usually not well crystallized. Although the samples in the 1978 and the 1974 reports appear to be comparable, the two time frames are not. The

1974 survey was conducted in the immediate aftermath of the Vietnam War, a traumatic time at which interest in foreign policy was at its postwar high. One can note in this report a dramatic fall in the "Don't Know" categories depending on whether an item has been in the news recently or not. Furthermore, frequently the wording of the questions in different surveys is not comparable. For instance, on the important question of our reactions to various scenarios involving Russian threats to our interest, the 1974 survey simply asked whether the respondent favors or opposes the use of US troops. In the 1978 survey the respondent is given a wide choice of possible responses ranging from doing nothing to sending troops. As a result of the change in wording the "Don't Knows" dropped by about ten per cent. Thus the increased willingness to engage troops after a lapse of four years could be attributed either to the fading of the memory of Vietnam or to the wider range of responses provided.

Public opinion on foreign policy

is volatile and can be swayed easily, not only by events, but also by a determined policy maker. Public policy should not be based on the results of polls and, in particular, on polls taken at different times and asking different questions.

—CHARLES R. FOSTER

Eretz Israel

ISRAEL: THE EMBATTLED ALLY, by Nadav Safran. The Belknap Press of The Harvard University Press, \$18.50.

It is especially important to read and study a volume of this kind during the present critical period in the history of the Middle East. Professor Safran, who came to the United States from Israel in 1950 and became an American citizen in 1963, tells us that his massive tome is designed to reach the general public as well as specialists in Middle Eastern affairs. He also advises us at the very outset that seldom in the history of international relations has such a world power as the United States been involved so intensely and for so long with such a small state as Israel. In order to

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explain and clarify complex problems, the author attempts to provide a detailed and comprehensive portrait of Eretz Israel before going on to trace the historical development of the so-called "special" Israeli-American relationship.

Essentially, Professor Safran has written two books within the covers of a single volume. Book I traces the evolution of Eretz Israel, concentrating on the origins of the modern state, the physical, human, economic and constitutional environment, the pattern of Israeli internal politics, the problems of national defense and threats, responses and implications. Book II is particularly concerned with Israel and the United States in international politics. The author carries the reader back to the period of 1947-1948, when the UN General Assembly recommended the partition of Palestine and the establishment of the state of Israel (November 29, 1947). He takes the reader through the various conflicts from 1948-1949, the Anglo-Franco-Israeli attack on Egypt (the Suez conflict of 1956), the Israeli

blitzkrieg of June 1967, and the October 1973 war.

In a concluding overview of the "special American-Israeli relationship," the author presents a straight-out Zionist interpretation of events and makes an *ex parte* plea for a formal American-Israeli alliance or mutual security pact. Even Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion recognized that Israel and the United States had different interests and did not pursue the same policies in the Middle East. Professor Safran well knows that Israel has not been and is not now an ally of the United States and would have little, indeed, to offer such an alliance. Israel is a client of the United States, whose very existence depends on massive American aid, economic and military. Israel is a problem, not an American security interest. Maintenance of Israeli military superiority through the "special" relationship with the United States will do little to meet Israel's basic issues with its neighbors.

Although the book is well written and well presented, the author has not bothered his prospective read-

ers with annotations of any kind, whether in his bibliography or in specific footnote citations. It would have been helpful to have supportive evidence for some of the data presented in the volume. The book should be carefully studied along with a host of scholarly works which present a different point of view from that in this *ex parte* pleading.

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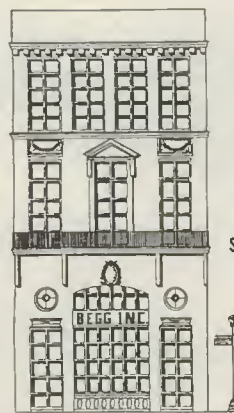
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WHO TRUSTS THE RUSSIANS

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after he passed papers relating to Soviet SALT compliance to Richard Perle. These documents, containing eight classification categories above top secret, were later returned after CIA Director Turner reportedly demanded (unsuccessfully) that Jackson fire Perle. (F) Finally, Carter's skill in congressional relations could prove determinative. But, as an interview with Carter by Professor James MacGregor Burns revealed in early 1979, there was room for skepticism on this score. In the interview Carter stated that, should Congress reject SALT II, he would on his own authority observe the terms of a SALT agreement as long as he was president. As laudable as this position may seem to some, it was a tactical blunder that suggested an insensitivity to the Senate's constitutional prerogatives and it was criticized by several legislators. It also overlooked the stipulation of the ACD act that no "action" shall be taken to reduce or limit US armed forces or armaments except

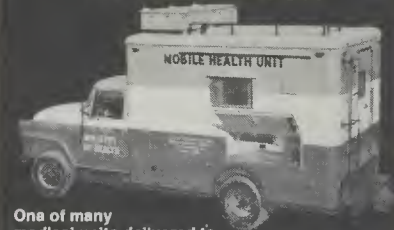
as specifically authorized by Congress.

Since the "adequacy" of verification is a judgmental determination, there will be differences of opinion. No responsible person "trusts" the Soviet Union, or any other nation, in matters of supreme national importance. Trust is not the issue. Perhaps the most basic question, which is ultimately a normative one, is—where do we want to take our risks for national and international security? No course of action is risk free. By the spring of 1979 it was clear to SALT supporters that, though partial and imperfect, the SALT II accords posed far fewer risks to national survival and well-being than a totally unrestrained escalation to weapons of mass destruction. What was not evident at this time, however, was whether two-thirds of the Senate would reach the same conclusion. And, even apart from SALT, there was a growing consensus that future prospects for arms control would be increasingly circumscribed by verification-related issues.



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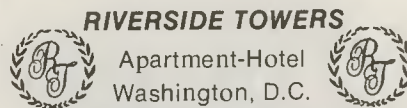
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CIA IN EMBRYO

from page 28

After the war Medals for Merit, each bearing the signature of a deceased President Roosevelt and held over for security reasons, were awarded to the twelve vice consuls who participated in the dramatic events during the invasion. The citation for "exceptionally meritorious conduct" that accompanied the medal given to Gordon H. Browne, of Boston, Massachusetts, typified the high esteem in which the valorous vice consuls were held:

... knowing that only with great difficulty could a member of the armed forces be procured prior to the invasion to install and operate a secret radio listening device, himself volunteered to render this service for the landing of the American paratroop force near Tafaraoui, Algeria. Realizing the consequences if apprehended, disregarding his own safety, he remained with the instrument for four hours under fire, and then upon completion of his mission, assisted in its disposal. The heroic and fearless loyalty of Gordon Browne,

who voluntarily jeopardized his life for the success of his country's cause in battle, reflect great credit and glory upon the whole nation.

Now it could be told. Secretary Hull didn't hesitate for a second to let the world know what lay behind the North African Economic Accord all along. After smarting under the lash of the misguided and the ill-informed, his department could be pardoned for a certain amount of exultation at the outcome of what was, in effect, a CIA exercise long before a CIA came into being. The notably brief resistance to our arms by the French throughout North Africa, with the exception of their naval components at Casablanca, was due in large measure to the groundwork skillfully laid by Murphy and the courageous control officers whom he had welded into one of the finest intelligence units produced by the war. It held down the number of casualties and thus spared our expeditionary forces a possible heavy loss of life. Besides bringing well-deserved laurels to the Foreign Service, the operation did indeed

reflect "great credit and glory upon the whole nation."

