

Foreign Service Journal

NOVEMBER 1980 75 CENTS

The McCarthy Years Inside the Department
of State

by John W. Ford

Interview with Richard Queen

Mr. Foreign Service on Mossadegh and
Wristonization

by John Harter

VOA and NPR

by Hans Tuch



Stephan
1980

Fact ■ ■

Recognizing the limits of the Claims Act, the government recommends private insurance too.



Claims Act

1. The government will be responsible for only \$15,000 of proven property loss.
2. Loss recovery limitations exist on most categories of possessions such as jewelry, furs, cameras, fine arts, antiques.
3. Claims process requires government investigation and documentation.
4. Loss must be incident to service.
5. Comprehensive Personal Liability insurance is not available.
6. Loss evaluation is complicated and includes depreciation.
7. Theft loss requires proof that due care was exercised to prevent the occurrence.

*These are only a few of the differences.
Please refer to Foreign Affairs Manual (6 FAM 300).*

Note: The insurance policies, not this advertisement, will form the contract between the insured and the insurance company. The policies contain limits, exclusions and limitations not listed here.



AFSA Plan

1. You may purchase as much insurance as you need.
2. Valuable articles can be scheduled without limitation on a "valued at" basis.
3. Swift claims settlement begins with a simple telephone call or letter.
4. Coverage is worldwide whether on business or pleasure.
5. Comprehensive Personal Liability insurance is available.
6. Loss settlement on unscheduled items is based on replacement cost *with no depreciation*. Settlement on scheduled articles is based on the agreed amount.
7. No such requirement.

AFSA Desk, The Hirshorn Company 1180
14 East Highland Avenue
Philadelphia, Pa. 19118 (215) CH2-8200.*

Send me your free brochure (with built-in application form) that answers my questions about overseas insurance.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

*If calling from the Washington, D.C. area: (202) 457-0250

Foreign Service Journal

NOVEMBER 1980: Volume 57, No. 10
ISSN 0015-7279

American Foreign Service Association

Officers and Members of the Governing Board

KENNETH W. BLEAKLEY, *President*
ANTHEA S. DE ROUVILLE, *Vice President*
FRANK DIMOND, *Second Vice President*
GALEN FOX, *Secretary*
RON WITHERELL, *Treasurer*
JONATHAN L. SPERLING, *AID Representative*
FRED M. SHAVER, *ICA Representative*
MATTHEW P. DALEY, JOSEPH N. MCBRIDE, ROBERT H. STERN,
State Representatives
SPENCER KING AND CHARLES WHITEHOUSE,
Retired Representatives

Journal Editorial Board

JOEL M. WOLDMAN, *Chairman*
JAMES F. O'CONNOR
HARRIET P. CULLEY
WESLEY N. PEDERSEN
GEORGE S. DRAGNICH
H. KENNETH HILL
JAMES L. ROUSH
DONALD MACCORQUODALE
DAVID WILSON

Staff

ROBERT M. BEERS, *Executive Director*
SUSAN HOLIK, *Counselor*
CECIL B. SANNER, *Membership and Circulation*

AFSA Scholarship Programs

DAWN CUTHELL

Journal

SHIRLEY R. NEWHALL, *Editor*
RICHARD R. LOHMEYER, *Editorial Assistant*
McIVER ART & PUBLICATIONS, INC., *Art Direction*

Advertising Representatives

JAMES C. SASMOR ASSOCIATES, 521 Fifth Ave., Suite 1700,
New York, N.Y. 10017 (212) 683-3421
ALBERT D. SHONK CO., 681 Market St., San Francisco,
Calif. 94105 (415) 392-7144
JOSHUA B. POWERS, LTD., 46 Keyes House, Dolphin Sq., London
SW1 01-834-8023/9. International Representatives.

Communication re: Leaks—A Reporter's Viewpoint

JIM ANDERSON 4

A Diplomat's Viewpoint

JACK PERRY 9

The McCarthy Years Inside the Department of State

JOHN W. FORD 11

Interview with Richard Queen 14

Mr. Foreign Service on Mossadegh and Wristonization

Interview with Loy Henderson

JOHN HARTER 16

VOA and NPR

HANS N. TUCH 21

North-South: Negotiating Survival

ROBERT K. OLSON 27

Truman's Secret Thoughts on Ending the Korean War

BARTON J. BERNSTEIN 31

Editorial 10

Association News 23

Book Essay: A New Prince Sihanouk

Martin F. Herz 34

Bookshelf 35

Scholarship Information 41

Foreign Service People 46

COVER: The Bridge, by Stephanie Kung Stryker

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

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

While the Editorial Board of the JOURNAL is responsible for its general content, statements concerning the policy and administration of AFSA as employee representative under Executive Order 11636 on the editorial page and in the AFSA News, and all communications relating to these, are the responsibility of the AFSA Governing Board.

Membership in the American Foreign Service Association is open to the professionals in foreign affairs overseas or in Washington, as well as to persons having an active interest in, or close association with foreign affairs.

Membership dues are: Active Members—Dues range from \$52 to \$104

annually. Retired Active Members—Dues are \$40 annually for members with incomes over \$30,000; \$25 annually for less than \$20,000. Associate Members—Dues are \$25 annually. All dues payments include \$6.50 allocation for the Journal and AFSA News, per AFSA Bylaws.

For subscription to the JOURNAL, one year (11 issues); \$7.50; two years, \$12.00. For subscriptions going abroad, except Canada, add \$1.00 annually for overseas postage.

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

© American Foreign Service Association, 1980. The Foreign Service Journal is published eleven times a year by the American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Telephone (202) 338-4045.

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

Communication Re:

Leaks—A Reporter's Viewpoint

JIM ANDERSON

I am troubled by the implications and underlying philosophy of Jack Perry's plea for an end to "leaks."

I am not arguing that a Foreign Service officer should open his classified files to every reporter who walks in, but by misstating the situation as it exists in real life, Perry draws some erroneous, and potentially dangerous, conclusions.

Let me tell you about leaks, and how they really work.

There is the underlying impression in Jack Perry's article that newsmen wait by their telephones for the leak to come dribbling out, or that they lurk around the State Department halls, like overcoated panderers around a playground, waiting for some innocent but soreheaded loser to slip them a classified document.

In eleven years of covering the State Department, I have never had anybody volunteer a classified document, nor have I ever heard of anybody doing so.

I have been offered "scoops" by disgruntled insiders and outsiders, but the very fact that they offer such information taints it, and I don't recall using a single such "leak" because I know they turn out to be wrong or so incomplete that they are the functional equivalent of wrong.

A senior diplomatic correspondent of the *New York Times*—the imagined repository of information that overheated diplomats divulge—tells me that only one "exclusive" story ever came in over the transom: the rest of his scoops he put together on his own, or with the help of his colleagues on the staff.

I used to receive mail destined for columnist Jack Anderson (no kin), because of the coincidence of our names and the fact that our offices were both on K street. Believe me, it was pretty thin gruel: angry letters from Department of Army civilians about to be retired prematurely whose idea of blowing the whistle consisted of the revelation that the cousin of the base commander at Guam may have been using the Class VI store in violation of regulations.

In short, leaks don't just happen. They are caused and it is often the case that the person who contributes the vital piece of information does not even know that he is "leaking."

The usual sequence goes like this: a reporter gets a tip or an idea on a slow day (often from another publication, such as a technical or foreign publication, or Foreign Broadcast Information Service) and he begins to think and

ask about the foreign policy implications. He begins to make calls, or maybe take somebody to lunch, often pretending to know more than he really does (like some State Department officials, who, in a poignant example, used to try to grill us reporters as we got off Henry Kissinger's airplane during his Middle East shuttles).

For example, the "leak" about the Stealth airplane actually occurred about four years ago, in a technical publication, but the connection between the concept and strategic implication was not made until the *Washington Post* got busy on the story and made the link.

When the information was published, what benefit did the Soviets get out of it? (Assuming that the confirmation made by Secretary of Defense Harold Brown was true, which is something I would not assume, as a reporter.)

One assumes that the Soviet embassy is an avid, paid-up subscriber to the most knowledgeable technical publications, which get most of their information from manufacturers' press releases, which are also available to the Soviets and other potential buyers of American technology.

To put it another way: what penalty is there in the US taxpayer and voter having a piece of information that might help him make up his mind about the current debate on defense strategy? Should he not, at least, be as well informed as the Soviet air attaché in Washington?

We get here into something that should be carefully defined. A "secret" is not necessarily something that has not been hitherto revealed. It is likely that negotiations involving the Codfish Bureau of the Economics and Business Bureau have not seen the light of day. That does not make them secret, nor does it justify anybody trying to conceal them. Secret is a word that is frequently misused.

An experienced reporter works like a trained diplomat, sometimes even working the same territory. They both put information together from the available clues, sometimes putting two and two together and coming up with the correct sum of six, by adding their own experience and intelligence.

A reporter, like a diplomat, knows that his reputation and future depend on his being correct, but also, to some extent, being ahead of the crowd.

Sometimes the reporter plies "sources," people who know something about the story, but can't be identified. The wise reporter uses these people with caution because he knows they are not fully accountable for what they say.

To some extent the reporter shares the risk for the accuracy of what the semi-anonymous "official" says. Generally speaking, the more of these concealed voices you have, the more confident you will be of the end product.

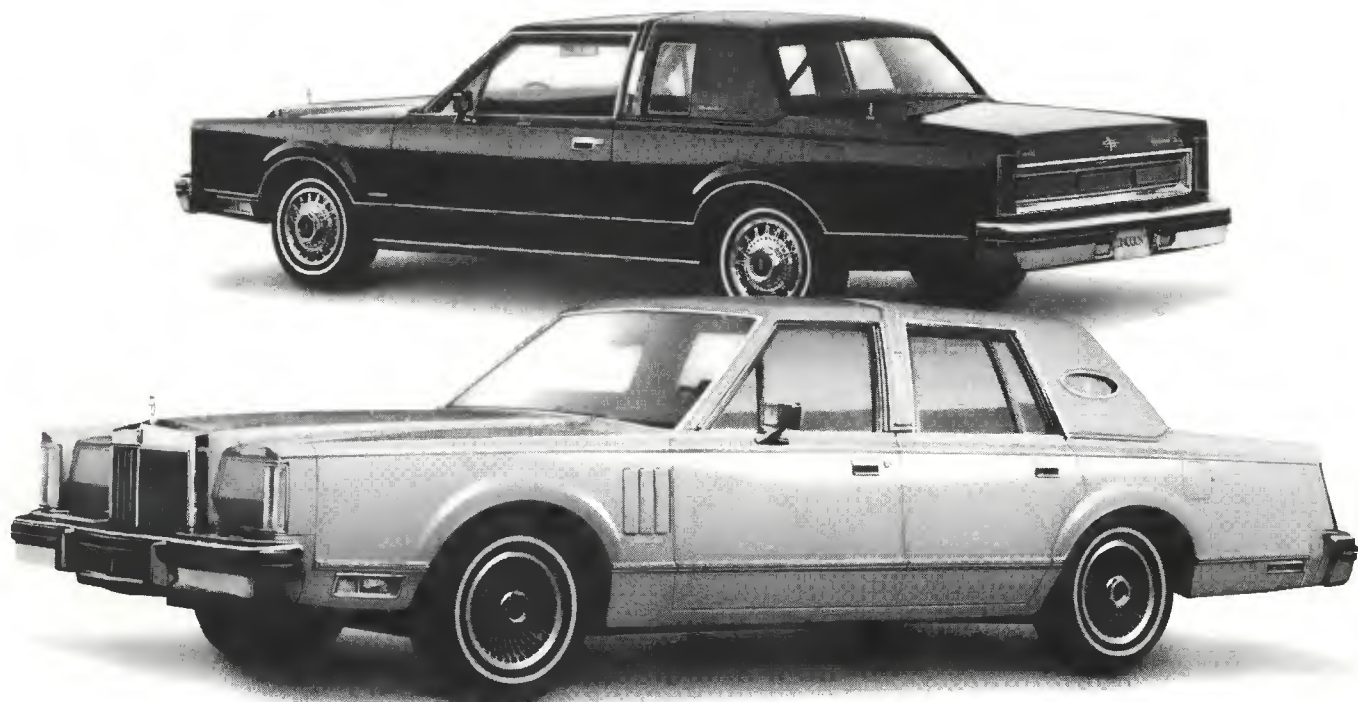
It is presumed that an "official" is grinding some axe, just as a "source" is. Most frequently, the axe involved is the administration's and those are the easy stories to uncover: finding out how the State Department's genius once again foiled the wily Soviets or the devious National Security staff.

Sometimes, as hard as this is to believe, the reverse is true and one suspects that the State Department may not have performed with total efficiency. Then, the reporter again emulates the diplomat in a foreign country. He goes to the opposition and begins asking the obvious questions at the White House, the congressional committees, the embassies, or the innumerable private lobbying groups which are always available to explain how they are being screwed by the State Department (or the Pentagon, or the Department of Energy, or whatever).

Jim Anderson is diplomatic correspondent for United Press International. He has covered the department for 11 years for UPI and Westinghouse Broadcasting and reported from Europe for 10 years.

A Diplomatic Offer from Ford.

Ford offers a special diplomatic discount when you
buy any 1981 Ford car or light truck...
including Lincoln and Continental Mark VI.



The Continental Mark VI for 1981. It includes as standard all the luxury you may need. Power windows, electronic AM/FM stereo search radio, automatic temperature control and an electronic instrument panel with a message center. Of course, you may enjoy these sophisticated features in a 2- or 4-door model.

The Lincoln for 1981. You'll discover that beneath the obvious sense of tradition is a revolution in technology. From the common sense of its trim size to the innovation of its engineering, Lincoln for 1981 brings a new relevance to the eighties.



FORD EXPORT DIVISION

Please send me full information on using my diplomatic discount to purchase a new _____

**WRITE TO:
DIPLOMATIC SALES, FORD MOTOR COMPANY**

815 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
Tel: (202) 785-6047

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

County _____ Zip _____

When the reporter, after such a process, comes to the State Department for balance or perspective, does it really make sense to say nothing?

This is a roundabout way of saying that Jack Perry's advice to the young diplomat—to keep secrets "secret"—is for the most part futile, unproductive and out of keeping with the process of democracy.

Surely one of the lessons of the Vietnam war is that effective foreign policy can only operate with the knowledge and consent of the electorate. Sooner or later, the people, through the press, have to be made part of the process. The Republic did not fall with the divulging of the Pentagon Papers. It got stronger. Surely, also, one of the sillier rules (now overturned by a District of Columbia Appeals court) is the one that says that reporters are not privileged to find a diplomat's birthdate in the *Biographic Register*.

And yet another lesson, which I won't argue here, is that the Vietnam war created a ludicrous amount of overclassification, as a means of concealing actions from the American electorate, or our allies, and not from the enemy.

The simple fact is that we—the press and the government—are sentenced to life terms together. As much as we might like to see the other disappear, we are symbiotically paired, although there would be a lively argument, no doubt, about who is the shark and who the pilot fish.

We both have a place in the constitutional framework and I would dispute anybody who says that we reporters are less moral or less needed than the other end of the system. Civil servants have no mandate from heaven to protect their doings from public notice.

But no reporter would deny that they have a duty to

protect some information from outside eyes. There is no doubt or controversy about the fact that some information must be restricted for military or diplomatic reasons, or to protect the reputations of some people who might be impugned.

The question, then, is how to separate those facts which may be necessary for an informed electorate from those which should be kept from a potential enemy. (I presume that this discussion takes place above the level of the Soviet Union where a photograph of a railroad bridge or station might bring a charge of treason or espionage.)

The answer is not a simple one, but let me make a simple sweeping statement, and finish with a series of non-binding guidelines:

The "press"—which includes everything from the most repulsive scandal sheet to the most scholarly quarterly journal—has no function except to serve as an extension of the citizens and their right to know what their government is doing. Reporters have no rights, including free lunches, except those which spring from that obligation.