Secretary Hull cabled Murphy his high gratification "at the successful results of our policy . . . in the formulation and execution of which you had such an important part. Your patience, tact and sound judgment," he said, "were the basis on which that policy rested." And I was rewarded with a letter from my fellow warrior in the battle of Washington, the British embassy's Wyndham-White, who gallantly hastened to offer his congratulations on the "brilliant success" of the North African venture. "It must be a source of the greatest satisfaction," he wrote, "after so many months of the heart-breaking task of administering the North African accord to see your hopes so magnificently fulfilled." He himself had always felt that the turning point in the war would come in the Western Mediterranean. I could not but agree with him when he added that "now with our great base in North Africa we can begin to envisage the final assault."



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END OF THE PICNIC ERA

from page 9

government of Austria-Hungary the sincere condolences of the government and people of the United States and an expression of my profound sympathy."

On the third day the embalmed bodies were taken by special train to Metkivitch, Herzegovina, where they were transported by the royal yacht *Dalmat* to the mouth of the River Narenta. There they were placed aboard an Austrian battleship for the slow voyage to Trieste.

By Wednesday all news of the assassinations had been relegated to the inside pages of most American newspapers. A small piece on the bottom of page three in the *New York Times* told of how news of the assassinations was broken to the royal children, the oldest of whom was thirteen years old. The three children were at Chiumetz Castle in Bohemia. News reached the castle at noon on Sunday, but was kept from the children until later that evening. The children were told by their religious instructor to go to the chapel and pray, and they broke into convulsive weeping when informed that their parents were dead.

Thursday's *New York Times* devoted only one column of news to the assassinations. It published a telegram of condolence sent by the German emperor to the orphans, and another short article relating an incident which once involved the archduke while he was on one of his frequent hunting trips to Switzerland. A party of Americans had lost its way and mistook the archduke for a tour guide. After being led to "safety," one member of the

group tipped the archduke a Swiss 100-franc banknote, the equivalent of about \$20. Franz Ferdinand was so amused by this mistake that he had had the banknote framed.

On Thursday the bodies arrived in Vienna and final preparations were being made for the funeral. Friday's newspapers noted that foreign visitors, and most notably the German kaiser, would not be attending the funeral—allegedly on request of Emperor Franz Josef who wished to keep the funeral ceremonies as quiet as possible. It was hinted, though, that the real reason was fear on the part of the Austrian government that the lives of the royal personages would be in danger.

The rotogravure section of the Sunday *New York Times* printed a portrait of Archduke Charles, the handsome new heir to the Austrian throne, and his young wife, Princess Zita of Bourbon Parma. Several small articles relating to the funeral appeared on page three of the second section, but for most Americans the affair was over.

Sunday was the Fourth of July and band concerts, parades, and speeches were scheduled throughout the country. There would be outings in the country, picnics, and evening fireworks. The weather in New York was fair, with temperatures reaching a high of 73 degrees. Official celebrations began in the city at 10 a.m. with a speech by Mayor Mitchel at city hall. That afternoon, games were held at playgrounds and recreation piers throughout the city, and municipal parks were strung



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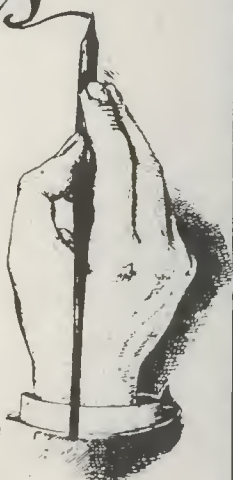
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In Philadelphia, President Wilson was the main speaker at a rally at Independence Hall. The president called for renewed patriotism and denied rumors that the country was headed for a depression.

By Monday Franz Ferdinand and Sophie were buried and the incident, in the minds of most Americans, was buried with them. Some short articles would continue to appear in the newspapers, but now the country's attention would focus on other issues.

Most Americans were concerned with the Mexican situation. Mexico was being torn apart by civil war and revolution, and American troops had been occupying the city of Veracruz since April. Would President Huerta flee Mexico, people were asking, or did he still command sufficient strength to remain in office?

New York newspapers were carrying advertisements for Cunard ("the fastest steamers in the world"), announcing that the *Lusitania* would be sailing from New York on July 14, for Liverpool; and Wallach Brothers were having their annual sale of straw hats (\$2.00 straw hats now \$1.25).


Eddie Foy and the Seven Little Foys were appearing at the Palace Theater "in an entirely new mirth-provoking act," and the *Times* book review section advertised a new novel by Edgar Rice Burroughs: *Tarzan of the Apes* ("You've never met a hero like Tarzan—his marvelous adventures—his strange wooing—and you'll never forget him").

Everything seemed quite normal. It would be nearly a

month, July 28, before Americans would awake to the following newspaper headline:

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RUSSIA THREATENS, ALREADY MOVING TROOPS
PEACE OF EUROPE NOW IN KAISER'S HANDS

World War I had now begun. For Americans informed in international affairs, the war came as no surprise. The political situation in Europe had been eroding for years and all that was needed for a shooting war to begin was an incident to set it off. The assassinations in Sarajevo provided Austria with just the provocation needed to finally destroy her hated southern neighbor, Serbia.

Americans would follow the war with great interest. They would take sides and talk about it over tea or a beer. Some would help organize relief societies for orphaned Belgian children, and others would enlist in allied armies. It would be months before Americans would begin to feel the full impact of the war, and almost three years, April 6, 1917, before thousands of American men would sail off for the battlefields of France. Those tragic deaths of Franz Ferdinand and his wife in a remote corner of the Austro-Hungarian Empire three years before would prove to have a profound effect on the lives and destiny of the American people. The ensuing war would hasten the end of America's years of adolescence, that golden age of youthful innocence, straw hats, Fourth of July parades, George M. Cohan, and "Yankee Doodle Dandy," a period described by author William Tenn as America's "Picnic Era." With World War I, Americans would see their country thrust into the role of world leader, and their lives would never be the same. 



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OUTER SPACE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

from page 13

the writing of precise regulations. The Moon Treaty discussions also illustrate what some space lawyers see as a general trend in space law away from the concept of *res communis*—common use as on the high seas—and toward the concept that outer space and celestial bodies are the common heritage of mankind.

Redefining the US Role in Space

In 1977 and 1978, the Carter Administration undertook the first full-scale review of all sectors of the US space program since the National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958. The first public document to come out of this study, a White House press release dated June 20, 1978, noted a distinction between civil and national security related space programs and said that efforts would be made to better coordinate the two. The release took a tough line on US freedom to operate in space, rejecting claims

of sovereignty over outer space or celestial bodies and limitations on the right to acquire data from space, and said that the US would regard purposeful interference with space systems as an infringement on sovereign rights. While discussing remote sensing and the Space Transportation System (the Space Shuttle), the release did not suggest any new civil space programs. There was a strong emphasis on defense preparedness in space, including a statement that the United States would respond to Soviet anti-satellite activities by fielding an ASAT system of its own if verifiable, comprehensive limits on ASAT capabilities and use could not be negotiated.