The guidelines:

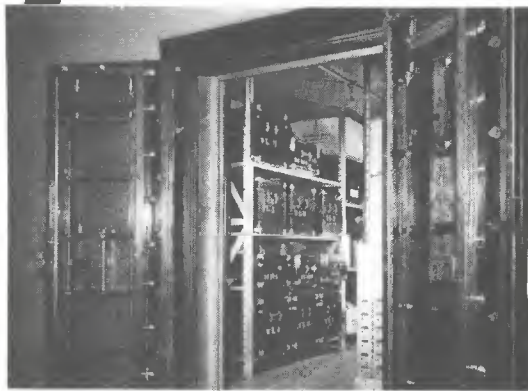
- Government service is not a monastery and a vow of silence is not part of the oath of office. The press serves a vital role in closing the circuit of democracy in which an efficient government protects the interests of an informed electorate. Granted, reporters or their editors sometimes get things wrong, but that is no reason to give up on them.
- Protecting your career is not the same thing as protecting the national interest. Nobody expects a bureaucrat to go on unemployment compensation in order to insure the public's right to know (although that would be refreshing) but the official ought to be clear. Which is he protecting, his flag

Picasso Stayed Here.

If we wanted to name drop, we could boggle your mind. Because for decades, Security Storage has been Washington's favorite place to store valuables. And when it comes to FSO valuables, the Government will cover all expenses, providing special arrangements are made in advance with your transportation officer.

Silver, jewels, stamp and coin collections, and rare books are protected in Security's vault. Temperature controlled areas are available for maximum protection and preservation of furs and off-season wardrobes. And paintings in our Art Room receive the same storage treatment as paintings in one of Washington's largest museums.

In addition, hundreds of your colleagues use



our insurance department through its Annual Government Service Floater.

Decades of this kind of efficient, personal service, and a dedication to quality, have made Security an FSO moving and storage expert. And that's why anytime you need dependable service, it's good to know Security is there.

Security Storage Company of Washington

MAIN OFFICE:
1701 Florida Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009 (202) 234-5600
MARYLAND:
Bethesda-Chevy Chase, Marlow Heights, White Oak
VIRGINIA: Alexandria, McLean

Foreign Service People

With the Gleam of a Proud Tradition, Foreign Service Rings and Jewelry

STYLE
A



STYLE
B



These quality rings and other jewelry truly represent the American Foreign Service tradition. Crafted by skilled artisans for the H. R. Terryberry Company, one of America's leading ring manufacturers for 62 years, in Grand Rapids, Michigan.

QUALITY CONSTRUCTION:

- Great Seal design on broad ring top
- Closed solid back
- Diameter: men's 1 1/16; women's 9/16
- Pennyweight: men's 10.5; women's 4.0

Available in 10K white gold, 10K yellow gold, or permaglow. (Permaglow is a chrome-cobalt alloy which looks like white gold.) In addition, we have available yellow gold-filled cufflinks at \$39.50, tie clasps at \$24.00, bracelet charms at \$24.00, and tie tacks at \$16.00 in the same two designs.

Inquiries may be made to Terryberry Representative:

Mrs. Mary Parr (Foreign Service wife for 23 years)
11603 Clipstone Lane, Reston, Virginia 22091
Telephone (703) 476-5460

Rings, American Foreign Service Association
2101 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State/Country _____ Zip _____

Finger Size _____ When ordering man's ring, please allow at least an additional 1/2 size to accommodate the width of ring top. If you do not know your ring size, trace ring of size desired. (Both inside and outside circumferences.)

Men's rings

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|--|----------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Style A | <input type="checkbox"/> 10K yellow gold | \$297.75 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Style B | <input type="checkbox"/> 10K white gold | \$305.75 |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> Permaglow | \$107.50 |

Women's rings

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|--|----------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Style A | <input type="checkbox"/> 10K yellow gold | \$188.55 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Style B | <input type="checkbox"/> 10K white gold | \$193.95 |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> Permaglow | \$ 99.75 |

Other Jewelry

- | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------|----------------------------------|--|----------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Style A | <input type="checkbox"/> Cufflinks | \$ 39.50 | <input type="checkbox"/> Style A | <input type="checkbox"/> Bracelet charms | \$ 24.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Style B | <input type="checkbox"/> Tie clasps | \$ 24.00 | <input type="checkbox"/> Style B | <input type="checkbox"/> Tie tacks | \$ 16.00 |

These prices may vary up or down slightly, depending on the price of gold or silver at the time the order is received.

Price \$ _____ Deposit of \$50.00 required with each order for rings. Make checks payable to H. R. Terryberry Company. Allow 6-8 weeks for delivery.

Insurance \$ 3.00 Quality of workmanship fully guaranteed.

Less deposit \$ _____ You will be notified by mail when your ring has been cast and the final payment is due.

Balance due \$ _____ 5% of each order will be donated to the American Foreign Service Association Scholarship Fund.

or his rear end? If it is the latter, he ought not to wrap it in the former.

● Learn to differentiate. Most calls from reporters are the kind you would make to your public library, a generalist needing a quick refresher course on what has happened in a specific area and what that means.

Why not answer, if time permits, such questions and set at least one seeker on the path to righteousness? As an international wire service reporter I have almost instant access to about three billion people. I want all the accuracy I can get and I should think that a State Department official would want to help me toward that noble aim.

● One man's "leak" or "secret" is another man's back-grounder. Most information is uncovered by means of controlled "leaks," facts or opinions that are put out by government officials to advance government policy.

I have before me the front page of today's (Oct. 9) *Washington Post*. With the exception of an eyewitness account of a night bombing raid in Baghdad, all the other stories report government announcements or positions stated by "officials" or "authorities." I presume that a diplomat does not object to such sourcing for news stories when they help express government policy or make that policy more comprehensible to the newspaper reader. But to condone such a general, accepted practice is to cut much of the ground from under the criticism of "officials" who take exception to a government policy and also express it to a newsman.

I am not worried about some dissent within the system, and its airing of it. I would be extremely concerned and skeptical if there were Kremlin-style unanimity.

A fundamental mistake of Jack Perry's thesis is that he makes a neat division between bureaucrats and the rest of the nation. He neglects the important principle that a diplomat is, at the same time, a citizen like the rest of us, with the same obligations and rights—including the right to speak out in the way he thinks most effective.

Other things trouble me about Jack Perry's attitude, including the statement: "We all know that if a paper or network or magazine gets its hand on an exclusive secret, it will surely print it, and damn the consequences."

It is true that I am in the business of putting out information but I and at least two other organizations—the *New York Times* and NBC—knew about the six American escapees in Tehran while they were still there, and none of us divulged what we knew until they were out.

I and every other newsman have held back or delayed stories for a lot of different reasons, including that we advance our own cause by building an attitude of confidence with the people we do business with every day.

And I am amused by Perry's argument that "vital issues are ignored or unexamined" because they are prematurely disclosed in newspapers. In fact, the opposite occurs; the issue is really examined in the daylight by the people who bear the cost when it is divulged.

Jack Perry says it is not his intention to muzzle anybody. But there is a streak of elitism about his statements, an anachronistic longing for the good old days when foreign policy was put together by (white Anglo-Saxon) gentlemen, over a glass of sherry, far from the gaze of the grubby, unthinking reporters who only complicate the exquisite statecraft of diplomacy.



FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS WORLDWIDE PERSONAL PROPERTY INSURANCE FLOATER

underwritten by London insurers and exclusively administered by

HUNTINGTON T. BLOCK INSURANCE

2101 L Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037 Telephone 202/223-0673 or 800/424-8830 Toll Free Telex: 892596

Call or write our Overseas Department for information
about our very attractive rates, broad coverage, and
ON THE SPOT claim service by representatives
posted in every major city in the world.

A Diplomat's Viewpoint

"Home/Abroad"

JACK PERRY

There are of course two Foreign Services, the one in Washington and the one in the field. Curiously, they have little patience or understanding for each other, although the same people alternate between home and abroad.

In fact one of the most curious psychological transformations known to modern science is that of the power-wielding, policy-oriented Foggy Bottom bureaucrat, full of contempt for those lazy idiots in the field, who is assigned abroad and within three months is roundly denouncing those politically-motivated idiots in Washington who have no understanding of the American national interest in his host country. It is particularly curious to watch this transformation happen to yourself.

Diplomacy is not the only profession with this sharp "home/abroad" dichotomy; the military and journalism have somewhat similar bifurcations, and even in business there is a like split between home office and outlying divisions. Our Foreign Service division is long-standing in practice and classic in effect, however, providing intriguing room for study—and yes, for laughter.

Martin Hillenbrand, one of the finest American diplomats of our time, once said that the Foreign Service is divided into "department types" and "field types," based on one's predilections and abilities. I imagine Marty had in mind, when he said this, that "department types" have a talent for the organizational manipulation of power which results in policy, whereas "field types" have a talent for the personal relationships and the more passive kind of diplomatic understanding which are prerequisites for success abroad.

Of course some few Foreign Service officers, the best, do exceedingly well both at home and abroad. But some of our best career ambassadors, put in high positions in the department, have lacked the instinct for power essential to policy-making, and have sometimes been pushed around by those with more vigor. In such cases, being right is not enough.

Contrariwise, some of our most effective assistant secretaries, sent out as ambassadors, have performed relatively poorly because they could not let go their policy-making instincts, and would not admit that the contribution to policy from the field must be different in quality (and probably in vigor of expression) from policy-making in Washington. Not everyone is at home at home, professionally, the way he is at home abroad.

One of the most amusing aspects of Foreign Service life, to me, is the coexistence of two sets of stereotypes, "those guys in Washington" and "those guys in the field" (the discerning reader will understand that the euphemism "guys" covers a multitude of saltier titles)—and our ability to discard one and pick up the other just as soon as we are transferred.

... I am writing this from the field, and my memory is somewhat dim of how I saw the field from Foggy Bottom

Continued on page 42

SHIPPING LOSSES OF ALL KINDS



ALL THE WAY...
...with travel-pak

When you plan to set-up housekeeping on foreign shores for awhile—and you're moving household and personal belongings—think TRAVEL-PAK and eliminate a lot of sticky details.

TRAVEL-PAK protects your household and personal property against financial loss when it's lost or damaged by fire, theft, pilferage and a host of other risks. Liberal personal liability coverage is also an important part of TRAVEL-PAK.

You're covered—on the way—while there (including storage if requested) and back home again—when you've got a TRAVEL-PAK policy. It's the choice of people whose profession takes them abroad for prolonged periods.

Want to know more about TRAVEL-PAK?—Return the completed coupon—or better still, call us!

And when you return to the Washington area—call us—we'll be happy to help you set up a sound, economical insurance program covering your home, auto and life.

travel-pak

when you're going to live abroad

**REED STENHOUSE INC.
OF WASHINGTON, D.C.**

1140 CONNECTICUT AVE., NW
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
TELEPHONE: 202-296-6440

Gentlemen: 26B

Tell me all about Travel-Pak.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

LIGHTNING • FIRE DAMAGE • BODILY INJURY LIABILITY • BREAKING & ENTERING • STOLEN LUGGAGE

PET LIABILITY • BY AIR • RAIL • MARINE • PILFERAGE • WINDSTORM • TRANSIT/WAR RISKS • FLOOD

THE MEMBERSHIP DRIVE IS ON

More Than Just a Union

In May 1979 the administration submitted to the Congress a bill to reform the Foreign Service that was to be without additional costs to the government. In October 1980 the president signed a new charter for the Foreign Service which, in addition to strengthening every aspect of our institutional life, carries a price tag of over \$40 million per year in benefits for the 11,000 members of the Service. The combination of a Congress which cared about the future of our international relations establishment and a Service which cared enough to articulate its own needs was unbeatable. Our final tally was 56¾ out of 58 on the changes sought by the Association. By contrast the Civil Service union represented by paid lobbyists went down to overwhelming defeat on each of over a dozen issues on which they sought to advance Civil Service concepts.

Why the Difference in Effectiveness?

First, members of the Service are professional negotiators. We know our unique problems better than anybody else. Between the development of our strategy during the *Days of Decision* of September 1979 and the successful conclusion of intense negotiations with our own management in May 1980, our foreign service negotiators hammered out the details of an acceptable comprehensive package. In the private sector acceptance of the agreement by management and labor would have concluded the process. In government, the traditional adversary role had to be set aside as we joined forces to get the rest of the executive branch on board and secure congressional approval.

Second, the Service, backed up by the Association's dedicated professional staff, represented itself. The teams of FS people who sought support on the Hill had a personal stake in the outcome. We knew all the issues and we knew that we would have to live with the results for the rest of our careers.

Third, as a professional organization we were able to argue not just in the narrow interest of our members, but in the broader context of service to the country. By staying on the high ground of national interest, emphasizing our commitment to worldwide availability and excellence we were able to build broader support than would an approach based on our self interest.

We will continue to ally ourselves with our friends in the Civil Service unions on the broad issues affecting all government employees where their numbers, Political Action Committees and resources are particularly effective. However, when it comes to representing the Foreign Service, we believe the Foreign Service Association has demonstrated conclusively that we can deliver where the Civil Service unions cannot.

We Have Just Begun to Fight

The Service made a clean sweep with regard to our overriding professional and employee legislative objectives. Between now and February 15, 1981 and for years thereafter the future of our Service will be in our hands as we negotiate the implementing arrangements. Our careers will be determined, for good or for ill, on the basis of the judgments we make and the dedication we apply to playing the role legislated for us. The Association intends to be as energetic in leading this

effort as we were during the legislative process.

More Needs to be Done on the Resource Side

Staff Corps—no battle was harder fought than that for the Staff Corps. Three separate studies beginning in 1974 and the provisions of the Helms Amendment would have downgraded FSS-5 through FSS-9 by 1½ to 2 Civil Service grades either through lower linkages or position reclassification. OMB/OPM ultimately were forced to commit the administration to linkages slightly above existing levels, at the highest point considered under any of the options presented in the last five years. A 12% pay increase is built into the new tables through more frequent and more numerous in-grade increases. There will be for the first time a single pay scale applicable to all members of the Service. All will share fully in over \$10 million in other benefits applicable to the Service as a whole. We viewed this as a hard-fought, if limited, victory. Many in the Staff Corps viewed it as "duplicitous," a "sellout" or a disaster because lower and middle grade officers received a substantially higher immediate increase. The Service can not survive with an alienated and dispirited Staff Corps. We can and we must find new ways of rewarding their contributions more fully even in the face of a government pay comparability system which inadequately measures the overseas dimension of their work.

Officers—Lower and middle grade officers came a long way toward full comparability with the Civil Service based on thoroughly documented studies. However, the administration-threatened veto stopped the congressional effort slightly short of a full victory. Together with Congress, we will continue the battle.

Senior Foreign Service—Senior officers received the least in immediate new benefits. Around \$2 million in performance pay should be distributed next October and they will benefit from Service-wide allowances of over \$10 million. Now we must turn to lifting the cap on pay at hardship posts and, in alliance with the Senior Executive Service, move to lift the government-wide ceiling on pay for all government executives.

Retired—the only significant provision which we lost entirely was that which would have permitted reemployed annuitants to earn combined pay and annuities equal to the present pay for the grade at which they retired. We came close but the Post Office and Civil Service Committee refused in conference to accept a provision which did not apply to the rest of the USG. We will continue to work with them on government wide relief.

Help!

We believe we have proved the theme that we have emphasized for more than a year—the Foreign Service Association can, with the support of its members, have significant impact on our profession and our careers. We ask you to do two things:

1. *Recruit a new Member Today:* Don't be timid. Ask your colleagues if they are members. If not get at least one to agree to join. Send his/her name, address and FS Class to AFSA, room 3646 State Department.
2. *Get involved:* At post, make your chapter an active spokesman for your concerns. Let our management in Washington feel the pressure, through its own channels, to deliver the resources we need. In Washington, stop by the AFSA office, Room 3646, or drop us a note offering to volunteer as a keyperson or Committee Member for negotiating ten volumes of implementing regulations.

"Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible,
but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary."

—Reinhold Niebuhr

THE McCARTHY YEARS INSIDE THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

JOHN W. FORD

Few people who lived through the McCarthy era in the Department of State can ever forget the fear, intimidation and sense of outrage which permeated Foggy Bottom. As an officer of the Foreign Service (now retired), I found myself caught up in that political whirlwind in

The writer, John W. Ford, is a retired Foreign Service officer. Over twenty-seven years ago Mr. Ford held the position in the Department of State which today is that of deputy assistant secretary for security. Mr. Ford occupied his position at the height of the campaign of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy against alleged communists in the US government and at the time was under frequent subpoena by McCarthy, various congressional committees and a New York grand jury. He was threatened by the McCarthy committee staff with contempt of Congress for alleged interference with a congressional witness who took to the McCarthy committee material from security files of the department on some of our highest-ranking Foreign Service officers. Eventually Mr. Ford was placed on indefinite probation and removed from his position.

which reputations were placed in jeopardy, integrity questioned, and disloyalty frequently presumed rather than proven.

Most of us had for guidance during that period only our own moral principles and convictions and above all our belief that the American people would demand fair play and due process. In the long run this proved correct. In the short run though, many fine, loyal, decent, courageous officers of our domestic and foreign service suffered frightful traumas.

The public mood of the United States in the early 1950s was hostile to diplomacy generally and to diplomats specifically, a situation we tend to forget but one brought home to me with frightening suddenness on my return from Paris to Washington in late 1951. ABC Anchorman Frank Reynolds captured a part of that mood most vividly this past Foreign Service Day when he observed that his audience "needed no reminder of the painful fact that dis-

tinguished public servants, Foreign Service officers of great integrity, have in the past been punished and even banished from the Service for daring to report to Washington what Washington did not wish to hear, and reporting with detachment and accuracy and sometimes indeed with prophesy the meaning of political and military events abroad that did not support the domestic political positions of higher officials in this country."

It was a period when Senator Joseph McCarthy had reached the height of his power and he was feared by the highest echelons of the United States executive branch. "Positive loyalty" was demanded by our highest officials in the Department of State. As happened in my case and that of other colleagues, following an appearance before Senator McCarthy there was loosed a flood of letters and postcards directed toward "unfriendly" witnesses and containing the repeated taunts of "communist," "traitor," and "red rat."

In March of 1951, I was on special assignment to the USSR in the combined interest of the British, Canadian and United States governments and their embassies in Moscow—to search for and hopefully uncover the latest clandestine listening device being used by the Soviets—a miniature electronic microphone, activated by a radio from some distance away. My traveling companion, Joseph Bezjian, worked for me as electronics technician. Months later he was honored by the Department of State for his fine work which led to the discovery of an advanced miniature listening device hidden in the Great Seal of the United States—a wooden replica hanging in Spaso House, the ambassador's official residence.

This seal was expertly carved, and beneath the eagle's beak were barely visible pin holes made by a jeweler's drill which admitted voice waves to the diaphragm of the miniature microphone. For this and other ultimately successful assignments I was "rewarded" with a Washington job. Little did I realize then what a return to Washington would mean with Senator Joseph McCarthy producing random lists of alleged communists within the Department of State and the Foreign Service.

First, however, with the late

Charles E. ("Chip") Bohlen, who would soon become a prominent target of the McCarthy campaign, and with key officials of the Department of State, I conducted briefings concerning the Moscow "find."

The most memorable of these briefings was with Secretary of State Dean Acheson who also was to become one of McCarthy's favorite targets. Secretary Acheson spent an hour with me taking apart the miniature device, about the circumference of a quarter, and of one inch thickness, with its diaphragm, piston, and small antenna. He was fascinated and he told me, "I want to make sure I know how to take it apart and reassemble it so when I am with President Truman this afternoon, I can show him how skilled I am." Later on when I saw photos of Acheson in his carpentry shop at home meticulously carving furniture, I recalled the sure hand of Secretary Acheson taking apart this small piece of Soviet electronic technology.

As I settled into the Washington job the cold war was raging in full. The laws of evidence that I had learned in law school were being totally disregarded and replaced by massive presumptions of guilt—from personal as well as institutional associations. The portfolio of security situations which I had to confront immediately looked like this:

- Upwards of 2000 personnel were on Department of State rolls who had never been investigated other than through the use of a form letter to schools, employers and the like. This practice came to public attention following the suicide of the Department of State officer in charge of the Finnish desk who, using his bathrobe belt, hanged himself in his Georgetown home. A congressional inquiry ensued and General Hershey, head of the Selective Service, and I were called before a congressional committee to review the files of the deceased and testify as to the reason for his being found unfit for military service, and the absence of a full background investigation on him by the Department of State.

- The McCarthy Committee made known it was ready to subpoena me regarding alleged American citizen communists in the United Nations secretariat. Fortunately, I was able to have this inquiry taken over by the late Congressman Kenneth Keating,

subsequently our Ambassador to India and to Israel, who handled the matter with objectivity and fairness.

- The case of the high-ranking Department of State official, who, with highly classified documents in the trunk of his automobile, ran into a telephone pole one evening in early 1953 when returning home from a cocktail party received major publicity and Secretary of State Dulles ordered a full inquiry by my office.

- A suicide note was left by a Voice of America employee who killed himself by jumping in front of a truck in New York City rather than appear before the McCarthy Committee and subject himself and his family (his suicide note said) to unproven charges of disloyalty which the hearings before the committee would entail.

- A young officer from the department's personnel office was disowned by his neighbors and friends and forced to change the locale of his residence following an appearance before McCarthy.

- An anonymous letter sent to the department contained the names of seventeen officers of the department and the Foreign Service, alleging that they were "security risks." This letter was also sent to Drew Pearson and to Senator Joseph McCarthy, prompting demands for full investigations by my office.

- The case of "Chip" Bohlen, whose appointment as our ambassador to Moscow was held up by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on grounds of loyalty and security questions in his file.

Shortly before he died, Ambassador Bohlen sent me a letter commenting on the recollections of the McCarthy period I had forwarded to him, recollections which he said he would keep as a remembrance of "those disagreeable but nevertheless interesting times." No doubt Ambassador Bohlen found amusing my portrayal of his "clearance" procedure which took place in Secretary Dulles's office. Senator Sparkman is the only other living witness to the Bohlen "clearance" procedure which took place in a meeting with Secretary Dulles in early 1953.

Senator Joseph McCarthy and certain other members of Congress questioned the nomination by the Eisenhower administration of Chip Bohlen to be the next ambassador to the Soviet Union. The so-called "ev-

idence" on which to question his appointment took several forms: innuendoes in his security file or in FBI reports—the "raw" material which so frequently constitutes part of basic background investigations. The most highly advertised bit of "evidence" was a tape recording, allegedly containing Ambassador Bohlen's voice. This tape purportedly implicated him in activities which made him a security risk. Secretary Dulles called me to his office, where the security office file and the FBI reports on Ambassador Bohlen were assembled on his conference table. I was instructed to bring a tape recorder.

As I entered Secretary Dulles's office, I was introduced to Senators Taft and Sparkman. The secretary, with a flourish, instructed me to review with the senators the files on Mr. Bohlen. The secretary noted, however, that allowing the senators to see these files was "without prejudice to the concept of executive privilege."

Neither senator found anything incriminating in the files and then we proceeded with the tape recording. Unfortunately the extension cord for the recorder was too short, the quality of the tape was poor and the volume potential of the recorder was low. This meant that Senators Taft and Sparkman and I had to lie down on the floor of Secretary Dulles's office in front of his desk and listen to the recording. I certified in a document that it was not Ambassador Bohlen's voice. That was also evident to all present. Shortly thereafter Ambassador Bohlen was cleared and took off for his new assignment.

Nerves were constantly on edge in the department. This led to over-reaction whenever relatively minor incidents occurred. An illustration is the reaction of the White House over the leak of a letter President Rhee of Korea had addressed to President Eisenhower which was submitted telegraphically to the department via our embassy in Seoul. President Eisenhower had read the contents of the letter in the Washington press well in advance of its transmittal by the department to the White House.

As a result, instructions handed to me by Secretary Dulles early one morning were: "by sundown today I want to know who was responsible

for this leak." The usual mad scramble occurred with dozens of agents trying to interview anyone and everyone who might have had the cable cross his desk, an admittedly futile exercise.

But for once luck was with me. By five fifteen that afternoon when I was ushered into Secretary Dulles' office I was able to inform him we had solved the case. "The proximate cause of the leak was you, Mr. Secretary," I said, explaining that on receipt of the telegraphic letter from President Rhee in the department, he called in the Korean ambassador to discuss its contents. The ambassador in turn had spoken to the press shortly thereafter. My gratitude remains eternal to the newspaperman who revealed to me how he got his story.

There was a general sentiment and belief in the department during the McCarthy years that there was telephone and mail censorship. And with good reason, considering, for example, one of the "happenings":

A famous lock expert out of New York City was secretly introduced into a fifth-floor office of the Department of State in early 1953 at the request of the bureau of security and consular affairs. He was to practice his trade on a four-drawer combination Shaw Walker safe, whose contents evidently were of some alleged security concern. But this surreptitious break-in artist bungled the job so badly that considerable panic set in as the hours approached sunrise and the damage to the safe became impossible to hide.

Time almost ran out. A new drawer was substituted. The safe contents were never checked. Today, beneath the Potomac River in whatever is left of a diplomatic pouch bag, lies a twisted, badly-mangled drawer dumped off the 14th street bridge.

Department of State personnel, some of whom became key witnesses before the McCarthy Committee, charged that department security and personnel files were being stripped or removed. Some testimony, based on unproved allegations from official investigative and personnel files, was presented before the McCarthy Committee, including testimony by an agent of the office of security. The promotion list was held up for many months under new requirements while the loyalty of long-time officers of the domestic

and Foreign Service was subjected to so-called full-field investigations. Key officials of the office of security were interrogated at length, accused of removing files or covering up. As a consequence they were either transferred or left voluntarily.

I had opposed Senator McCarthy in his efforts to obtain the "raw" files of officials of the Department of State for use by his committee. C. P. Trussell in a special edition of the *New York Times* recorded my bitter exchange with Senator McCarthy and the senator's frustrated response of "I give up," in an article of February 21, 1953. I had removed from access to security files an office of security agent who took notes and references from those files to McCarthy. Roy Cohn of the McCarthy Committee threatened me with contempt of Congress for intervening with a congressional witness.

It was in July 1953 that I received a beautifully worded memorandum from the bureau of security and consular affairs giving me unsolicited "sick leave." This had followed my meeting with General Walter Bedell Smith of World War II fame, our second-in-charge in the Department of State, and Don Lourie of Quaker Oats, the then under secretary of state for management. I was told by Messrs. Smith and Lourie that because I had offended a committee of the Congress (Senator McCarthy's) I would be placed on probation.

I had not intended to write this summary of my experiences within the Department of State during the McCarthy years until I was fully retired. Perhaps I, more than anyone else, can speak with considerable experience concerning what transpired in 1952-53 at a time when alleged communists in government were a campaign theme and the Department of State the principal target. While we hope that capitulation to demagogues is behind us there seem to be some warning signals on the horizon worth watching carefully. A glance at newspaper articles over the past few months will help portray what I mean, the following recent quotes being a few examples:

The American people should be informed of what the State Department is doing—American foreign policy is reducing the nation's allies and strengthening socialist and communist influences . . .

. . . the incredible sell-out to Communism continues. . . .

Anyone that thinks that shrill, mindless anticommunism is gone forever, ought to read. . . .

Back in the early and middle '50s McCarthyism was almost a way of life and the country and people in private life were afraid they could be the next victims of the McCarthy witch-hunt. . . no proof existed but until the matter could be cleared up the target of the charges stood accused in the public's mind. It may be that this is the price we have to pay for the open society which we enjoy. But in the case of an innocent man charged without proof, the price can be very high. . . if less were leaked to the media until some proof is offered, it would help.

Following the "loss" of a country to Communism or anarchy, Americans invariably commence a hand-wringing inquiry into who lost it. The inquiry seldom produces anything more satisfactory than a few scapegoats, but perhaps that is because it is usually held after it is too late.

The McCarthy era was an unforgettable experience. But one conclusion I came to as a result of this experience within the Department of State during the McCarthy years, was that not one single case of disloyalty to the United States surfaced during my period. Cases involving the temptations and social weaknesses to which all persons are subject, yes. But the dominant characteristics shown in the thousands of files I had an opportunity to review then were loyalty, devotion, and intelligence on the part of our Department of State people, both domestic and Foreign Service.

In going over these recollections of those unfortunate days of the McCarthy era, it behooves us to recall that somehow it all began because of foreign policy reverses, concerning which only history could make an assessment. To try to preempt history may perpetuate the kind of bitter quarrels of the McCarthy years that a few of us can still remember vividly even after a quarter of a century has passed. As Winston Churchill said before the House of Commons in June 1940, during the Battle of Britain:

"If we open a quarrel between the past and present, we shall find that we have lost the future."



An Interview with Richard Queen

Editor's Note: George Dragnich, Stan Escudero and I met with Richard Queen on September 12. Queen, who was doing his reserve duty at the Pentagon, had just returned to Washington after being with his family in Maine, flying to San Francisco to meet with some of the families of the hostages, taking a camping trip in Alaska and spending a few days at the University of Michigan where he graduated in 1978. We had heard that the Knox County Airport in Maine where Richard landed in July had been renamed the Knox County International Airport in his honor. Queen said he had not heard this.

We asked why no complete list of the hostages had been released. Queen said he believes that it was because the department wanted the families of the hostages left alone, without the attention of the media, as much as they wished to be.

In describing his capture, he said, "They were inside the embassy, they tried burning the consulate down and that led to our capture. It did not appear to be a well-planned operation. We escaped at first. We were in the street. The police checked our IDs and said fine. A former visa applicant even offered us a ride but there were too many of us and we wanted to stay together. Then the ones on the roof noticed everyone was leaving. They caught up with us two and a half blocks away and ordered us back. Dick Morefield said keep on walking, but they fired a shot over our heads and we stopped. We knew that the group the Canadians later brought out weren't captured, but we assumed that they had gotten out of Iran right away."

Asked further about the media and the hostage situation, Queen said, "My view of the Iranian student demonstrations is that they were devised to get press coverage, and they were organized by Iran. The last few months of my captivity the demonstrations were quite puny. A woman would make the statement 'Death to America,' and be answered by a

chant from the men. My view is that they were organized by Tehran and were out to get press coverage. We have freedom of the press, and the press had the right to cover the demonstrations, but it inflamed the students in Tehran."

We inquired about when the hostages might be released and who was in control. Queen replied, "Parliament is in charge and that seems to be a group that has some legitimate authority and is respected. It seems to be an accepted authority decreed by Khomeini. Of course, Bani-Sadr is fighting with Rajai. Our earlier efforts to work with the Foreign Ministry failed because they had no real power. They were close to getting us released, but were overruled by the student militants. Khomeini backed the militants. The Foreign Ministry did not have power and could not control the student militants."

On the student militants, Queen said, "I tried to regard them as individuals, some good and some really cruel and vicious—most of them neither. There was a small group guarding us so I cannot recognize too many faces."

"During the first period of imprisonment, until after Thanksgiving, we were moved around quite a bit and saw a lot of people, but could not speak. Later, after November, we were moved to the Mushroom Inn, underground, cinderblock walls, no windows. We could neither see nor hear from outside. Twenty-two other people were there until mid-March and not allowed to talk, but some did whisper. We were taken out once a week for 15 or 20 minutes—that really began to affect people. We were taken into the courtyard by the ambassador's residence. It was like living in a tomb."

"In mid-March they cleared out the Mushroom Inn and moved us into the chancery. Put us into a room with a roommate, or sometimes two, and locked us in the room. At that point we were left pretty much alone

and could speak. They gave us cards, games, books. I had plenty of books. A good part of the Tehran American High School library was there and I acted as librarian for a while. We had everything from textbooks to novels and histories. I read a lot of Shakespeare, some of the classic English novels (Hardy, Jane Austen, George Eliot), history (Bruce Catton on the Civil War), French textbooks (teaching myself French). I was able to read French by the time I left with the aid of a dictionary. Some studied math, science and languages. Bob Odde was one, Don Holman, Joe Hall, Charlie Jones.