A follow-on study of civil space policy led to another release on October 11, 1978. US civil space policy was to assure American scientific and technological leadership in space, foster international space cooperation, emphasize space applications concerning earth resources, climate, weather, pollution and agriculture, and space science and exploration within fiscal

constraints. But the statement did not identify any major new space projects after the Shuttle, and specifically rejected any high-challenge space engineering initiative comparable to Apollo. It warned that funding for civil space programs may be contracted after the Space Shuttle is developed.

One of the most controversial space policy issues during this period was the anti-satellite (ASAT) question. Soviet ASAT testing, renewed in 1976 after a four-year hiatus, provoked concern in the United States about threats to its satellites, and about a Soviet unilateral military advantage. The unclassified literature shows that ASAT systems have a long history; during the Johnson administration, high officials stated that the United States had an operational ASAT system, and the Soviets clearly had begun testing theirs by 1968. The Carter Administration apparently has pursued a two-track policy, seeking an ASAT arms control agreement with the USSR while reportedly accelerating work on the development of a new ASAT sys-

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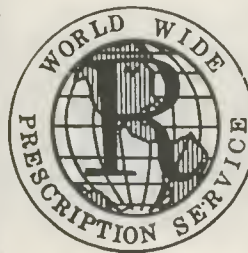
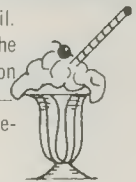
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tem. The first round of ASAT arms control talks was held in Helsinki in June, 1978, and a second round in Bern in February, 1979.

Looking Toward the Future

Critics of the administration's space policy have claimed that it lacks goals, does not take advantage of new opportunities for the use of space systems and may erode the US position of leadership in space. Senators Adlai Stevenson and Harrison Schmitt have proposed space policy bills that would expand US use of space in the 1980s with a variety of new civil systems. Administration officials have responded by saying that the future of the civil space program is budget-limited and that many proposed projects need further study before major commitments are made.

There is no shortage of ideas. Technologists have proposed that satellites could be used for a dazzling array of new services, from monitoring forest fires to enabling communication to wrist-band radios. The advent of the Space

Shuttle will allow the assembly of large structures in space, including "antenna farms" that would concentrate the functions now performed by several satellites, easing the problems of crowding and radio interference in orbit. There has been discussion of a "global information system" which would continuously monitor the state of the planet through satellites.

There also have been more ambitious proposals for the large-scale expansion of the human economy into space and for space systems which would be used to improve conditions on earth. For years, aerospace engineer Krafft Ehrlicke has been advocating "Solettas," giant orbiting reflectors that would redirect solar energy to cooler regions to extend agricultural growing seasons, or to provide illumination at night. G. Harry Stine and others have proposed space factories that would process materials under unique conditions (e.g., zero gravity, vacuum) and make specialized products, without further polluting the biosphere: the Soviet Union is testing some of these con-

cepts in its Salyut space stations. In 1968, engineer Peter Glaser suggested satellite solar power stations that would collect solar energy in space and beam it in concentrated form to receivers on the earth, which could feed it into central power grids. Others have proposed mining the Moon and the asteroids to escape the resource limitations of the earth. Princeton physicist Gerard O'Neill has linked many of these concepts together in a system which would build satellite solar power stations and space manufacturing facilities from lunar and asteroidal resources, which can be transported to space factories with less energy than minerals from the earth.

Such large projects could support sizable populations in space and on the Moon, perhaps eventually leading to permanent human settlements beyond the earth. These activities would test the adequacy of the existing international legal regime for space, and might force revisions. Important economic installations in space might require new security ar-

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rangements, through international administration, arms control or inspection, or the presence of military forces. The governance of extraterrestrial communities could raise complex legal questions, particularly if they eventually achieved some degree of self-sufficiency and independent bargaining power.

Space industrialization would present not only problems for US policy, but opportunities. COMSAT has provided one model of how space systems might be managed internationally; the United States could take the initiative in proposing others as they became feasible and economically attractive, using its technological leadership to establish a position of policy influence within the new organization. The new European-built Spacelab, to be carried into orbit on the US Space Shuttle, shows that complex technological projects in space can be managed multinationally. This might allow joint funding, manning and operation of space processing and manufacturing facilities, particularly in view of

European and Japanese interest in these fields.

A more spectacular possibility is an international satellite solar power system. This would involve a number of giant structures assembled in space and placed in geosynchronous orbit, and as many ground receivers in different countries as were necessary. While there is controversy over the economics and environmental effects of such a system, there is little doubt as to its engineering feasibility. If it proved politically acceptable and commercially competitive, energy could be beamed to any point on the earth where it was needed, without regard for shipping lanes, ports, customs barriers, pipelines, roads or railroads, or the location of oil fields and coal mines. Such a system eventually could free the participating nations from their dependence on cartels which control scarce—and diminishing—energy resources. The international management of a Powersat system would be a challenge to political and organizational ingenuity. But the United States, by

taking the initiative in forming a Powersat consortium, might be able to shape the international energy politics of the future.

No such visions will be realized if one or more nation states do not develop and test the components of space industrialization. White House policy statements have declared it premature to commit the United States to a space factory or satellite solar power station, but have pointed out that useful intermediate steps can be pursued to allow the development and testing of key technologies and experience in space industrial operations. If the United States chooses not to lead the way in the industrialization of space, it may have to accept the fact that human activity beyond the earth will be shaped increasingly by others. The first two decades of the space age have made it clear that the uses of space are not just questions of science and technological prestige, but of national well-being and influence over the human future.



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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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On Student Visas

 I would like to comment on Gerald Wunsch's very perceptive letter to the editor in the February, 1979, *FSJ*.

Wunsch's proposal that "for every year of education provided in the United States, the (foreign) student must agree to spend an equal period of time back in his own country before he can emigrate to or work in the US . . . No adjustments of status, even if he or she marries an American citizen" sounds reasonable. It would certainly make our work adjudicating student visa applications easier. But my guess is that such a regulation might not work unless the State Department held firm in every case. The regulation might even increase our consular workload. Let me illustrate. When I worked in Canada, one applicant for an immigrant visa, an Indian engineer married to an American citizen, was found ineligible for his visa because he was subject to Section 212 (e) of the INA; that is, he was required to spend two years in India before immigrating to the US because he had participated in a government-funded exchange visitor program. The visa refusal seemed a simple one. "Sorry, nothing we can do, the law says. . ."

It turned out not to be so simple. The American citizen felt that the consul's position was cruel and heartless. "Did she not have a right as an American citizen . . ." Soon my supervisor, who was handling the case, was on the receiving end of weekly tirades on the part of the American citizen. Sometimes she called, but usually she came in person to cajole, complain, cry, scream, hurl diatribes. Then came the memos, reports and letters to be written. First to his supervisors, then to V.O., then to a slew of lawyers, Congressmen, Senators, and, yes, even to the White House. Not only did my supervisor have to explain the law but he had to defend himself against charges of rudeness and callousness.

The case dragged on for months and took a heavy toll on my boss. He called me into his office in late July, 1976 to brief me on the latest developments in the case, since he

would soon be taking a three week vacation. "I think the department will cave in on this one" he said with mixed feelings. Mixed because if the department authorized visa issuance the tirades would end but fully aware that he would face at least one more fit of pique since the American wife had always been certain that the only reason her husband could not receive a visa was due to some personal vendetta on the consul's part.


My supervisor never got the chance to take his vacation. He died suddenly of a heart attack the first week of August, about one week after the American wife's last visit.