"The exercise periods were scheduled for one person at a time—and one at a time to the bathroom, blindfolded. Sometimes they forgot us in the bathroom and I met a couple of the others that way."

"We all saw the ministers at Christmas and Easter, and it was most welcome for religious reasons as well as contact with the outside. A couple of ambassadors walked by once. There was no other contact at all with anybody on the outside, at least from the Western world. I received my first letter about mid-June and got no Christmas cards. Some people did get mail in December. They started allowing us to write letters but did not really mail many. One guard we called Hamid, the liar. I never believed him. His greatest joy was driving cars outside. He'd floor it and drive around the embassy at top speed."

"We did talk to the guards, but there was nothing of the Stockholm syndrome (by which the captured come to empathize with their captors). Just before I left for Tehran we had a terrorism course, one day, at FSI and we had a film on what to do if taken hostage. They said establish contact, make friends. As we got to know them, they did ease up and began to treat us better."

"The first week we had Iranian food but the embassy cooks, Luigi and Joseph, remained behind and

gave us western food thereafter. Luigi was Italian and Joseph was Pakistani. In the morning, 9 or 9:30, Iranian bread, butter, jam and tea. Lunch was our main meal. Dinner was soup and bread, sometimes fruit. Luigi left earlier, Joseph in May. One of the Iranian students took over throughout May and June. He left, and we had to start making our own meals. We had to volunteer, used the kitchen in the basement of the chancery. I tried cooking but was soon relieved. Kate, ICA, and Anne, State Department, took over.

"I had, and have, no psychological or mental problems, because of my reading and studying. I scheduled myself classes as if I were at the University of Michigan. In the beginning it was horrible. They'd talk about shooting one of us, and conditions were chaotic. With my knowledge of Farsi I'd overhear them saying we were going to be released, and I'd become elated and then depressed. Then I buried myself in the books, withdrew from reality. I didn't even want to think about it and tried not to overhear conversations. I did not want those ups and downs.

"In the beginning I would daydream, go over who was in my class in tenth grade geometry."

We asked Queen about clothing and sanitary facilities. "When I left the hospital I had a toothbrush, two pairs of underpants and a shirt. I would wash my underwear every day. After mid-March we had showers every four days or so. In the beginning we did not take many showers at all. We had only the clothing we were wearing. We eventually got some things from the commissary store, and I got some things from my apartment which was not ransacked, unlike a lot of others. One apartment across from the embassy was ransacked completely, also the DCM's house. I'd look out and see someone wearing my pants. They moved things they could salvage from my apartment into the warehouse.

"They gave me some pipes and tobacco. I started smoking cigarettes, which I never did before, but got the pipes and tobacco after Christmas. They took pipes from the commissary and they gave Joe Hall some cigars. In late April, they gave us some cards, and Charlie Jones liked poker. It is against Islamic law to gamble. They gave us a monopoly

game. It is difficult to play without talking. Then they took it away—dice are non-Islamic. I played a Civil War game in the Mushroom Inn, never got past 1862. I tried not to read too much pulp fiction after the first few days."

Asked about the circumstances of his release and the students' reactions—"First I had symptoms in December, paralysis in left hand, afterward the left side of my body. They brought in a pharmacy student, then a Western-educated doctor. He was no good, and we called him the Quack. He looked at my eye (my left eye also affected). He saw me two or three times—said it's nothing—a little twist in the spine. The last time he gave me pills, said in two or three weeks I'd feel better.

"When the Red Cross people came, I started to explain my medical problem to them. The Iranian doctor didn't want them to listen and shooed them away. My left hand was completely paralyzed. Don Holman, a former Army nurse, and an Iranian medical student thought when I started having problems with my right hand that I had had a stroke in December. The Iranian medical student was sorry that nothing was done. Don Holman said he guessed you could have a stroke on the other side of your body. The medical problem became serious in late June, I lost hearing in my right ear, then my balance. Don felt infection was in the ear canal and the medical student gave me antibiotics. I couldn't move, only lie on my back, nauseated from movement. The medical student noticed and brought in a regular doctor. The next morning I was taken to the hospital. Two students accompanied me to the hospital, both armed. They said this precaution was not against me, but those who might attempt to kidnap me. They stayed in the hospital room with me, one with me at all times. They were armed with a machine gun and a forty-five.

"I started to get worse, couldn't eat, continual vomiting, double vision, four shots a day—three, four, five, six pills. One pill had a horrible effect. I couldn't control my head muscles or my neck, which kept turning to the right. I thought I might die.

"I continued to not improve after six days in the hospital. The doctors spoke good English. They were trained in America, although the


staff was not well trained. The doctors thought perhaps it might be a brain tumor, then a virus of the brain. The American doctors in Wiesbaden said I probably had multiple sclerosis and to be glad that it was MS and not a brain virus.

"One morning when I woke up in the Iranian hospital, they said you're going back. I thought they were talking about the compound, but they said no, to the United States. You're going back this morning. As soon as a representative of the government comes over, we are signing you out. One of the leaders said to tell the doctor the United States government in evil, the CIA is interfering in our affairs. A doctor from the Swiss embassy and the protocol officer drove me to the airport. They had held the plane (a regularly scheduled flight) for an hour. Swissair took me to the VIP lounge, and then drove the car across the runway to the airplane. They read Khomeini's message about releasing me to my family before I got on the plane.

"About the attitude of the student militants, once they realized it was serious they didn't want a sick hostage or dead hostage. They kept saying how well they treated us—to have a guy age 28 suddenly die would belie that.

"On the separation of the hostages, I saw almost all of them at one time or another. On the rescue attempt, there was no difference in treatment after that.

"Our guards were incredibly naive, knew nothing about international politics, the American system or the American people. Almost all of my guards were engineering students. A few of them used to complain about missing classes and a few of them left. The women students guarded the women captives. Most of the students were from Tehran University, about four from Meshed, some from the south."

We went back to the Stockholm syndrome. Richard repeated, "I recognized them as individuals. Their action was definitely illegal. I knew the government would not send the shah back. I was sure our government was doing things for our release but the Iranians never gave us news. I didn't espouse their cause at all. I can say that I despise their government, and have a hatred for some of their religious leaders, but I don't feel that animosity collectively toward the Iranian people." 

Mr. Foreign Service on Mossadegh and Wristonization

JOHN J. HARTER

If Mossadegh had remained in power in and beyond 1953, Iran would have fallen under Soviet domination, in the view of our ambassador to Iran at that time.

"Mossadegh's policies had already left the country bankrupt and in heavy debt," Ambassador Loy W. Henderson said in an interview that was conducted in segments at his Washington apartment between July 5 and October 13.

"If the United States had bailed him out, I think. . . Mossadegh would have dethroned the shah so he could take over as the absolute ruler of Iran . . ." he said "[and] the Tudeh (Communist) people around him would have overthrown him in short order. . . They clearly regarded Mossadegh as their tool."

Ambassador Henderson is now 88 years old, and he has been hospitalized four times in the last year. He retired in 1961, after nearly forty years in the Foreign Service.

Following are edited excerpts from the interview, in which Ambassador Henderson discussed his work as the under secretary of state for administration in the late 1950s, as well as recollections of his tour in Iran.

Q. What kind of person was Mossadegh in the early 1950s, when you, as ambassador to Iran, knew him?

A. Well, he had a fascinating personality. Although neither handsome nor elegant, he was an attractive man. He was tall and lanky and his long horselike face was as expressive as an actor's. He had a large mouth, and when he smiled, his

whole face lit up and one felt drawn toward him. He had a good sense of humor, and used it to relieve tensions.

He was in his early seventies, then, and beginning to show his age. He suffered dizzy spells, and remained in bed much of the time. In fact, he was in bed during most of my discussions with him. But despite his infirmities, he was a powerful public speaker—at his best in addressing the thousands of supporters who thronged the streets to hear him. Carried away by his own eloquence, he would sometimes break into sobs himself, along with the crowds.

Mossadegh was intensely nationalistic. He believed strongly in the traditional Iranian customs and social structure, even though he had attended French universities. He belonged to a princely family that traced its ancestry back hundreds of years, and, like many Iranian aristocrats, he did not like to show obeisance to a Shah who lacked that background.

Q. What were Mossadegh's objectives?

A. He wanted Iran to become completely independent, and free to develop its own institutions, without interference from any external source. To do this, he believed he must get rid of the shah and the British oil concessions. Mossadegh apparently hoped to play the Soviet Union off against the United Kingdom, as Iran had, in years gone by, tried to preserve its position by playing off Czarist Russia against the British Empire. He apparently failed to perceive that the scope and influence of the British Empire were gradually declining, and that the Soviet Union used methods and tactics

to extend its power that were quite different from those of Czarist Russia. Mossadegh was not a Communist—he opposed Communism as an ideology—but he accepted support from the Tudeh party, which took orders from Moscow.

Q. What was the shah like in those days?

A. Although he was rather reserved, I could always speak frankly with him. He was not at all arrogant, but I never saw any evidence that he had a sense of humor. He worried about the many problems his country faced. He felt Mossadegh's demands upon the British were excessive, but he thought the British should modify their oil concessions in Iran's favor.

Q. Some say he was indecisive at that stage. . .

A. I think he was. He once told me he wanted to be a shah who reigned rather than ruled. He was educated in a private school in Switzerland, where private English tutors taught him about absolute and limited monarchies. He said he tried to let his prime ministers have a fairly free hand, but found they lacked the courage or strength necessary, and he had to take things into his own hands. This inner struggle made him appear indecisive.

Q. What were his principal objectives?

A. He wanted to go down in Iranian history as a great ruler—and one his father would have been proud of. He believed Iran, to survive in the turbulent aftermath of World War II, must make structural changes in its government and alter its way of life. He saw the need to bring about law and order throughout the country, and for this, he needed capable and reliable armed forces, and improved transportation and communication.

John J. Harter, FSO-3, has served in South Africa, Chile, Thailand, and Geneva, and in IO and ARA. In his present assignment as a writer/editor at USICA he has conducted more than one hundred on-the-record interviews, principally on North/South issues. He was a member of the AFSA Board in 1960-61.



Ambassador Henderson at his desk as deputy under secretary of state for administration.

He also wanted to raise living standards and literacy among his people. But Iran was almost bankrupt when he succeeded his father, and he knew he couldn't realize his ambitions for Iran without more funds than were available to him.

Q. Is it true that virtually every time he spoke to an American in authority, he pressed for more money?

A. Yes, to an extent, whenever he had the opportunity, he would describe his dramatic ambitions for Iran, and appeal for grants or loans.

Q. Apparently, you maintained good relations with both Mossadegh and the shah . . .

A. Well, I had many conversations with both—perhaps fifty with Mossadegh and almost as many with the shah. I think both knew I was trying to be honest with them. I tried to make it clear to both that I was accredited to the shah, and regarded him as the chief of state, and that I spoke to Mossadegh as the head of the government. It was not always easy to sustain that line of demarcation.

Q. Was the declining position of the United Kingdom in world affairs in general, and particularly in the Middle East, a factor in determining US policy toward Iran?

A. I believe so. The British contended that any agreement to modify the existing contract of the Anglo-American Oil Company would weaken the sanctity of the whole contract, and that Mossadegh would

construe such an agreement as a sign of weakness. They also felt concessions in Iran would erode their position throughout the Persian Gulf area. I believe they were correct in their view that Iranian ambitions at that time, particularly as expressed by Mossadegh, could not be satisfied by yielding to his demands. In any event, we could not then risk policies that would sharply offend the British, whose cooperation we needed in pursuing our principal foreign policy goals in Europe and elsewhere.

Q. What was involved in your negotiations with Mossadegh relating to the Anglo-American Oil Company?

A. Frankly, I don't recall the details, but they are a matter of record. I do remember being summoned to Washington late in 1952 to participate in meetings at the State Department to consider that problem. Secretary of State Acheson himself—supported by President Truman—took the lead in working out a rather complex proposal for solving this. I spent hours with Mossadegh on Christmas Day, and again a week later, on New Year's Eve, trying to persuade him that this proposal really would benefit Iran. I have never worked harder than I did during that period, because I knew the secretary and the president earnestly wanted to reach a solution here before leaving office on January 20. I sent the department a long cable reporting that Mossadegh initially seemed

impressed and tempted, but I also pointed out that he was sometimes like a rubber band that stretches when pulled, but snaps back into place when released. In fact, a few days later, Mossadegh's advisors persuaded him to reject our proposals.

Q. So the negotiations did not work?
A. No, they didn't, and that was a great disappointment for me.

Q. What were some of the other major problems facing the government of Iran?

A. The most difficult problems related to the shah's effort to extend the control of the central government throughout the whole country. Tribal, religious, ethnic, and feudal traditions and practices seriously impeded the social and organizational reforms required if Iran was to become a strong modern state. The Kurds and peoples of Turkish descent in the northwest, for instance, were determined to maintain their independence, which went back hundreds of years. Further south, in the neighborhood of Isfahan and Shiraz, the Kashgai, Bakhtiari, and other tribal leaders had no intention of yielding their hereditary rights and powers. They had long applied their own laws and acted as their own judges, and they resisted the shah's efforts to force them into a centralized legal system. There were similar problems in the oil-rich province of Khuzistan, where most of the inhabitants spoke Arabic rather than Iranian. And finally, many of the Shiite mullahs resented all efforts to reduce their interference in political and secular affairs.

Q. Do you think, in retrospect, it was wise for the CIA to intervene in Iran in 1953?

A. It was my belief then—and still is today—that Iran would have fallen under Soviet domination if the CIA had not intervened. Mossadegh's policies had already left the country bankrupt and in heavy debt. It couldn't sell its oil—in fact, it had little to sell. Mossadegh had spent the funds accumulated over the years to pay pensions, and he had no more funds to draw on. If the United States had bailed him out, I think it would have damaged our relations with the United Kingdom, other developing countries might have canceled mutually beneficial economic arrangements with the West, and in Iran Mossadegh would have dethroned the shah so he could take

over as the absolute ruler of Iran. If he had done that, I am sure the Tudeh people around him would have overthrown him in short order so they could set up a Communist regime subservient to the Soviet Union. They clearly regarded Mossadegh as their tool. And if Iran had become a Soviet satellite, the strategic situation in the whole Middle East would have been fundamentally altered—in a way that would have had world-wide implications.

Q. Did you have specific knowledge of the CIA intervention, at the time?

A. Well, I was called back to the United States for consultation in the summer of 1953. While I was in Washington the decision was made that the CIA should take such action as might be necessary to assist the shah in removing Mossadegh from office and in replacing him as prime minister with some one who would be appointed by the shah. Frankly, I did not like the idea of CIA involvement here. On the other hand, the Soviet Union was already intervening in Iranian internal affairs. Through its agent, the Tudeh party, it was supporting Mossadegh in efforts to undermine the shah. I could suggest no viable alternative for meeting our problem in Iran. I made it clear, however, that I did not wish to participate in implementing this decision. Having always been frank and open with both Mossadegh and the shah, I couldn't continue to deal with Mossadegh after I knew of the plan.

The department understood my feelings, and agreed that I could take an overdue vacation while the CIA carried out the decision. In August, while still on leave in Lebanon, I heard over the radio that the shah had sent a message to Mossadegh requesting his resignation, that Mossadegh had arrested the messenger, and that the shah had fled the country to escape arrest. I assumed the CIA plan had failed, and immediately flew back to Tehran. When I arrived, I spoke with Mossadegh for the last time, and the next day, to my surprise, there was a general uprising against him throughout the country. Mossadegh was arrested, tried by an Iranian court, and he spent the rest of his life in seclusion in one of his villages. The shah returned to Iran a week after Mossadegh's ouster.

Q. How would you describe the ideal Foreign Service officer?

A. It's impossible for me to do that, because there can be fifty or more different kinds of diplomats, each of whom might excel in one assignment, while not being at all suitable for other assignments. With various kinds of persons in the Foreign Service, the secretary of state has a quiver of arrows, from which he may choose the one that would be most effective for a certain purpose. It's important that individual officers be assigned in accordance with their individual backgrounds, general abilities, special skills, and interests.

Q. But what qualities do you think

“The careers of some excellent officers who stood up for their convictions suffered because of unfair efficiency reports.”

any Foreign Service officer should possess?

A. Well, he should have a good educational background, and it is helpful if he has done post-graduate work in economics, history, international relations, and foreign languages, for example. However, I have known some valuable officers whose formal education was limited. Motivation is indispensable to a Foreign Service career. An officer prompted by personal ambition or dreams of a glamorous career is likely to be disappointed and a disappointment. Instead, a Foreign Service officer should expect to devote his working life honorably in his country's service, and he should willingly accept any assignment at home or abroad he may be given. He should have a pleasant personality, a good sense of humor, a sincere modesty that would prevent him from developing a sense of self-importance, a feeling of friendliness for the world and the people in it, and complete integrity.

Q. What do you mean by integrity?

A. An officer with integrity will

conscientiously give the advice he thinks is good for the United States and the world in general, even when it conflicts with the views of his supervisors or others in authority. Integrity is very important, and an officer without it can be a menace—regardless of how brilliant he may be, how hard he may work, or how well he may perform specific tasks.

Q. Doesn't the Foreign Service system of efficiency reports sometimes discourage complete integrity? That is, an officer who knows his next promotion or his next assignment may depend upon his supervisor's subjective judgment may be afraid to disagree with him, no matter how wrong the supervisor may be . . .

A. Disagreement does not imply disloyalty or disrespect, and most Foreign Service supervisors would not, in my experience, downgrade their subordinates for having the courage to disagree with them. Unfortunately, there have been exceptions, and the careers of some excellent officers who stood up for their convictions suffered because of unfair efficiency reports. This is a difficult problem, but we should try to ensure that no officer will curb his conscience out of fear of reprisal. However, if an officer is overruled, after he has put forward his own views, he should, in good faith, do his best to carry out the policies decided upon. This happened to me many times.

Q. Could you discuss your role as deputy under secretary of state for administration in the late 1950s?

A. I was surprised when I was offered that position, because I felt I lacked the requisite administrative experience. During my four previous tours in the department, I worked chiefly on political issues. But Secretary Dulles arranged for me to talk to President Eisenhower, who told me he wanted me to accept that position. As a Foreign Service officer, I could not refuse the president—and in retrospect, I don't regret that assignment.

Q. What were your principal accomplishments there?

A. Well, I was particularly pleased that we were able to strengthen the Foreign Service Institute, by increasing the number of subjects it offered and the number of personnel at all levels who could attend it. We also arranged for more officers to attend universities, the War College, and other institutions for advanced train-



Mossadegh, the prime minister of Iran, has a conference with Loy Henderson, the American ambassador in 1953.

ing. I had long felt the growing demands on the Service require the development of special skills among our officers. In fact, I felt most officers should spend at least two or three years in full time training assignments interspersed during their first twenty years in the Service—in language and area training, in economics, and in special technical courses, for example. We made progress here in the 1950s, although not as much as I wished.

We also managed to get a new State Department building during those years. When I became deputy under secretary, the department was housed in more than thirty buildings scattered around Washington and Virginia, and I pushed hard for a building large enough to consolidate most of these activities under a single roof. Some said we could not get the money for this, because the administration was having budgetary troubles, but, with strong support from the secretary and the president, we persuaded Congress to appropriate some fifty million dollars for it, and the new building went up.

Incidentally, this gave me the opportunity to realize a dream I had, ever since I attended a diplomatic reception in the beautifully equipped and furnished top floor of the Irani-

an Foreign Office, while passing through Tehran en route to an inspection of our embassy in Moscow in 1942. I insisted that the top floor of our new building should be reserved for the diplomatic reception and dining rooms now there—the rooms that Clem Conger has since been able to decorate and furnish, principally with beautiful and historical American antiques.

I also think our legislative achievements helped the Foreign Service, particularly the legislation enacted late in 1960 that laid the basis for better family allowances for active employees and improved benefits for retired personnel.

But my most challenging responsibilities as deputy under secretary related to the Wriston Program,* which I think we put through without leaving too many scars, and without involving too many people in injustices.

Q. You opposed the Wriston Report, when it first came out?

A. Yes, I did. Nevertheless, the administration accepted it, and I felt it was my duty to carry out its essential elements. But I told Secretary Dulles, from the outset, that I couldn't accept parts of it—for instance the suggestion that Foreign Service officers should be appor-

tioned out from among the various states. I insisted that Foreign Service officers should be recruited on the basis of their qualifications and the needs of the Service, and not according to some artificial quota system based on geography or any other extraneous considerations. The secretary was willing to let me proceed after I specified my reservations.

Q. What were the main problems addressed by the Wriston Commission?

A. During and just after World War II, few Foreign Service officers were recruited. State Department positions traditionally reserved for Foreign Service officers came to be filled by Civil Service personnel who had never lived and worked overseas, and once in those positions, they remained. By the late 1940s and early 1950s, many Foreign Service officers had spent their entire careers overseas. The Wriston Commission recommended that Civil Service personnel holding designated foreign affairs positions should be admitted into the Foreign Service

*The Wriston Program was the report of an independent commission headed by Henry Wriston that recommended an expanded role for the Foreign Service in the State Department.

and sent overseas, or transferred to other agencies, or released from the Civil Service. Foreign Service officers would thereafter fill those positions, as they did before the war. I agreed with the objective, but implementation of the Wriston Program involved some very difficult problems.

Q. Were those who entered the Foreign Service as a consequence of the Wriston Program able to compete with individuals who had spent their earlier careers as professional diplomats?

A. Some did very well, and added strength to the Foreign Service, but others found it hard to adjust to life and work in the Foreign Service, and their efficiency reports reflected this. Nevertheless, I refused to consider them for selection out, even after Wriston told me he thought it was my duty to get rid of them that way. I told him I couldn't do that, because I thought it would not be fair to select them out before they had time to get accustomed to the drastic changes in life style they were compelled to make on entering the Foreign Service.

Q. Did your policies continue after you retired in January, 1961?

A. I was not too familiar with what happened after that. My successor, Roger Jones, had previously served as chairman of the Civil Service Commission, and I understand he did not insist that certain positions in the department, particularly those in the geographic bureaus, had to be reserved for Foreign Service officers. He was deputy under secretary for only a year, but he made a number of changes.

Q. Several different people held that job during the ensuing years, with different philosophies and attitudes toward the Foreign Service . . .

A. Yes, there have been a lot of changes—some in responses to changing demands on the State Department—and I think some of the changes were advantageous to the Foreign Service.

Q. Since you left, some people have argued that Foreign Service officers who do not reach senior levels by the age of 50 should take up second careers outside the Foreign Service. In fact, selection-out was stepped up in the late 1960s and early 1970s to encourage that. What is your view on this?

A. I think that approach is incom-

patible with a career Foreign Service. Many professional diplomats do their best work in their 50s, or even in their 60s, and to lose their services just as they are reaching their peak would be a tragedy. If an officer demonstrates exceptional and consistent weaknesses at the age of 50—or any other age—or if it can be documented that he is deteriorating—I think he should be selected out. The Foreign Service should not harbor incompetents for any reason. But I certainly don't think the involuntary retirement of good, experienced officers in their prime—as a basis for speeding up promotions for so-called "brilliant" young officers—strengthens diplomacy as a profession.

In February, 1955, shortly after I became deputy under secretary, I said, during an informal talk to AFSA members, that a Foreign Service officer should be prepared to serve about twenty years before reaching a top-level position—and he should consider himself fortunate if he reaches such a level in twenty years. I also pointed out that during those twenty years, he could hold many important and rewarding positions. There was an uproar from some of the younger officers of that time—but I still believe that.

In fact, I have observed that officers who receive a series of rapid promotions during their early years—and have not been sufficiently seasoned by experience—sometimes find themselves in difficulties when they are given delicate and sensitive assignments. We need officers whose intelligence and special abilities enliven and enrich the Service, but I think they should accumulate the necessary perspective and understanding before being assigned to senior positions. And I think the resignation of a young officer who threatens to leave the Service unless he receives rapid promotions would not represent a serious loss to the Foreign Service.

Q. Some people believe the number of senior officers should be reduced, because they consider the Foreign Service to be "top-heavy." What is your view of that?

A. The Service could come to have an excessive number of senior officers, as a result of rapid promotions of younger officers, lateral entry policies, or other developments. This would especially be the case since

the comparatively younger senior officers would not reach the mandatory retirement age for many years. That could slow up promotions from below, unless the department should increase the number of officers in the upper classes.

However, the Foreign Service, as I knew it, differed from the Civil Service, in that an officer's rank was attached to him personally, and did not depend upon his position, and this meant there was considerable flexibility in the assignment of Foreign Service personnel. This was important because the significance of individual positions could and did change from day to day. For example, a junior officer in a small country might suddenly find himself chargé d'affaires when a revolution would catapult that country into prominence, or a consular office might be headed by a Class Four officer one year, and a Class Two officer the next year. When we established diplomatic relations with a new country, we would add new positions to the Service, and so its overall size—and the number of officers in each class—were therefore subject to constant change.

However, if the Service should find itself somewhat "top-heavy," I hope it would try to increase the number of officers in the upper classes, by promoting the most deserving officers from below, rather than force senior officers to leave the Service. Temporarily, at least, the promoted officers could remain in the positions they held prior to promotion, and gradually they could be assigned to more important positions formerly held by the less able senior officers, who could subsequently be assigned to positions formerly held by these new promotees. This would be preferable, for a career Service, to accelerating selection-out at the top levels—or any other level—merely to create more promotional opportunities for promising young officers.

Q. Are you glad or sorry you had a Foreign Service career?

A. I would not have exchanged it for anything. I had lots of strain, lots of worry, and lots of criticism—but my years in the Foreign Service were the most satisfying, richest years I could have imagined. I had the privilege of working with people who contributed enormously to my life in the Service.



VOA and NPR

An Opportunity for Americans to Learn About Foreign Societies

HANS N. TUCH

The Voice of America (VOA) currently does not share in the second mandate of its parent organization, the United States International Communication Agency (USICA). That second mandate, as stated by President Carter in March 1978 in announcing his reorganization plan for the conduct of US public diplomacy, declares that "it is . . . in our interest—and the interest of other nations—that Americans have the opportunity to understand the histories, cultures, problems of others, so that we can come to understand their hopes, perceptions and aspirations." VOA traditionally and under current law contributes only to the first mandate of USICA—the original mandate associated with the United States' overseas information program dating back to World War II—that of *informing* foreign publics about the United States, its society, its culture, its people and its institutions. VOA does this through its worldwide broadcasts of news, opinion and features in English and 37 other languages for a total of some 120 hours per day. It has an estimated worldwide weekly audience of some 75 million listeners (not counting China).

The question that I would like to raise here is whether USICA's second mandate—succinctly expressed, the US learning experience—could not and should not also apply to VOA? Can VOA contribute to enabling Americans to inform themselves about foreign societies and cultures and would such a contribution be consistent with American principles of not having the government involved in propagandizing its citizens?

There is an area, it appears to me, where VOA can indeed make a valuable contribution to USICA's second mandate. The connection is National Public Radio (NPR) and the medium is VOA News.

Hans N. Tuch, Career Minister (Information), is currently assigned to Bonn. He joined the Foreign Service in 1949 and has served at Wiesbaden, Frankfurt, Munich, Moscow, Sofia, Rio de Janeiro and Brasilia. He was Edward R. Murrow Fellow at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in 1976.

There is a current legal prohibition against dissemination of VOA programs in this country. The rationale for this prohibition is that the federal government should not be in the business of "informing" the American people; that Americans have the opportunity to obtain information from a wide variety of sources; and that VOA should not be in competition with private communication enterprises—radio, TV, newspapers, and periodicals. This prohibition applies incidentally to almost all media products which the USICA creates for overseas dissemination. (The only exceptions are the periodical *Problems of Communism*, for which a special act of Congress was passed, and occasional USICA film productions of such interest and quality that congressional action is taken to authorize domestic dissemination.)

VOA News is the Voice's most prestigious product. In my opinion, it vies with BBC's World Service as the best international news service in the world. It was not always so: For many years VOA—its news service included—had the reputation of being closely associated with prevailing US foreign policy and was widely regarded as a Cold War weapon directed against the Soviet regime. But since the early 1970s the direction of VOA has changed drastically, that direction being anchored in and inspired by a law passed in 1976 which encoded into a statute the VOA operating charter. That charter, now the law, enunciates three principles which govern VOA broadcasts with the purpose of winning the attention and respect of listeners abroad. These principles state that:

- VOA will serve as a consistently reliable and authoritative source of news, news which will be accurate, objective and comprehensive;
- VOA will present a balanced and comprehensive projection of significant American thought and institutions;
- VOA will explain US policies clearly and effectively and broadcast responsible discussion and opinion on these policies.

(PL 94-350, sponsored by Senator Charles Percy and Congresswoman Bella Abzug, signed into law July 12, 1976)

To strengthen and legitimize VOA broadcasts even further, VOA news was declared to be independent from interference by anyone in or out of the government. VOA news is written, edited and broadcast solely on the basis of journalistic criteria by the professional editors in charge of the news division, and VOA management was charged with insuring against interference from anyone outside of the organization. This latter responsibility was made explicitly clear when Senator Percy admonished me at a Senate committee hearing that if I, as the then acting director of VOA, let anyone interfere with VOA news broadcasts, I would be violating the law.

VOA news broadcasts are based solely on what is regarded as important world news for an international audience. The news division of some sixty writers and editors working around the clock depends upon a variety of sources for its news file: VOA subscribes to AP, UPI, Reuters, AFP, CANA (Caribbean News Agency) and FBIS (Foreign Broadcast Information Service); to the *LA Times/Washington Post* and *New York Times News Services* and, above all, depends upon its own domestic and foreign correspondent staff (fifteen of whom report from VOA's overseas news bureaus). To insure its accuracy, VOA adheres to a double source rule which means that every news report it receives (other than from its own correspondents) must be verified by at least one other independent news source before it is used on a broadcast. VOA's daily news file averages 42,000 words, and it is as comprehensive and authoritative a file as is to be found anywhere in the world. There are sixteen newscasts in English per day. Many foreign broadcasters depend upon VOA News. In Latin America more than 900 local radio stations regularly take VOA Spanish news broadcasts off the air and rebroadcast them over local radio stations.

That VOA News enjoys the respect of prominent American journalists is acknowledged in the columns and reportage of James Reston, Chalmers Roberts, and Peter Osnos. The fact that journalists such as Ed Morgan, Harry Ellis of the *Christian Science Monitor*, Haynes Johnson of the *Washington Post*, Henry Trehitt of the *Baltimore Sun*, Jim Anderson of UPI and Georgianne Geyer of the *Washington Star* regularly participate in VOA's well-known news panel shows, "Press Conference USA" and "Issues in the News," also testifies to the organization's bona fides as far as the US journalistic community is concerned.

So much for VOA News. Where does the "second mandate" come in?

National Public Radio has been expanding its news broadcast service to its subscribing stations all over the country. The importance of NPR's news service—especially its new two-hour morning news program—can be easily underestimated in places such as Washington or New York which have commercial all-news stations as well as newspapers with comprehensive international news coverage. When one travels beyond these centers of media saturation, however, one notices quickly the dearth of international news information available to the interested citizen, and one appreciates the efforts NPR is exerting in making such information available to the public through its news broadcasts via its affiliate stations throughout the country.

I understand that NPR's morning two-hour news service costs about \$500,000 per year. NPR depends in part on United States government subsidies and in part on contributions from listeners and corporate donors. Among the supporters of NPR is the Marshall Plan Fund to the tune of \$100,000 per year for the purpose of supplying an international component to the morning news show, a commendable effort which has contributed to the broadening scope of the news service.

Here now is the proposition: VOA is tax funded. It has a large and comprehensive news service. The news service, as already explained, is independent (from the United States government) and its integrity is recognized both here and abroad. NPR is tax supported. It is trying to provide non-commercial radio news

to as wide a public throughout the United States as possible.

Why not make VOA news available to NPR?