I don't know how the case was resolved; I was soon transferred to another section. My guess is, though, that the Indian engineer is now living and working as a legal alien resident in the US and will soon complete his three years of residency and become a US citizen.

Mr. Wunsch's "very brief amendment to the INA" would, in my opinion cause the repetition of the episode described above in dozens of foreign service posts all over the world.

MICHAEL J. GUIGNARD
San Jose

Cover Praise

 May I express my admiration for the beauty of the cover—both inside and out—of the January, 1979, issue. The savage beauty of the bridge, and the gorgeous girls on the inside, made me remove the cover for my files. The index does not say in what country is the Diani River.

HEYWARD G. HILL
FSO-Ret. II
Athens, Greece

EDITOR'S NOTE: *Our January cover artist, Maryam Sarkisian, tells us that the Diani River is in Guinea and our advertising people tell us that the "gorgeous girls" were by Heublein.*

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

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

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

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AFSA ELECTIONS

The AFSA Elections Committee has announced that it received, on May 14, notice from Vice Presidential Candidate Barbara Bodine that for compelling personal reasons she is withdrawing her candidacy from the AFSA Governing Board elections. Her notice of withdrawal was received too late for her name to be removed from the ballot.

Ronald Witherell, candidate for the office of Vice President, is running as a member of the Representative Slate. Through an error, Mr. Witherell's slate affiliation was not mentioned on the ballot.

The Committee also wishes to remind members that, in order to be counted, a ballot must be returned to reach the Committee at the designated address on the mailing envelope by June 29. Also, appropriate postage stamps must be placed on the cover envelope as mail delivery can reach that address only through the facilities of the United States Postal Service. If Departmental internal mail service is used, envelope must bear a 15¢ stamp.

OUTRAGE OF THE MONTH

Management Dragging Its Heels

In October 1978, Congress passed the State Authorization Act FY 1979 which included provisions allowing employees to take Rest and Recuperation Leave in the United States and a limited exemption from the Fly America Act. Since then we have been pressing Management to develop implementing regulations. Eight months later, Management continues to profess that it is still in the process of drafting the necessary regulations. Such foot dragging is an outrage.

IRS v. HOME LEAVE

Is the IRS harassing Foreign Service people on the issue of deduction of home leave expenses as a business expense when completing annual income tax returns? As reported in the September 1978 issue of the *Journal*, the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals found in the Hitchcock case that expenses incurred during home leave by the employee (not the employee's family) are legitimate business deductions. This decision reinforced the earlier similar decision in the Stratton case by the Ninth Circuit Court. Even though the IRS did not appeal either of these decisions to the Supreme Court, IRS continues to inform the public that home leave expenses are not allowable tax deductions.

Tax payers resident in the Fourth and Ninth Circuits are clearly entitled under the courts' decisions to deduct home leave expenses, but we are receiving reports that IRS intends to audit all tax returns which include such a claimed deduction. If true, this would be a form of improper harassment.

AFSA continues to advise foreign service employees to claim deductions for home leave expenses incurred by themselves but not their families. Keep records and receipts of all expenses and do not count on being able to claim an

amount equal to a per diem allowance. Employees whose place of residence is in the Fourth or Ninth Circuits should file their returns with the appropriate IRS office. If the tax return is challenged by IRS, the employee should justify the home leave expense deduction on the basis of the court decision and our information indicates that IRS will then, but only then, approve the claim.

Home leave tax deduction cases in other jurisdictions are before several courts. AFSA is watching these developments closely. One of these cases was recently the subject of a split decision by the United States Court of Claims (*Bell v. The United States, No. 179-74*). In this case, the majority of the judges on the court were persuaded that "the plaintiff was not entitled to recover because the expenses had not been incurred while away from home nor in pursuit of a trade or business." In this case, the employee had taken home leave between two different assignments and the court held that the employee had abandoned his foreign residence, was "homeless" and thus did not meet the requirement that the "expense must be incurred 'while away from home.'" The text of the Bell decision will be published in a forthcoming issue of the *Journal*.

1979 MERIT AWARDS

The AFSA Committee on Education is pleased to announce the names of the recipients of the 1979 Merit Awards for outstanding academic achievement:

Gregory Rollin Andrews
Bruce A. Aylward
John P. Clyne
Evelyn T. Cohen
Christine M. Courtney
Claire P. Engelhart
Marc C. Ericksen
Scott J. Dolgoff
Karen M. Flaten
Anna Lea P. Florey
Susan A. Fritts
Laura L. Gaudian
Brian S. Heaney
Kenneth F. Hewes-Manapol
Stephen A. Higginson
Natalie S. Hulen
Elizabeth E. Kiss
Randall H. Lee
Christopher W. Lehfeldt
Laura D. Montgomery
Becky J. Segall

Susan C. Sigda

The following received honorable mention:

Constance C. Austin
Margaret H. Bartlett
Efren V. Garcia
Laura E. Jones
Christopher F. Keiter
Daniel S. Komitor
Melina R. Linder
Paul A. McCusker
Steven P. Sherper
Amy K. Taylor
Kim L. Wells

These merit awards to graduating high school students have been made possible again this year by the generous contribution of the Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW) from funds raised at their annual Book Fair and of the American Foreign Service Association Scholarship Fund.

A story on the awards and the recipients will appear in the August *Journal*.

EDUCATIONAL AND COUNSELING SERVICE OFFICE MOVES

For many years AFSA has helped provide educational and counseling services to children of Foreign Service employees. In more recent times this was accomplished through the Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Service, a joint activity of AFSA and the Association of American Foreign Service Women. However, AAFSW recently withdrew its support from FSECC and AFSA was concerned whether it could finance this important operation on its own. We are now pleased to announce that FSECC services will continue to be available: It has been arranged that the Department's Family Liaison Office (FLO) is being expanded to take over FSECC responsibilities.

Similarly to FSECC, the new FLO

office will provide educational information on public and private schools in the Washington area, on private boarding schools throughout the United States and overseas, and information on higher education in the United States. FLO is also able to administer the Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory test and the Scholastic Aptitude Test for learning disabled children.

One function of the FSECC not being transferred to FLO is the program of Special Grants. These grants have provided support on a limited basis to many Foreign Service families with special or emergency type educational needs which can not be met from other sources. AFSA's Scholarship Committee will continue to provide such grants.

REPORT ON ICA; Foreign Service Act, Promotions and Morale

The recent activities in evaluating and taking positions on the proposed rewriting of the Foreign Service Act proves that FSIOs are best represented by AFSA! A number of FSIOs active in AFSA served on the AFSA task forces which drew up the AFSA position on the Foreign Service Act. In consultation with their colleagues, they inserted the often unique FSIO point-of-view into these papers. At the same time AFSA/ICA Board Member Peter Wolcott has attended all the major sessions with the State Standing Committee held with State Department Management. It has been at these sessions that some progress has been made with State Department Management! Regrettably, efforts by ICA Director Reinhardt including a letter to Under Secretary Ben Read have had little, if any, impact on State's drive to completely rewrite the Foreign Service Act.

Morale in ICA continues to be low. The promotion list was depressingly short. In contrast to AFSA success in persuading State to take corrective action when State's promotion list was short two years ago, AFGE appears to be acting ineffectually in pressing ICA management to recognize this or other problems or to take corrective measures once the problem has been identified. The one optimistic sign in ICA has been its fairly rapid bail-out of FAS personnel who were affected by the reintroduction of mandatory retirement by helping them convert back to Civil Service.

FOR RETIREES: Cost of Living Increases

AFSA continues to be active in a coalition of organizations representing federal employees to protect the interests of retirees. We had reported in the February *Journal* that an administration proposal to reduce cost of living increases on annuities by paying the increase only once a year, rather than twice a year, had been dropped. It now develops that there is a movement in Congress toward adopting the same proposal.

Both the Senate and House budget committees have recommended that the federal government's outlays for federal employee retirement and disability costs be reduced with the assumption that the reduction be made by limiting the cost of living adjustments for federal retirees to once a year, rather than twice. The budget committee recommendations in both the House and Senate are contained in the committees' reports on the FY 1980 Budget Resolution and it should be noted that, while the spending guidelines are for the most part considered binding on the Congress, budget committee assumptions are not.

Even if the budget committees' reports are sustained in Congress, therefore, separate legislation would be required to actually limit the cost of living adjustments to once a year. If and when such legislation is introduced, AFSA will vigorously oppose any such move to further erode the present structure of the Foreign Service Retirement System.

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HI-ONE ANNUITY BENEFITS APPROVED

Last year, AFSA played a key role in sponsoring and pushing through Congress an amendment to the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, FY 1979, which provided that an employee whose salary was "capped" could retire with an annuity computed on the basis of a "high one" average annual salary rather than the normal "high three" average. About 65 employees retired during October 1978 claiming annuities based on a "high one" computation before a subsequent bill was passed October 17 which included a "rider" denying the use of funds available to the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability Fund for payment of an annuity computed on the basis of a "high one" average salary.

We are pleased to report that State has now received authority to pay the "high one" annuity to those 65 employees who retired last October. According to a ruling issued by the Justice Department, the rider was, in effect a "repealer" of the entitlement and therefore should not affect the status of persons who had retired in good faith prior to its enactment.

COOPER-HEWITT MUSEUM

The Cooper-Hewitt Museum, the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Design in New York, is preparing an outdoor exhibition on "Streets," part of a larger project this summer on the theme of urban open space. A small selection of street furniture and graphics will be installed in the Museum's garden. To present a variety from American and foreign cities, the Museum is seeking interesting and unusual examples of signs and of street furniture such as lamp standards, trash cans, kiosks, post boxes, benches and planters. Replies with photos where possible are invited as soon as possible. Send to Director, Cooper-Hewitt Museum, 2 East 91st Street, New York, New York. 10028.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROCEDURES

AFSA has invoked two different procedures in recent months under the Executive Order governing our labor relations program in order to resolve disputes between AFSA and the Department concerning affirmative action proposals.

Over a year ago the Secretary's Executive Level Task Force on Affirmative Action produced a lengthy series of recommendations to the Secretary proposing various changes in selection and hiring practices, including junior officer entry and the mid-career program for minorities and women; upward mobility; counseling; assignment procedures; promotion; performance evaluation; and the handicapped program. An Implementation Working Group then developed a series of proposed steps to implement the recommendations of the Executive Level Task Force. AFSA was involved in commenting on the proposals at an early date, as well as in consulting and conferring under E.O. 11636 on the specific proposals for changes in personnel procedures when they were ready. Some issues are still under discussion, such as the program for the handicapped; others have been resolved in the course of our regular consultations, such as those which deal with the Precepts.

AFSA and the Department were unable to reach agreement upon the Department's proposed changes in assignment procedures and in the programs for junior officer entry for minorities and the mid-level special hiring program for minorities and women. With respect to assignments, AFSA invoked the assistance of the Disputes Panel, which exists to mediate and resolve disputes between the Department and AFSA when the parties agree that the issues are subject to consultation but cannot reach agreement on the terms. Concerning the second disagreement—the numbers of persons to be recruited through the special hiring programs in the next several years—AFSA has had to appeal the case to the Employee-Management Relations Commission (EMRC) for a ruling on its "consultability" because the Department contends that the issue is not subject to consultation (negotiation). If the EMRC upholds the Department's contention, then AFSA cannot prevent the Department (other than by persuasion) from moving forward with its misguided plans. We hope that the EMRC will rule favorably on our appeal; in that event, the Department must consult further and if we still cannot reach agreement, the issue can be appealed to the Disputes Panel in the same manner as the assignments dispute for mediation and resolution. The issues in-

involved are described in detail in the next two sections.

Assignments

The Department's proposed affirmative action assignments procedures were:

A.

Recommendation 65: "Special consideration should be provided to assure that Foreign Service Personnel in EEO categories are given equitable consideration for 'stretch assignments.'"

Proposed Implementation:

"a) PER/FCA and CCA career development officers should inform themselves fully concerning the identity, skills and onward assignment preferences of EEO category counselees. All EEO category personnel should be made aware of the identity of their career development officer and are urged to make their skills and preferences known. This is particularly important for FSR and FSRU personnel who sometimes have little contact with the counseling system.

"b) Assignment officers, in cooperation with career development officers, should identify forthcoming vacancies where stretch assignments appear particularly feasible and desirable.

"c) In proposing candidates to fill vacancies where stretch assignments appear possible, career development officers should actively seek to identify qualified and interested EEO category candidates for the positions. Such personnel should be proposed to the assignments panel or responsible assignments officer together with other qualified candidates. In discussing proposed stretch assignments with bureaus and posts, assignment officers may indicate when affirmative action considerations are involved.

"d) PER/FCA and PER/CCA Office Directors are specifically charged with insuring that career development officers and assignment officers seek to identify qualified and interested EEO category personnel as candidates for stretch assignments. However, first line responsibility for this effort must rest with career development officers.

"e) M/DG and M/EEO will review assignments with regional and functional assistant secretaries on an annual basis to ascertain the degree to which minorities and women have received special consideration for stretch assignments. M/EEO will report the findings to the Deputy Under Secretary for Management."

B.

Recommendation 66: "Special consideration should be provided to assure that EEO category personnel are given equitable consideration for all vacancies for which they are currently or potentially qualified."

Proposed Implementation:

a) Same as 65 (a)

"b) Assignment officers in cooperation with career development officers must identify forthcoming vacancies for which an EEO candidate is currently or potentially qualified after comparison of requirements with candidates' qualifications, desires and aptitude for training, and assignment preferences.

"c) All qualified personnel, including EEO category personnel, should be proposed to the assignments panel together. In discussing proposed assignment of EEO personnel with bureaus and posts, assignment officers may indicate that affirmative action considerations are involved, especially when the positions are in career fields under-represented by minorities and women.

"d) PER/FCA and PER/CCA Office Directors are specifically charged with insuring that career development officers and assignment officers identify qualified and interested EEO category personnel. However, first-line responsibility for this effort must rest with career development officers. When candidates are deemed unqualified for assignments specifically due to insufficient education or training, the career development officer should advise the candidate accordingly, and suggest training which would enable the candidate to upgrade his/her level of competence and performance and thereby enhance his/her competitiveness for more demanding assignments.

e) (Relates to GS positions not subject to Foreign Service bargaining)

C.

Recommendation 67: "Special consideration should be provided to assure that employees in EEO categories receive equitable consideration for high visibility positions.