Three benefits would, in my view, accrue:

First, the American taxpayer would benefit by getting his money's worth in the form of radio news broadcasts of high quality. Having VOA News, which costs the taxpayer roughly \$7,800,000 per year, made available to NPR, will enable Americans to hear VOA news broadcasts which heretofore were available only to listeners abroad. (A constant criticism of VOA is the complaint from a wide variety of Americans that although they fund VOA, they can't easily listen to it, a fact which they, as taxpayers, resent.)

Second, NPR would benefit in that it would have in its program repertory at no cost to itself one of the world's best radio news services.

Third, VOA would benefit in that its overseas credibility would be enhanced by the knowledge among foreign listeners that Americans hear the same news they do. VOA would also become better known in this country.

I would like to deal with two potential objections which I anticipate: one comes from the commercial radio industry and perhaps from the wire services which might complain that the United States government would be in competition with them in supplying radio news to the American public. I do not believe that this criticism is any more valid than that leveled against NPR itself, since the latter is also in part tax supported. NPR was created to fulfill a need not supplied by commercial radio. VOA's contribution to NPR would be in the same mold in that commercial radio and the wire services do not and cannot supply a similar comprehensive international news service. (Evidence that commercial radio is not competitive in this field is exemplified by the fact that part of the Marshall Plan Fund contribution to NPR's morning news show is devoted to funding NPR's office in London which is drawing on material from BBC's domestic and overseas services to prepare foreign news reports for NPR. And the wire services themselves are among the sources for VOA News.)

Secondly, I would expect some objection to the basic principle that

a United States government funded radio would be broadcasting domestically. I am, of course, speaking only about VOA News and not about other VOA programs, some of which do indeed advocate administration policies as is required under the law. The fact that VOA News is independent, credible and not "tainted" has already been established, as has its intrinsic and tangible value to the US taxpayer. Even today anyone in the United States with a short-wave radio and a modicum of patience can tune in to VOA and listen to its newscasts and other broadcasts. The fact that VOA news uses only sources which are in the public domain is an additional reason Americans should be granted legal access to it. Safeguards are as abundant as potential listeners who would be the first to call attention to any evidence or even suspicion that VOA News was involved in advocacy or down-playing of events and people.

Before VOA News could be made to serve NPR, three interested parties would have to be convinced. USICA's management would have to be persuaded that the arrangement serves the second of the agency's mandated objectives. NPR's and CPB's (Corporation for Public Broadcasting) managements would have to be shown that carrying VOA news is in the radio public's interest. And, most important, Congress would have to make the service possible under law. As an advocate in this case, I believe that all would see the merits of the proposition.

Practicalities, after the legalities had been taken care of, would not be expensive or complex. Two procedures would be available at little cost to VOA and NPR: one would have VOA make its newscasts available on a teleprinter to be read by an NPR news reader; the other, preferable it seems to me, would have NPR switch every other hour to VOA standard English newscasts for "feeding" to member stations throughout the country. (The only time during which VOA English currently does not broadcast news roundups is between 3:30 and 7 a.m. EDT.)

I can think of few better ways to inform Americans about foreign societies and developments in other countries than by making readily available VOA's world news roundups. The president's second mandate for USICA thus would be well served.



Association News

RETIREMENT NEWS OF INTEREST

As we go to press it appears that the semi-annual cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) currently applicable to retirement annuities will not be changed in this Congress.

Last summer the Senate voted to skip the September 1 COLA with a full year adjustment to be made March 1, 1981. On September 5, as we reported last month, the House voted overwhelmingly to continue with the present semi-annual COLA schedule. Since the September 1 COLA had already become effective before the date of the House vote, and since neither the Senate nor the House had voted to eliminate the March 1, 1981 COLA, the issue is now moot, at least as far as this Congress is concerned.

To Prospective Retirees

Still on the docket to be decided in this Congress are the twin issues of the retroactive annuity adjustment and the pro-rating of the first COLA following retirement. At present, an employee contemplating retirement can elect a retirement date immediately preceding the last COLA for purposes of computing the annuity and still qualify for the full amount of the next COLA, even though this becomes effective the day following the employee's actual retirement date.

The betting is that legislation to change this arrangement will be enacted when the present Congress reconvenes following the November election. If so, an employee's retirement annuity will be computed under the regular formula as of the day of actual retirement, and that person will qualify for only 1/6 of the next scheduled COLA for each month he or she was in retirement status. Any such change presumably would become effective on the date the legislation becomes law.

In addition, the Foreign Service Act of 1980 contains certain provisions affecting future retirees. The principal ones are:

1. The mandatory retirement age is raised from 60 to 65 years. This change is not retroactive.
2. New rights relating to an employee's retirement and/or survivor

annuity are spelled out for "former spouses." A former spouse is defined in the law as the former wife or husband of a participant in the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System who was married to that person not less than ten years during the period of active service. The provision relating to the rights of former spouses to receive annuity payments applies only in the case of individuals who become "former spouses" after February 15, 1981. Under certain conditions, however, an individual who, prior to this date, has a former spouse may *elect* to provide a survivor benefit for that former spouse.

Quoting from the bill itself, "unless otherwise expressly provided by any spousal agreement or court order . . . a former spouse of a participant or former participant is entitled to an annuity" if married to the participant through the creditable service of the participant equal to that spouse's pro rata share of 50 percent of such annuity. For example, the former spouse of a participant who retires with twenty years' service who was married to the participant during the entire twenty years of service is entitled to 50 percent of the retirement annuity unless this right is specifically set aside or modified by either a spousal agreement or a court order. Another example: if a former spouse was married to a participant during ten years of the participant's creditable service of twenty years, the former spouse would be entitled to half of 50 percent, or 25 percent of the annuity.

Since there are a number of technical aspects and special conditions pertaining to this area, anyone having questions about any particular case should seek guidance from the retirement division in the department.

SPECIAL FOR AFSA MEMBERS

We have a limited number of copies available of Charles W. Yost's new book, *History and Memory* at a special reduced price of \$13.00. Order by mail or phone from AFSA, 2101 E St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Telephone: (202) 338-4045.

ED BOARD MEMBER



David S. Wilson was born in Los Angeles on June 11, 1939. He received a B.A. in international relations from Stanford in 1961 and an M.A. in international service from Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) in 1963. While at Stanford and Johns Hopkins he studied in overseas programs in Tours and Bologna. He entered the Foreign Service in October 1964.

Mr. Wilson's posts have included the consulates general in Palermo and Paramaribo; tours as economic officer in Paris and Rome; and department assignments as personnel officer in the European bureau and economic officer in the office of fuels and energy. His most recent overseas tour was as commercial attache in Lisbon. Presently he is assigned to the office of general commercial policy, bureau of economic and business affairs, where he works on issues of trade policy toward developing countries.

Mr. Wilson's preferred pastimes include biking, jogging and swimming. He is also a part-time collector of ceramics and porcelain, old and new.

SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS 1980-1981

In addition to the scholarships listed in the October issue of the *Journal*, the Oliver Bishop Harriman Memorial Scholarship has been awarded to Diana Ray Hooper, a senior art student at Pratt Institute in New York City. Philippe J. Holsey, a senior at Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, has received a scholarship from the Association of American Foreign Service Women.

AID CORRESPONDENCE

Mr. James D. Kraus
Acting Chief
Labor Relations Staff

Dear Mr. Kraus:

On August 28, 1980, AFSA was notified of AID's intention of closing the rank order registry for the FSS Crossover Personnel Training Program. On September 17 AFSA representatives met with you and your staff to point out that the closing of this registry eliminates the last remaining avenue for upward mobility for the Agency's staff corps.

Mr. Popovitch and members of the Labor Relations staff pointed out that while all rank order registries have been closed and in-house recruitment will not occur for an indeterminate period of time, the programs will remain "on the books," i.e., the Career Development Program, GSO and Personnel Crossover Programs. Labor Relations indicated it may be 18 months, two years, or five years before recruitment for any of the programs could be resumed. AFSA's position is that the closing of all registries with no foreseeable date for resumption de facto terminates the programs and as such constitutes a violation of the AFSA AID Crossover Agreement.

Over the life of the Agency, AID has provided opportunities for career development to 40 FSS: 18 Career Development Program; 12 GSO; and 10 Personnel. While those 40 individuals appreciate the opportunity provided, the Agency's overall record is abysmal. The overwhelming majority of our FSS employees spend their careers at the S-6 or S-7 level. This means one or possibly two promotional opportunities over a 20+ -year career and no opportunity to expand their usefulness to the agency by moving into different career fields as they gain knowledge and experience over the years.

To emphasize the disparity in career opportunities and promotion, over the last six years (1974-1979) 41 FSS received promotions with time in grade averaging 7 to 10 years between the grades FSS-4-7. *The total promotions received from 1974-1979 averaged seven a year.* This is in sharp contrast to career mobility provided GS employees. In the last three issues of *Front Lines* (August 14, September 4, and Sep-

tember 25)—which represents a period of 6-8 weeks—a total of 54 employees received promotions between grades GS-5 and GS-9. For GS employees, promotion constitutes upward mobility based upon personal initiative and past performance. Staff Corps has not had this avenue open to them; the Agency record cited above speaks for itself.

The lack of promotions and termination of career development programs reflect a total lack of Agency commitment to and recognition of its Foreign Service Staff Corps. The Agency has no institutional procedures which take into account the personal and professional growth of FSS employees as they gain experience over the years. Since promotions have been curtailed and in some years completely eliminated, and since all career development programs have been closed for an indeterminate period of time, AFSA can only conclude that the Agency has established a consistent pattern of discrimination towards one group, whether intentionally or otherwise. This is particularly evident in reviewing the attached documents: (1) Mission/Agency projections of FY-86 Personnel Requirements, and (2) EOP Recruitment Goals for FY-81. The information provided in these documents seems to refute the statement made by Labor Relations that PM will not require people to fill positions in Personnel, Project Management, Contract, Procurement and Supply, etc. From the above documents it would appear that AID could provide slots for approximately 10-15 FSS a year and still allow recruitment from outside and internal changes within AOSCs to accommodate affirmative action hiring goals and reductions within some fields.

AFSA realizes that during the past decade the Agency has been forced to cut back the number of FS positions and we recognize the real difficulty of meeting equal opportunity and affirmative action goals in the face of steadily declining positions, but the problem is not unsolvable. While we are ready to propose suggestions as soon as possible, it should be pointed out that it took three years (1972-1974) before the Agency agreed to provide its first Career Development Program for staff corps, and then only upon AFSA

initiation and insistence. To ask our dedicated, experienced FSS to wait another 3-5 years for career opportunities is unconscionable.

Sincerely,
JONATHAN L. SPERLING
Chairman
AID Standing Committee

MEMBERS' INTERESTS

Vast numbers of problems were received for discussion and follow-up action by the Members Interest (MI) Committee during the past month. These included the following:

- the impact of Omni-sorter (a new mail sorting device coming on-line in the Department on personal mail overseas);

- a curtailment of furniture purchases at at least one African post, and how this affects newly arrived personnel with limited shipments;

- per diem for families whose principal has been assigned to FSI Washington;

- travel for dependents when one of the divorced parents is an F. S. employee;

- miscellaneous transfer allowance coverage of vehicle conversion required by host country law;

- indications from a major insurance firm that a great number of claims for loss or damaged effects originate with one USG contractor;

- tax-exemption for sale of residence by employee who has been assigned abroad.

The committee meets weekly to grapple with problems like these and welcomes the support and/or participation of all AFSA members.

CLUB ART EXHIBIT A FEAST FOR THE EYE

The walls of the Foreign Service Club are currently decorated with the handsome photo-impressionist works of Bob and Liz Allen. The Allens, after 25 years in the Foreign Service, are turning a long-time hobby into a business. Many of the photographs were taken at various posts where the Allens served. Previous successful shows have been held in Geneva and New York.

Bob studied photography at the University of Madrid, the Ruston Academy and the University of Missouri and has maintained his own darkroom throughout his career. Liz has had a camera in hand as far back as she can remember.

YOST HONORED AT LUNCHEON

A capacity audience assembled at the Foreign Service Club on October 9 to hear Ambassador Charles W. Yost speak on "Perspectives of the Future in Foreign Affairs." Before the luncheon, Ambassador Yost autographed copies of his new book, *History and Memory*.

AFSA president Kenneth Bleakley, in his introduction, referred to exciting developments in the Foreign Service—the first new Foreign Service Act in 33 years, now awaiting signature by the president. He said this firmly establishes the need for a professional Foreign Service to serve throughout the world and added that this was a logical introduction for the speaker, "whose professionalism, spanning over 40 years makes all of us proud."

Ambassador Yost began his speech by saying that, in spite of the title, his perspectives would probably not go beyond the next 20 years, but that he would deal with what worried him most about the future. He said, "I do suggest in my book that there are five new factors which have never confronted men and women before and which are going to complicate the lives of all of us. They are: nuclear weapons; the population explosion (the population of the world having nearly tripled since the beginning of the century. This enormously aggravates all other problems for all of us but especially for the poor countries); depletion of natural resources; telescoping of change (the rapidity with which things move these days. The developing countries find themselves obliged to move forward two centuries in ten or fifteen years); and the revolution in communications, whatever happens anywhere in the world, we hear about within minutes." He went on to say that there was no reason why nuclear weapons could not be controlled, no reason why population could not be limited, no reason why essential materials could not be conserved. "We diplomats who are on the front line of many of these problems and the democratic constituencies we serve will have to exercise a great deal more wisdom, prudence and foresight than we have been accustomed to in recent years, be more honest with the people, tell them more frankly about the dangers, the options and the costs and we must not mislead them."

Speaking on Soviet-American relations, Ambassador Yost remarked that the function of diplomats is to transmit clearly and read clearly signals between nations. "My prescription is the old one of the carrot and the stick. We must maintain adequate national defense but I consider some of the military proposals, such as the MX missile, to be excessively provocative, a threat to our national security. The carrot is the arms agreement, SALT II, except that it is just as much in our interest to limit Soviet weapons as it is in their interest to limit our weapons. We need more frequent contacts and more sophisticated crisis management."

On relations with the Third World, the ambassador predicted that the Third World would be enormously turbulent, confronting all these problems, rapid changes which they could not assimilate and said that we need to assist those countries in this effort—to try to end the turbulence sooner rather than later. He recommended more carrots, fewer sticks in this area and said, "We haven't yet realized how important those carrots are to our national security. Foreign aid ought to be part of the defense budget. The US is now in fourteenth place in foreign aid."

Ambassador Yost then turned to the Foreign Service and the State Department. He said, "I have heard morale is bad. That is a perennial problem. Mr. Roosevelt did not treat us as we ought to be treated, then there was McCarthy, Kennedy acted as his own desk officer, Nixon operated out of the White House. The Foreign Service and the State Department survive and will survive because they live with these problems decade in and decade out. Each new administration brings in outsiders who fall by the wayside and are replaced by insiders." He called attention to Ambassador Poullada's "Call to Arms" in the October *Journal* and its provocative suggestions and recommended it, although he did not agree with all of them. He then said the Foreign Service should think less about "our own personal grievances and more about our opportunities and be more aggressive against our bureaucratic rivals." He closed by saying that he envied those who will be taking an active part in the Foreign Service of the future.

BIO REGISTER UPHELD

The suit against the State Department to require resumption of the *Biographic Register* as a public document received a favorable decision by the US Circuit Court of Appeals on September 25. By a unanimous vote, the three-judge panel held that the material published in the *Register*, apart from marital status and name of spouse, falls within the broad disclosure requirements of the Freedom of Information Act. The department had argued that the materials fall within exemption 6 of the act, which exempts from disclosure information which (1) would constitute a "clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy" and (2) is contained in "personnel and medical files and similar files." The upper court overturned a District Court decision last June holding that the privacy interests of the individuals included in the *Register* outweighed the public's interest in disclosure.

The question whether circulation of the *Register* as a public document would expose Foreign Service and other government officers to greater risk from terrorists was not ruled on by the Court of Appeals as the department had rested its case on Exemption 6. In submitting to the District Court material on terroristic acts against Foreign Service and other government officers posted abroad, the department failed to establish—or even seek to establish—any causal relationship of these acts to the public circulation of the *Biographic Register*. Whether it will request rehearing of the case in order to attempt to establish such a causal relationship is not yet known. In general, the courts frown upon such a procedure as litigation in piecemeal.