Proposed Implementation:

a) Same as 65 (a)

"b) In proposing candidates to fill high visibility vacancies counselors should actively seek to identify qualified and interested EEO category candidates for the positions. All qualified personnel, including EEO category candidates, should be proposed to the assignments panel or responsible assignments officer together. In discussing proposed assignments with bureaus and posts, assignment officers may indicate when affirmative action considerations are involved.

c) Similar to 65 (d) but for high visibility positions.

"d) M/DG and M/EEO will review assignments with regional and functional assistant secretaries on an annual basis to ascertain the degree to which minorities and women have received special attention in the assignment to high visibility positions. M/EEO will report the findings to the Deputy Under Secretary for Management.

e) (Relates to GS positions not subject to Foreign Service bargaining.)

AFSA's Position:

AFSA believes that the Foreign Service assignment process should be so structured as to provide equal opportunities for all employees to compete for assignment solely on the basis of demonstrated performance-related qualifications. AFSA would seek to assure that no employee would be discriminated against or accorded preferential treatment on the basis of race, sex, or ethnic background. Any employee whose career situation or

prospects had been adversely affected by an assignment pattern not in accord with this requirement would be entitled to special consideration to the extent needed to remedy such adverse effect of a past assignment pattern. AFSA would also be willing to accept special consideration for women or minority candidates who are *equally* qualified to fill a given position *if* such consideration would help in breaking down stereotypes regarding appropriate assignments for women or minorities in the Service. We do not believe such special consideration is warranted, however, where an EEO candidate is only minimally qualified to fill a given position, or less qualified than other available candidates. AFSA also rejects the Department's position that the Service should be broken down and analyzed so that each function or geographic region of the Service could be changed to conform with some "ideal" composition by race or sex. AFSA therefore proposed to the Department that our eight-paragraph counterproposal as follows be substituted for the Department's Recommendations 65, 66, and 67:

"1. Assignments of Foreign Service employees shall be made on the basis of the functional needs of the Service, and the qualifications, ability, availability, and preferences of these employees. There shall be no adverse discrimination, stereotyping, or preferential treatment of any employee or group of employees on the basis of gender, ethnicity, or other such non-job-related factors. Any employee whose career situation and prospects have been damaged because of an assignment pattern adversely affected by such discrimination or stereotyping shall receive special consideration to the extent necessary to remedy any such adverse effect on his or her assignment pattern.

"2. All Foreign Service employees shall be informed in a timely fashion of the identity of their career development officers (CDOs) and their right to seek assignments to positions for which they are available and qualified. Such positions may include those classified above the employee's current rank ("stretch" assignments); in a skill code different from the employee's current primary skill code ("excursion tours") or FSO cone ("out-of-cone" assignments), or thought particularly likely to enhance the career prospects of an incumbent who performs well (sometimes called "key" or "high-visibility" assignments).

"3. Any employee who believes that his or her career situation or prospects have been damaged because of an assignment pattern adversely affected by discrimination on account of gender, ethnicity, or other non-job-related factors, should so inform his or her CDO when submitting assignment preferences, or at any other time.

"4. CDOs shall inform themselves of the qualifications, preferences, and availability of their counsees, and of onward assignments for which these counsees

may be qualified. In counseling, the CDOs should urge counsees not to be inhibited by gender or ethnic stereotyping in listing their preferences. CDOs should take special care to review the file of each employee indicated in paragraph 3 above, to determine whether, in comparison with peers, his or her career may have been damaged by an assignment pattern adversely affected by gender or ethnic discrimination or stereotyping.

"5. CDOs, in making assignment recommendations, and Assignment Panels, in making assignments, shall not give preference to any employee or group of employees simply on the basis of gender or ethnicity, nor shall they have in mind any particular statistical pattern with respect to the gender or ethnic composition of any geographic area or functional specialty within the Foreign Service; provided, that in choosing among equally well qualified candidates for a position, CDOs and Assignment Panels may take into account the need to remedy the damage to an individual employee's career situation and prospects by a past assignment pattern adversely affected by discrimination or stereotyping based on gender, ethnicity, or other non-job-related factors; or the possible effect of an assignment in breaking down gender or ethnic stereotypes which may persist within the Foreign Service with respect to assignments.

"6. Nothing in this regulation is intended to limit access by any employee to Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) Counselors, or the formal EEO complaint process.

"7. The Director, PER/FCA, shall be primarily responsible for the correct application of this procedure. M/EEO and AFSA shall monitor assignments process, to assure that the above objectives are being met.

"8. By joint agreement before August 1, 1979, or at the initiative of either the Department or AFSA on or after that date, consultations shall begin on amendments to this procedure."

Regrettably, the Department did not see fit to negotiate with AFSA on our proposal and commented only that "the Department believes that AFSA's counterproposals do not incorporate adequate affirmative action measures to identify and counsel women and minority group members in the assignment process, or to take into consideration the needs of the Foreign Service to be more representative at all levels when making assignments to particular positions." (The Department refused even to consolidate their three proposals into one coherent proposal because the three "were in the computer.")

AFSA therefore appealed to the Disputes Panel, and with their assistance and mediation an agreed compromise was reached. Meetings continued throughout the day for over two days, and many proposals and modifications were discussed. It appeared for much of the time that we would not be able to reach agreement voluntarily, for AFSA was committed to the principle

of equal opportunities for all in the assignment process, and the Department appeared equally committed to the principle that if a candidate is qualified (even though not *as* qualified as other available candidates), it was then proper to give the EEO candidate the boost for a given assignment. After much deliberation, and many times when we all thought the mediation effort would fall through, the parties reached the following compromise, endorsed by the AFSA Governing Board and the Under Secretary for Management:

Revised Recommendation 65-66-67:

"Concerted efforts will be made to assure that Foreign Service personnel in EEO categories are afforded equitable consideration for all vacancies for which they are equally qualified, notably career-enhancing positions."

Implementation Procedures

"(a) PER/FCA and CCA career development officers must inform themselves fully concerning the identity, skills, performance and onward assignment preferences of EEO category counsees. All EEO category personnel must be made aware of the identity of their career development officer and must be urged to make their skills, training and assignment preferences known. This is particularly important for FSR, FSRU and FSS personnel who may have had less contact with the counseling system.

(b) Assignment officers in cooperation with career development officers will identify forthcoming assignments, including career-enhancing assignments, for which an EEO candidate is currently or potentially qualified after comparison of requirements with candidates' qualifications, desires and aptitude for training, and assignment preference.

(c) In discussing with a bureau or post the proposed assignment of an EEO category Foreign Service employee, an assignment officer may so identify the employee if (1) the assignment would be to a career-enhancing position, or (2) that bureau has very few EEO category Foreign Service personnel in the category or at the level under review. All qualified personnel, including EEO category personnel, should be proposed together to the assignments panel or responsible assignment officer.

(d) PER/FCA and PER/CCA Office Directors are charged with insuring that career development officers and assignment officers identify qualified and interested EEO category personnel. However, first-line responsibility for this effort must rest with career development officers. When candidates are deemed unqualified for assignments due to insufficient education or training, the career development officer should advise the candidate accordingly, and suggest training which would enable the candidate to upgrade his/her level of competence and performance and thereby enhance his/her qualifications for more demanding assignments.

(e) M/DG and M/EEO will review assignments with assistant secretaries annually to ascertain the degree to which minorities and women have received equi-

table consideration for assignments, including those to career-enhancing positions. M/EEO will report the findings to the Under Secretary for Management. A copy of the report will be provided to AFSA.