The plaintiffs in the case are Smith Simpson, Professor Waldo Heinrichs, a distinguished diplomatic historian at Temple University, Dr. Samuel F. Wells of the Smithsonian Institute, the Committee for the Study of Diplomacy and the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations.

The Court of Appeals cited in its opinion the poll conducted by AFSA through the *Foreign Service Journal* which revealed that an overwhelming proportion of Foreign Service officers have no objection to their biographic material appearing in a public document such as the *Biographic Register*.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

An editorial in the November, 1955 *Journal* was entitled, "The New Building." It reads, in part, "In a very real sense, the move from Old to New State in 1946 marked a new era in the long history of the Department. Foreign Service and American foreign policy. This relocation symbolized the transition from the leisurely days of Victorian gingerbread, swinging doors and isolationism to the faster pace of functional architecture, air-conditioning and leadership in foreign affairs . . . it required a major realization of our new circumstances to replace the Joint Chiefs of Staff in their tailor-made quarters and provide a spiritual and secular home for the vastly enlarged Department and the far-flung Foreign Service at the new location in Foggy Bottom.

"Since that time the Department has spread like an ancient empire and established new islands of colonists in the seas of government bureaucracy. Some of the outlying tribes, while still maintaining a feudal loyalty to New State, have achieved through isolation a semi-autonomous status. Others, such as the ICA inhabitants of the vast Maiatico empire, have entered into treaty relationships with us and have thereby made common cause.

"In these circumstances, it is indeed heartening that plans are underway and funds committed by the Congress to reassemble in one disciplined and neighborly area the whole complex of officials who support and guide the Foreign Service."

Also a feature of the November issue was "A Service Teenager Reflects" by Don Emmerson. While the slang and the folk heroes have changed, this quoted paragraph rings true today.

"To the average adult the American teenager is a kind of money-mad, car-borrowing Marlon Brando. He speaks a language which bears no resemblance to English, consisting mainly of the adjectives 'cool,' 'gone' and 'crazy.' He wears ridiculous clothes, i.e., 'string ties,' 'peg pants,' 'bombers,' 'slim Jims,' 'Mr. B' collars, charcoal suits, motorcycle jackets, very wide or very narrow belts, tight jeans and turtle-necked T-shirts, possessing a particular mania for combinations of pink and black and considering himself a 'real cat' or a 'bopster.' He has a

passionate love of cars, motorcycles and anything else on wheels and is a connoisseur of ear-splitting, earth-pounding music commonly known as 'rock 'n' roll.' In other words, he is a member of a sort of hopped-up 'Lost Generation.' Or at least this is the view held by many bewildered parents."

WILSON AWARD

Morton I. Abramowitz, Ambassador to Thailand, is the 1980 recipient of the Joseph C. Wilson Award for achievement in international affairs.

Ambassador Abramowitz is credited with being more effective than any other individual in the continuing effort throughout 1979 to save the Cambodians. He organized emergency food convoys to the Thai/Cambodian border and cajoled international relief organizations to increase and improve their operations on behalf of the Cambodians.

The award, which carries a \$10,000 honorarium, was presented on October 22 at a public luncheon in the Americana Hotel in Rochester. It is a memorial to Joseph C. Wilson, late chairman of Xerox Corporation, and is administered by the Rochester Association for the United Nations in association with the University of Rochester.

LESLEY DORMAN HONORED BY AFSA COMMITTEE

The Committee on Education of the American Foreign Service Association is pleased to announce that by unanimous vote the 1981 AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards will be named in honor of Lesley Dorman. Since 1976, Mrs. Dorman has served as president of the Association of American Foreign Service Women, and prior to that time, she served also on the board as membership chairman, and corresponding secretary. During this long period of service, Lesley Dorman has shown tremendous energy and keen interest in all aspects of the Association's activities, and in particular the annual October Book Fair which provides the funds for the large contribution given each year to the Scholarship Programs from AAFSW.

When the first separate Merit Awards for academic excellence were given in 1976, they were named in honor of Cornelia and Tom Wailes who had done so much for the scholarship programs over the years. By honoring Lesley Dorman in 1981, the Committee on Education's Chairman, H. G. Torbert, Jr., extends the gratitude of the committee and the students to Mrs. Dorman for her years of service, and through her to all members of AAFSW for their help and support of the scholarship programs.

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

by S. I. Nadler



"Did you say I'll have to share the survivor's annuity with your first wife?"

"My country is the world, my countrymen are mankind."

—William Lloyd Garrison

NORTH-SOUTH

NEGOTIATING SURVIVAL

ROBERT K. OLSON

As the decade of the '80s unfolds, the United States finds itself poised on the verge of yet another North-South negotiating campaign; but with a difference. Heretofore, the theme has been development and equity, closing "the gap," and the New International Economic Order (NIEO). These are still central themes. But now, following the lead of the Brandt Commission Report*, the dialogue has moved into a new dimension—survival—adding new urgency and new questions to the already complex and overloaded program. Is this just dramatics to give the tired old dialogue a new lease on life? Or does it describe the true state of affairs? If it does, what does survival mean? Whose survival and to what degree? Triumph and disaster both come in many forms, not all self evident. Even if a blunt instrument, the question of survival tends to concentrate the mind wonderfully, takes priority, so that a fresh look at the prospect for resumed North-South negotiations would seem to be very much in

order. But to know where we are going we have to review briefly where we have been and where we now are.

Where have we been?

Taking the long view is essential: We have to remember that the North-South dialogue is old, much older than the current generation of diplomats cares to think, and has gone through several phases. The first phase began centuries ago, in fact, with European exploration, expansion, and colonization; it rapidly developed into a rather one-sided dialogue which, in the end, left a seemingly permanent legacy of resentment, anger, frustration and cultural disorientation as well as the rudiments (not all appropriate) of Western civil and economic life. That experience, those feelings and memories are not ancient history but provide the emotional, ideological, and moral drive behind dialogue today.

We have only relatively recently

moved into a phase of restoration and reconstruction or, in the case of many societies, of basic nation-building. It has been the beginning of a new relationship of sovereign equality between nations North and South. But it has also been a traumatic experience for both former imperial powers and their former colonial dependencies, a love-hate relationship too charged, too complex and dynamic to be fully understood. The working basis of aid from the North and development in the South has not helped. This too has been essentially an impossible relation to sustain for any length of time because it involved new relations of subjection—of teacher and student, of donor and recipient, of superiority and inferiority; both sides have hated it, striving, each in his own way, to make it less demeaning whether as donor or recipient. But this has been the *modus vivendi* most of us know and remember and which survives virtually unimpaired in the various bureaucracies established to manage it on a day-to-day, year-to-year basis.

It was a relationship that was bound to break down and did in 1973 when US support for Israel in the Yom Kippur War triggered an

**North-South: A Programme for Survival, The Report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt*, (London: Pan Books, 1980).

Robert K. Olson is a retired Foreign Service officer and author of United States Foreign Policy and the New International Economic Order to be published in 1981 by Westview Press in the United States and Frances Pinter in London.

Arab oil embargo leading to the quadrupling of oil prices by the year's end. It also led, within a few months time, to the historic Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly in April 1974 and the Third World-sponsored Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. This declaration marked the beginning of a southern campaign to break out of the old subordinate relationship, to change the international economic system which, they believed, kept them in continued subordination despite the achievement of political liberty. This was followed in December by the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (CERDS) setting forth the principles and guidelines to govern economic behavior at the national level.

It was a stunning performance. These two documents represented years of work, presented an original concept to the world, were coordinated among a hundred-odd countries of great variety and presented as a united front to the developed world. Backed by OPEC and by Third World majorities in the UN, it caught the West off-balance and compelled it to reassess the basic premises of world order, power and economic relations. "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive," rhapsodized an African quoting from Wordsworth, "But to be young was very heaven!" In historical perspective, it was the inevitable backlash from the South. The one-sided dialogue was over and the North did not like it.

The challenge thus thrown out by the Third World has been the prime mover in a half-decade of negotiations which have come to be called the North-South dialogue. They began formally at the Seventh Special Session of the UNGA in September 1975, convened to translate the manifestoes of 1974 into practical programs, where the US finally came around from a posture of confrontation to cooperation. Congress and the Department of State under Henry Kissinger feared the formation of new commodity cartels and were genuinely concerned over US isolation as Europe moved toward the South in the Lomé Convention in February and the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting at Kingston, Jamaica in April. The US thus came to the Seventh Special Session with a thick catalogue of offers to underline its sincerity in

wanting to reach a constructive agreement. And, to everyone's relief, a consensus was reached and a program established.

The Special Session was followed by negotiations at the Fourth General Conference of the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in the spring of 1976 at Nairobi, mainly devoted to commodities and a Common Fund for commodity income stabilization. Beginning in December 1976 had been the eighteen-month Conference on International Economic Cooperation (CIEC) at Paris which tried to negotiate the broad agenda of issues—oil, finance, trade and development—but only produced a billion dollar Special Action Program for low-

"The Third World suffers from one universal disease: insecurity. It is fragile and insecure politically and economically."

income countries and a half-hearted promise to work on "a" Common Fund, "the price," observed one western delegate, "of getting out." CIEC was followed by two more years of torturous negotiations on the Common Fund which had become the "centerpiece of the NIEO," by creation of the Committee of the Whole (COW) in the UN to provide a general forum to succeed CIEC and by special subject negotiations such as codes of conduct for the transfer of technology and for multinational corporations. Progress was all but imperceptible, generating in the Third World a mood of frustration, cynicism and anger building up in a wave to the convening of UNCTAD V at Manila in May of 1979.

In the event, Manila was something of a shambles, the wave of frustration dissipating itself among the reefs of disunity and the shoals of indifference. Some program components were moved slightly forward but many were referred back to

UNCTAD for further study. There had been some grounds for optimism since a Common Fund agreement had been reached in March. But, compared to the aspirations of 1974, the NIEO was already a tattered and drooping standard. UNCTAD V was followed by discouraged observations on the demise of the NIEO, on the dire consequences for the world, by increasing frustration in the South and by indifference in the North.

It should have come as no surprise, therefore, when the warnings of the Third World were forcibly vented in a scathing denunciation of the North in general and the US in particular by the Sixth Non-Aligned Conference at Havana in August. Nor that the 34th General Assembly passed a resolution that autumn to launch a new round of "global negotiations." Nor that UNIDO III (UN Industrial Development Organization) at New Delhi in February 1980 ended in confrontation, the South demanding massive transfers in hundred of billions which the North was neither willing nor able to produce.

UNIDO III could well symbolize the North-South dialogue to date. For, after six years of discussions, it is clearly apparent that the basic terms of the NIEO are non-negotiable, that the NIEO is less a negotiating position than an ultimatum. Nothing from the North, whether opposition or cooperation has altered that; Southern intransigence has, if anything, only become more strident. On the other hand, neither is the old economic order essentially negotiable. It may submit to reform slowly; it may produce some small exceptions such as the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP), or accommodations such as retroactive terms adjustment (RTS), or additions such as a modest Common Fund. But it will admit of no essential changes. Therefore, in spite of genuine efforts and even good will on both sides, nothing essential on either side has been altered. Confrontation seems to be inevitable.

Where are we now?

Nothing daunted, a new round of "global negotiations," to begin in 1981, is being patched together at the General Assembly. The initiative, as always, has come from the Third World to promote yet another program of "broad-front" negotiations including the usual issues—

monetary, trade, transfers, industrialization, development in all its aspects, technology transfers as well as energy. OECD countries with somewhat less enthusiasm have, nonetheless, welcomed the reintroduction of energy to the agenda suppressed since CIEC. Behind the specific issues and sectors, however, and molding positions on both sides will be the NIEO and the old international economic order.

Will it work this time? Might it break the stalemate of the '70s? This is certainly the central policy question of the moment. Speculation is natural but prediction would be hazardous in the extreme. Nevertheless, the auspices are not good. There are indications that many do not want the negotiations to succeed, would rather have no negotiations at all than have their main interest, whether oil or monetary affairs, subject to international negotiation. The Eleventh Special Session of the General Assembly in August and September called, among other things, to launch the new global negotiations failed in its mandate, the US unwilling to risk any UN encroachment over the IMF/IBRD. Nor was it any obscure tempest in a teapot. President Carter in his September 30 address to the annual meeting of the IMF/IBRD took pains to assure the agencies that "your decisions will not be determined or renegotiated in some other setting." After half a decade of waffling, it appears that the United States has decided to hold the line and to be seen to do so. The results are well beyond us to predict.

Perhaps the most useful thing to be done during this pause is to look more closely into United States policy which has been and will continue to be the determining factor on progress or lack of progress in the North-South dialogue. Because of its economic power, the United States is the major actor in these negotiations so that the rest of the world, North and South, can only move at the pace of the US, whether fast, slow, or not at all. And, since US policy now is pretty much what it has been since 1977, a brief look at past performance should provide a guide to the future.

What US policy has achieved during the five-year negotiations is what it has been designed to do long before the NIEO; that is, to preserve the integrity of the open, free-market international economic sys-

tem. Or, to put it in the best case, to manage the system to accommodate change without impairing its integrity. After all the moralizing on both sides about the rich and the poor, this, not aid, is what the dialogue is all about. Aid to developing countries would continue at present levels according to present priorities whether or not there had ever been a NIEO or a North-South dialogue. What the NIEO stands for is a mandatory system of international economic and social relations dominated by the Third World, managed by the UN and paid for by the North. There is nothing sinister or underhanded about this; it is all very much in the open, but it is insufficiently understood because the world at large insists on seeing the NIEO as a straightforward development program in the pattern of the '50s and '60s which, as we have seen, ended in the winter of 1973-1974. Basic US policy, therefore, well thought out, coherent and plausible, has been aimed to counter this challenge and so far has been successful.

On the other hand, success in fending off the NIEO is only one side of the picture; for the protection of the open, free-market, international economic system, such as it is, has been achieved at serious political cost. If criticism is to be leveled, it should be because the US has been unable to protect its legitimate interests without alienating two-thirds of the world. Returning from UNCTAD V, therefore, without having suffered serious damages, may have been good news in Washington but it left a political legacy of unfinished business sooner or later to be presented for payment. Developments between UNCTAD V and UNIDO III have forcibly borne this out.

The reasons for US indifference to political fall-out from the dialogue is the subject of much debate and fault-finding. But it seems to stem from some persistent illusions in which the US can ill afford any longer to indulge itself.

Illusion 1. That the NIEO is an economic program. The NIEO may be couched in economic terms but what it is is a program for legislating economic relations; and that is politics.

Illusion 2. That the US can negotiate with a program of "basic needs." The G-77 (Third World economic negotiating bloc) in the

Arusha Programme and the Non-Aligned in the Havana Declaration have explicitly condemned basic needs as a substitute for the NIEO and of no bargaining value. Basic needs is, indeed, good economics and the most appropriate development model for many LDCs, especially the poorest (most African countries' policies are based on basic needs criteria), but it has nothing whatsoever to do with the NIEO.

Illusion 3: That the NIEO can be negotiated. The NIEO, no less than the present international economic order, is non-negotiable. After five years of "negotiations" in various fora, UN and non-UN, the NIEO has survived intact and unimpaired.

Illusion 4: That US appeals to open, free-market economics and to "graduation" is an effective counter to the NIEO. The Third World suffers from one universal disease: insecurity. It is fragile and insecure, politically and economically. The one thing it does not want is the robust, unforgiving, free-market system where the US, with one economic hiccup, can swamp half-a-dozen developing countries without even knowing it. Reading the terms in which the NIEO is negotiated makes this apparent; what is wanted is *assured* official development assistance, *stable* prices, *automatic* compensatory finance, *guaranteed* income despite inflation and market fluctuations, *binding* of margins of preference and so forth. Indeed, detached from the moralizing and the political hyperbole, the NIEO is a system designed to *assure* Third World growth and security despite inflation, with nothing left to chance.