(f) For GS employees only:

Since movement of a GS employee to a new position requires that the individual apply for the position, it is essential that position vacancies receive extensive publicity: bulletin boards, circular notices to offices, and contacts by counselors with EEO and other category candidates." [Not negotiable with AFSA.]

AFSA believes this language is far more equitable than that originally proposed by the Department and that it meets the most important requirements for equitable consideration for *all* employees in the assignment process. It is probably essentially the same as the Disputes Panel would have issued after hearing our lengthy discussion with management during the hearing, had we and the Department not been able to reach agreement on our own with their mediation assistance. We think it represents major improvements over the Department's original proposals and are very pleased that we were able to reach a viable compromise on such a vital area.

The State Department has two special hiring programs designed to recruit qualified women and minority candidates into the Service other than through the examination process. The first, the FSR/JO program, operates at the entry level and seeks to bring qualified minority candidates into the Service on the basis of an oral examination. The candidate is given an FSR appointment, and after three years (but before the appointment expires in five years) the candidate takes a second oral examination in order to qualify for entry into the FSO corps. A candidate may also enter the FSO corps by passing the written exam. This program has been in operation since the late 1960s. The second program, for Middle Level Hiring of Minority Group Members and Women, was established through consultation with AFSA in 1975. Its purpose was to bring into the Service qualified minority candidates and women at the mid-career levels, consistent with the needs of the Service and the high merit standards expected of all Foreign Service personnel. The terms of this program were established by agreement with AFSA. As with the FSR/JO program, candidates are initially given FSR appointments and have the opportunity thereafter to apply for conversion to FSO. In keeping with the purposes of the agreement, the Department's written intention was to bring into this program "up to twenty qualified individuals each year."

The Department's Affirmative Action Recommendation No. 29, with

which AFSA cannot agree, provides:

"The Department will emphasize recruitment of women and minorities, setting as a goal that shortfalls in the target levels for the two special programs be made up by 1980. [e.g., over three fiscal years] This would mean that:

a. The FSR/JO program could recruit against a target of 68, in addition to the annual target of 20. [e.g., 43 per year]

b. The Mid-Career Program could recruit against a target of 27, in addition to the annual target of 20. [e.g., 29 per year]

Every effort will also be made to increase the number of women and minorities qualifying for entry through the examination process. The Task Force will review all recruitment in June 1978 to adjust target goals as necessary to insure that objectives are being met."

AFSA opposes any increase in the target goals for the two special hiring programs. Larger numbers of special hires will absorb, at the mid-level, a large percentage of available vacancy opportunities for promotion. This is not only inconsistent with the needs of the Service, but it deprives all officers—including women and minorities currently in the Service—with needed promotional opportunities. Persons recruited for the programs are not hired only for skill codes in which there are shortages, but rather are hired based on the desire of the Department to make the Service more diversely representational of American society at all levels. AFSA supports the need for a representational Service, but we strongly oppose the undue increases in numbers which the Department wishes to impose upon these programs in the coming years. Acceptance of the annual target of 43 for the entry level FSR/JO program would result in entering classes which would in our view be too heavily non-exam-entry, and be unfair both to exam-entry applicants in these years as well as to FSR/JO applicants thereafter. The younger levels of the Service are increasingly representative, and those persons already in the Service deserve to be accorded fair treatment.

We support equal employment opportunity in the Foreign Service and have backed improvements in recruiting women and EEO minorities in order to make sure that the Service is attracting the best people, whatever their backgrounds. We support efforts to break down gender and ethnic stereotypes which may persist within the Service, and to remedy the adverse effects on employment opportunity of past instances or patterns of discrimination which may have arisen in individual cases. At the same time, we have resisted proposals to give preferential consideration to employees or applicants simply because they are women or members of certain ethnic minority groups, or to establish some

ideal gender or ethnic composition for all or part of the Service. We believe this position to be consistent with the principle of equal opportunity for all American citizens, regardless of their sex or ethnic background.

Before the Department's proposals were finalized, AFSA urged the Board of the Foreign Service to consider the advisability of the Department's Recommendation 29. The Board advised the Secretary that it was "concerned that, in a time of limited promotions, the projected number of those being taken in by special recruitment not be disproportionate to the number who enter the Service or the higher classes through regular examination or usual promotion. Therefore, the Board believes that a meaningful relationship should be established between annual fluctuations in promotions and recruitment levels, and the annual goals for the Special Hiring Programs. The Board recommends that these hiring goals can best be expressed in percentage terms subject to yearly review."

The Board recommended an annual goal for the Mid-Level Program of 10-15 percent of the combined estimated promotion vacancies for the next promotion cycle in FSO classes 4 and 5. For the FSR/JO program, the Board recommended an annual goal of approximately 25 percent of the number entering through the regular exam with the understanding that minority group members passing the regular exam would be counted against the 25 percent goal.

Unfortunately, the Department ignored the recommendations of the Board of the Foreign Service in putting the recommendation for special hiring into final form. The proposal was substantially identical to the original when submitted to AFSA.

AFSA recently decided to oppose the special hiring programs presently established for the following reasons: (1) Limited as they are to women and certain minorities, the programs are discriminatory on their face and therefore quite vulnerable to legal challenge. (2) Though the programs are based on the implicit presumption that there are too few women and minorities in the Foreign Service Officer Corps, there is in our view no legal basis to assume that there ought to be any ideal gender or ethnic composition toward which the "target levels" are steps. (3) The figures for earlier years for these programs were annual ceilings, not "target levels" or multiyear targets. The concept of making up the cumulative "shortfalls" from previous years in effect converts these ceilings into quotas, and the emphasis on achieving these quotas, backed by the Secretary's personal intervention, seems to have introduced a "body count" attitude

among working level officials charged with meeting the quotas—an attitude which threatens to exalt numbers above quality. (4) Any special hiring program target level limits the hiring of exam entry candidates, notwithstanding the praise for those who have entered the Foreign Service through the examination route. (5) The increases in the special hiring program “target levels” are proposed without regard to any of the other problems or objectives of the career Foreign Service. (6) The figure for FSR/JO hires is so high as a percentage of total junior officer intake that it is unfair to FSO exam applicants. With respect to the mid-level hiring program launched as the result of the 1975 agreement between AFSA and the Department, we believe the Department has violated both the letter and spirit of that agreement by hiring minorities and women for political cone positions, at a time when the Department says the political cone is in surplus, limiting promotions accordingly, yet not permitting officers in the Service to transfer into the political cone from another cone.

AFSA proposed the following alternatives:

Junior Officer Program: Each year not more than 10 percent of all junior officer hires could be made from among takers of the Foreign Service Entrance Exam who had not placed high enough on the register to come in through the exam route, but who, in the oral and background examinations, displayed qualities which led BEX to believe that they would have a good chance of performing effectively in the Service. The program would not be limited by ethnic background. We also recommend that the Department seriously consider the possibility of putting foreign language back into the FSEE. Language competence is not only a requirement for career status in the Foreign Service; it might work to the advantage of some applicants with ethnically diverse backgrounds.

Lateral Entry: AFSA proposes that there be an overall ceiling on all FSR appointments, political or otherwise, to program direction or the four skill codes normally filled by FSOs. The ceiling would, in any year, not exceed ten percent of promotion opportunities to FSO-4 and FSO-5. Applicants could be either from outside the Foreign Service, or from other Foreign Service pay plans. Hires would be only to cones in which the Department is in relatively short supply, and into which career Foreign Service people are normally allowed to transfer. The program would not be limited to women and minorities, but the Department could emphasize the hiring of women and minorities so long as they are individually qualified for positions in which the Service is in short supply. The counting of all lateral entrants against the overall ceiling would protect the career Service from one of its most basic concerns about the lateral entry program—not the prospect of additional women and minority colleagues, but the negative impact on career opportunities.

The Department has refused to consult with AFSA on our proposal and

has informed us that it considers the implementation of Recommendation 29 to be “non-consultable” because E.O. 11636 reserves to management the right “to hire.” We have appealed their denial to the EMRC for a determination on consultability. Meanwhile, the Department cannot implement its proposals until the EMRC makes its ruling. Unfortunately, a ruling on the consultability of the proposal is a technical ruling which does not take into consideration the advisability or inadvisability of a given proposal. It determines only whether, in the Foreign Service labor relations program, the Department is required to consult with AFSA and either reach agreement or submit to mediation by the Disputes Panel before the Department can implement a change in personnel policy. This is a critical threshold matter, and we expect a decision from the EMRC shortly. We will keep you informed in this space.

in 1919 and served at posts in Spain, Haiti, Belgium, Great Britain and as ambassador to Italy, France, Spain and Brazil, under seven presidents and ten secretaries of state. He also served as a member of US delegations to several major conferences, including Dumbarton Oaks and the UN Founding Conference. Ambassador Dunn was a principal adviser to Cordell Hull in the 1930s and also served as a counsellor to secretaries of state Edward R. Stettinius, James F. Byrnes, George C. Marshall and Dean Acheson. He retired in 1957 and lived in Rome until 1977, since when he had been living in New York. He is survived by his wife, the former Mary Augusta Armour, of 825 Fifth Avenue, New York 10021, two daughters, Marianne Dunn of New York City and Mrs. Lorenz Esterlechner of Bavaria, four grandchildren and nine great-grandchildren.

Lawton. Edward P. Lawton, FSO-retired, died on April 25 in Naples, Florida. Mr. Lawton joined the Foreign Service and was first posted in Cairo as consul, later serving in Athens, Guatemala, Geneva, Havana, Ottawa and Algiers. After retirement he lived in Wilton, Connecticut and Fort Myers Beach, Florida. He was an accomplished artist and his works were exhibited in several eastern states. He is survived by his wife, Elizabeth, 320 Seminole Way, Fort Myers Beach, Florida 33931, and a daughter, Daphne.

Phillips. Catherine Poe Phillips, wife of FSO-retired George W. Phillips, died on April 27 in Flat Rock, North Carolina. Mrs. Phillips accompanied her husband on assignments in Austria, Germany, Brazil, Mexico, France and Greece before his retirement in 1972. In addition to her husband, mailing address P.O. Box 147, Flat Rock, N.C. 28731, she is survived by a brother, Francis Bennett Poe, Jr., Damariscotta, Maine, two nephews and a niece. Memorial contributions may be made to the American Cancer Society, Box 1925, Hendersonville, N.C. 28739 or the Henderson County Humane Society, Box 706, Hendersonville, N.C. 28739.

Gotlieb. Bernard Gotlieb, FSO-retired, died on March 15, in San Rafael, California. He joined the Foreign Service in 1915 as vice consul and student interpreter in Constantinople and then served in Cairo, Tehran, Halifax, Singapore, Wellington, Messina, Trieste, Nuevo Laredo, Santiago de Cuba, Habana and Windsor, retiring in 1949. He is survived by a son, Edward, and a daughter, Mrs. L. Ann Perry, whose addresses are unavailable to AFSA.

Foreign Service People

Births

Christian. A daughter, Catherine Anne, born on March 16, to FSO Carolyn Christian and Gary W. Christian, in Washington.

Lenderking. A daughter, Alexandra, born to FSO and Mrs. William R. Lenderking, Jr., on January 9, in Bangkok.

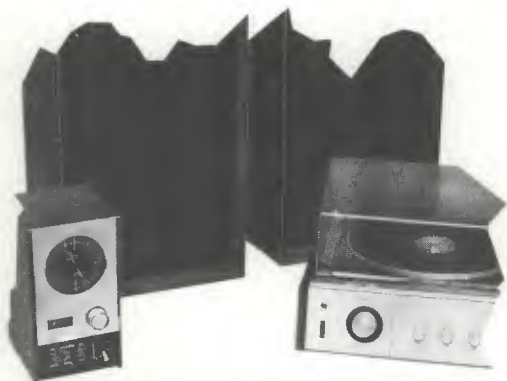
Deaths

Bell. Dr. James Dunbar Bell, former ambassador to Malaysia, died on April 14 in Santa Cruz. Dr. Bell joined the Foreign Service in 1947 and served at Santiago, Manila and Djakarta before his appointment as ambassador to Malaysia in 1964 where he served until 1969. He retired in 1970 after a year as diplomat in residence at the University of California in Santa Cruz. His first marriage, to the former Helen Foy Johnstone, ended in divorce in 1960. He is survived by his second wife, Stephanie M., a son Jeff M., and a daughter, Stephanie S., of 14 Kite Hill Road, Santa Cruz, California 95060, two other sons, James D., of El Paso, Texas, and Christopher of Providence, R.I., another daughter, Diane E. Gilford, of Oberlin, Ohio, and five grandchildren.

Dunn. James Clement Dunn, career ambassador, died on April 10 in Florida. He joined the Foreign Service

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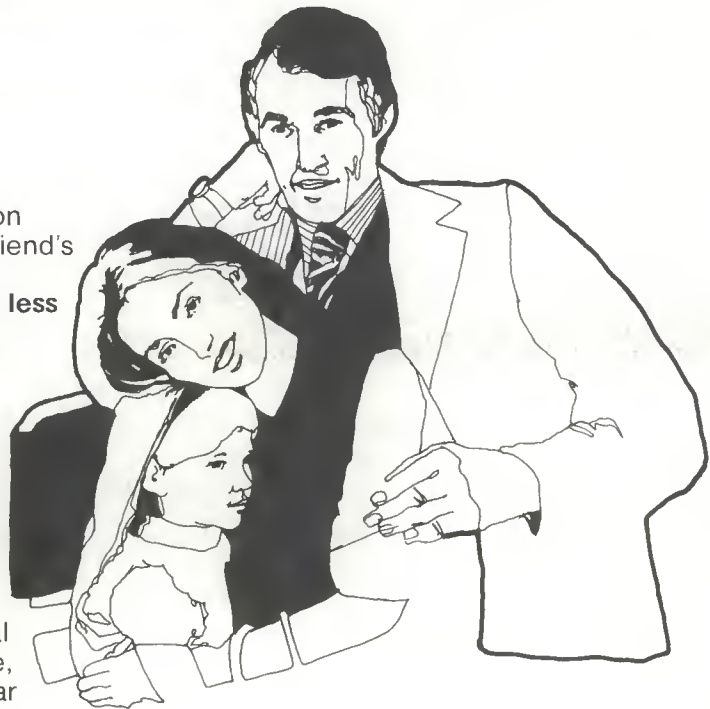
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