Illusion 5: That UNCTAD or any other Third World dominated conferences on the NIEO are negotiations; they are not. Group B (northern industrialized) countries come with offers or concessions and a few counter-demands, viz. good investment climate, assurance of supply, acceptance of basic needs, all of which are swept aside. These "negotiations" are more of an international court where Group B countries are judged and ordered into line. What is negotiated is not a balance of interests but the amounts, terms, and schedules of northern concessions and the implementation of components of the NIEO. The principle of balance is not, however, totally ignored but is provided through the concept of "justice"

where DC commitments are compensation or reparations for exploitation in the colonialist past, an overdue bill to be paid with interest. At some undefinable time in the future, presumably, the books will have been balanced. This may be interesting history but it is not diplomacy and it does not work.

Illusion 6: That the US can reach agreement in the UN. With the GA and UNCTAD Third World dominated, the only prospect in the UN is for the US to assume a defensive or negative posture devoted to damage limitation which effectively forecloses any creative thinking. Waiting for the Third World to break up between haves and have-nots, between oil and non-oil groups, has

“Suddenly, the world is perceived, not as a congeries of fairly discrete political units, but as a closed system of interdependence.”

been a forlorn hope. In any case, sheer numbers practically guarantee paralysis, a subject for complaint from DC and LDC alike.

Illusion 7: That good will matters. This is the most pathetic of all illusions. The Third World has made this clear time and again. It has rejected the “good will” of basic needs. It rejected the Kissinger approach of bountiful unilateral offers used at the 7th Special Session and UNCTAD IV. In March 1979, Secretary Vance presented a new, up-to-date, high-mileage model of the Third World policy “to foster equitable growth in a global environment, not one divided between Northern and Southern blocs,” a dialogue which would avoid “the rancor of earlier years.” At the same meeting, Tunisian UN representative Mahmoud Mestiri countered that “the Carter administration does not really have a foreign policy for the Third World. It is just floating, trying to avoid confrontation by making minimal concessions.” Delegates went to the World Conference

on Agrarian Reform and Development (WCARD) in Rome in July 1979 with the belief that the US, “because of its major contributions in the past and its future plans,” ought to “come out of this conference with an enhanced and positive image (which) will have an important carry-over impact at the UN Conference on Science and Technology for Development (UNCSTD) in August in Vienna and at UNIDO III.” Delegates went to UNCSTD “to improve the tone, quality and content of the North-South dialogue and to minimize, if not remove, mutual suspicion and distrust from this dialogue.” In the event, both WCARD and UNCSTD only narrowly survived confrontation by skillful western diplomacy. Despite the secretary’s good intentions, during the eighteen months of crucial negotiations the rancor has increased.

In other words, US policy to date, to the extent that it has been designed to win Third World cooperation, good will and friendship is a failed policy and one can only hope it is not pursued much longer. Secretary Vance’s speech may have made sense in Seattle but not in New York, nor Geneva, nor Manila, nor Rome, nor Vienna, nor New Delhi.

We may summarize, therefore, that US policy has been defensive of the economic order and successfully so. But that it has paid a high political price for this defense; that attempts to compensate for this cost by “good will” or unilateral offers have been unsuccessful and, worse, self-deluding; that neither good will nor economic reason have diverted the Third World from its commitment to the NIEO. The Third World wants the NIEO the way it is, not “minimal concessions” or substitutes.

Where are we going?

As to the future, considering that there is little flexibility in either the Third World or the US basic attitudes, that the opportunities for liberality are even less than heretofore, we can probably expect little or nothing of significance from the forthcoming global negotiations other than reinforced polarization of both camps and some cosmetic proposals.

It probably doesn’t matter anyway for the North-South dialogue has already moved into a new phase and is

now out-of-date; indeed it has been from the beginning as are most initiatives in these days of rapid change. If the decade of the ’70s has been the decade of Third World resurgence, it has also, and more importantly, been the decade of global issues and systemic change, a complex process which marks the end not only of the postwar world but, probably, of the industrial age. Suddenly, the world is perceived, not as a congeries of fairly discrete political units, but as a closed system of interdependence. The environment, food, population and industrial demand become variables in a vast simultaneous equation which no one really understands nor knows what to do about. It has a life of its own and the crises are no longer simply sectoral or even regional but systemic. The reality was brought home dramatically by the collapse of Bretton Woods, by the oil and food crises of the first half of the ’70s and “interdependence” became the fashionable catch-word. Private conscience became global and, in the paradox of the age, the search for global solutions was paralleled by the intensification of local, national and regional loyalties giving the impression of an inexorable movement, not toward world order, but toward world chaos.

Above all has been the chilling realization that there were perceptible limits to growth and that, not far off in the future, loomed the spectre of a zero-sum world. No one would be immune; developing countries trying desperately to keep up, to close the gap, industrial countries trying to combat inflation, recession and unemployment, all find that the very effort to mitigate their problems only makes them worse by increasing effective demand on scarce resources. As the costs of production increase, expanding population in the Third World and continuing high rates of consumption in the industrial world present inexorably increasing demands for jobs, for exploitation of diminishing reserves of land, forests, mineral wealth and water. Under the circumstances, development, or better, adjustment, is now imperative for the North as well as for the South. But not as we have known it; no longer through automatic growth in the GNP and more for all; those days are gone forever.

*The Global 2000 Report to the
(Continued on page 45)*

Truman's Secret Thoughts on Ending the Korean War

BARTON J. BERNSTEIN

How to deal with the communists was the central issue of American foreign policy during President Harry S. Truman's administration, and it became a more rancorous issue in America during the Korean War. At various times, after the eruption of that war, prominent Republicans called publicly for an attack on China and sometimes even on the Soviet Union. Occasionally, high-ranking military men publicly suggested similar strategies, only to be publicly rebuked by Truman.

When, for example, in August 1950, Secretary of the Navy Francis Matthews advocated preventive war against the Soviets, Truman fired him and shipped him off to an ambassadorship. Shortly thereafter, when General Orvil Anderson, commandant of the Air War College, hinted at a similar plan, Truman removed him. And General Douglas A. MacArthur, so often a thorn in the administration's side, was fired in April 1951 partly because of his recent pleas for an expanded war.

The Korean War had dragged on for a year when the major combatants agreed in June 1951 to discuss terms for a cease fire. In the next seven months, despite the hurling of insults, the United States, acting for the UN, and the PRC and DPRK agreed on some of the major issues—the determination of a demarcation line, the nature of inspections, and the rotation of troops.

By January 1952, there were three

remaining issues—Soviet membership on the so-called neutral nations supervisory commission, rehabilitation of airfields during the truce, and repatriation of prisoners. The communists insisted that the Soviet Union should be on the commission, and the United States refused. The United States refused to allow rehabilitation of airfields, and the communists insisted on it. The United States insisted that POWs should be free to choose whether or not they wanted to return home, and the communists insisted upon automatic repatriation.

In late February, Truman defined voluntary repatriation as a firm American position. He would neither modify nor abandon it. Probably he then thought that the communists would soon back down and accept the American position, since it seemed likely that most of the 132,000 UN-held POWs would wish to return to the PRC or DPRK.

By early spring, a possible compromise on the issues seemed to be emerging. The communists would withdraw their demand for Soviet membership on the commission, and the United States would allow rehabilitation of airfields. When American negotiators informally predicted that about 116,000 prisoners would accept repatriation, the communists agreed to let the UN Command poll the POWs to determine how many wished to return. American leaders in Washington thought that the cease fire might soon be achieved.

They had not foreseen that they were stumbling into a stalemate. When the prisoners were polled, only about half (73,000 of 132,000) wished to return. In early May, when American negotiators informed their communist counterparts of these numbers, the discussions at Panmun-

jom reached an impasse. On May 7, 1952, in acknowledging the stalemate, President Truman emphasized in a public statement that "that there shall not be a forced repatriation of prisoners of war." Such action, he declared, "would be repugnant to the fundamental moral and humanitarian principles which underlie our action in Korea. To return these prisoners . . . by force would result in misery and bloodshed to [our] eternal dishonor. . ."

Expanding The War

Ever since, questions have lingered about how America reached this impasse and how it might have used force or diplomacy to achieve a settlement in the last nine months of Truman's administration.

Three recently opened documents—one a memorandum of conversation by Secretary of State Dean Acheson and two handwritten entries from Truman's intermittent journal—reveal new information about the possible uses of force and the seeming problems of negotiation.

The memorandum of conversation, dated January 7, 1952, discloses that Truman, Acheson, and others were seriously considering expanding the war to China if an armistice was not soon achieved or it was broken. On the 6th, according to this memorandum of their meeting with Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, Acheson said that an armistice agreement was likely by the end of January. At this meeting, American leaders talked about imposing a blockade and expanding the war but rejected atomic war. There were "no suitable targets" for the A-bomb, General Omar Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff, told an uneasy Churchill and Eden. Bradley indicated that the situation could change if "suitable targets were presented."

Churchill and Eden also opposed the blockade of China. According to Acheson's memorandum, they did not mention the importance of Hong Kong to the British economy and their fears that the PRC might seize the British colony in retaliation. Rather, they limited their objections to tactical grounds—the blockade could not be effective because materials could still flow in through Port Arthur and Dairen, which, in Acheson's paraphrase of their thinking, "we could not and should not blockade."

Barton J. Bernstein, associate professor of history at Stanford University, is the author of Hiroshima and Nagasaki Reconsidered: The Atomic Bombings of Japan and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1945 (1975) and the editor of, among other volumes, Politics and Policies of the Truman Administration.

Three weeks later, on January 27, Truman confided to his journal his anger and despair as the wrangling at Panmunjom continued. Likening the communist governments to dope rings and rackets kings, he poured his disappointment and rage into his journal. "[T]he proper approach," he wrote, "would be an ultimatum to Moscow with the threat of all-out war." While never specifying atomic war, he implied it.

The ultimatum, with a ten-day limit for compliance, would threaten that the United States would blockade China and destroy all the military bases in Manchuria, and if "there is further interference we shall eliminate any ports or cities necessary to accomplish our peaceful purposes." The blockade had been discussed with the British on the 6th, and clearly Truman still liked the notion. The possibility of bombing bases in Manchuria, implied when Acheson and Bradley had talked of bombing bases in China, had also been discussed on the 6th.

The idea of an ultimatum to the Soviet Union had not been raised on the 6th with the British. It could lead to mass destruction. "This means all out war," Truman wrote. "Moscow, St. Petersburg [Leningrad], Mukden, Vladivostock, Peking, Shanghai, Port Arthur, Dairen, Odessa, Stalingrad and every manufacturing plant in China and the Soviet Union will be eliminated."

For Truman, the Soviets were behind the stalemate, and thus the PRC and DPRK, by implication, were pawns or puppets. The Soviets could not be trusted, he charged, for they had broken every agreement and retained millions of POWs from World War II. And he even added a theme—one that would become popular in the Eisenhower-Dulles campaign later in 1952 of "liberation." "Give Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Rumania and Hungary their freedom," Truman demanded.

His bellicose words, confided to the privacy of his journal, reveal his frustration and rage. But it would be a mistake, in the absence of confirming evidence, to conclude that he was seriously considering an ultimatum and all-out war, including atomic bombs. In fact, the year before, in January 1951, when American forces were still reeling from China's massive entry into the war, Truman had rejected the secret counsel of W. Stuart Symington, director

of the National Security Resources Board, who had urged the bombing and blockade of China and a nuclear ultimatum to the Soviet Union.

Truman's private diary entry of January 27, 1952—unknown until it was opened at the Truman Library in late 1978 and recently publicized by Professor Francis Loewenheim of Rice University—should probably be interpreted as a catharsis. It was a way for Truman to discharge anger in private, without responsibility, so that he could maintain control in public and restrain the demands of others that he abandon limited for all-out war.

This was neither the first nor the last time that Truman penned such bellicose thoughts in his private notes. In 1946, when beset by bitter Soviet-American differences, he had sketched similar angry thoughts. "Get plenty of atomic bombs on hand—drop one on Stalin, put the United Nations to work and eventually set up a free world," he had written.

For Truman, the frustrations of 1946 had paled in contrast as the Korean War dragged on. The growing casualties, the strains in the western alliance, the demands for escalation or withdrawal, the domestic attacks on himself and Acheson—all contributed to his anguish.

On May 18, 1952, eleven days after negotiations at Panmunjom had broken down, Truman returned to his diary to express his bitterness. He wrote a self-righteous diatribe, as if it was a text for his negotiators in Korea, who were to quote his words. "You either accept our fair and just proposal or you will be completely destroyed," he penned. It was not an ultimatum that he ever delivered.

Again, as in his entry of January 27, he dwelled on the themes of World War II POWs not returned and children stolen by the communists. And this time, he was even more self-righteous. Confucius, Buddha, the Declaration of Independence, the French declaration of liberty and equality, and chapters of the Gospels of Matthew and John would all condemn the Soviets. Morality, honor, and decency, as if they had a single universal interpretation, would all ratify the American position. Because he so mistrusted the communists, who, he implied, would twist all truth, the American negotiators should have their own interpreters present this material at

Panmunjom. There would of course be a wider audience—the world. "Be sure the world press is briefed on every meeting where you follow these instructions," he concluded.

Former aides and officials of Truman state that Truman never discussed the threats of all-out war with them. General Matthew Ridgway, then UN commander in Korea, said, "I never had an intimation that the president had any such thoughts." W. Averell Harriman, a special assistant to the president in 1952, and Dean Rusk, then assistant secretary of state for Far Eastern affairs, have agreed that they were surprised by Truman's journal entries and he never discussed these notions with them.

For Truman, as for many Americans in the Korean War, the struggle was between Christianity and "Anti-Christ." These deeply held convictions could make preventive war and nuclear war thinkable in 1952. Though Truman publicly resisted such demands, perhaps largely because of the fears of reprisal and the defection of allies, he occasionally allowed himself, in the privacy of his own journal, to dwell on such actions.

"There's a bit of Walter Mitty in all of us," said Charles Burton Marshall, a member of the State Department's policy planning staff during the Korean War, in looking back upon what he termed Truman's "reveries" of 1952. "A president is responsible for his actions," Marshall asserted, "not his fantasies." But a president, like others, can be understood by his fantasies as well as his actions.

Bombing and Blockading China

Here is an abridged and slightly edited version of Dean Acheson's "Memorandum of Conversation at Dinner at British Embassy, Sunday, January 6, 1952," prepared on January 7, 1952:

... I said that our difficulties with the British government over the past couple of years in connection with China had grown from a generalization which [was] well enough at one time, but I thought was not any longer helpful in trying to devise policy.

"This generalization was that there were inherent conflicts between Russian and Chinese interests and that the object of policy should be to split the Chinese communists from

the Russian communists and develop a Tito situation. I said that I had also said this in January, 1950, when it seemed to be a real possibility. However, Chinese intervention in Korea had made this hope seem very distant and impossible of attainment at the present. I did not think that over any period of time with which we could now be concerned it was possible to create a divergence between the two communist groups. [Prime Minister Winston] Churchill and [Foreign Minister Anthony] Eden agreed with this.

"I said that our policy—and I thought any policy—toward China at the present time had to be pragmatic; we had to go from existing situations as they were, dealing with things which had to be dealt with; and that perhaps, as we went along, the future might be clearer.

"The first obvious fact was that we were fighting the Chinese in Korea, had sustained very heavy losses, and were now at a critical point, when we would either have an armistice or would be faced with a most serious development in the Korean fighting.

"Mr. Eden interrupted to ask whether I thought there would be an armistice, and Mr. Churchill asked, 'If so, when?' I said that I thought there would be an armistice, and, if I had to make a guess, I would guess that it would come about toward the end of January.

"General [Omar] Bradley [chairman of the Joint Chiefs] said that he agreed on both points. Mr. Churchill said that he thought that from a military point of view an armistice was probably a mistake. He thought that the Russians had proposed the armistice because the Chinese were suffering heavily and they thought there might be a rout of the Chinese army. He thought that we had properly entered into discussions; that it was necessary to maintain a solidity with our allies; but he doubted its wisdom from a military point of view. General Bradley then pointed out that regardless of an armistice, he did not think it advisable from a military point of view to advance much further than we were at present. He gave all the reasons with which we are familiar for this, most of which appeared to be novel to Mr. Churchill. But, after listening to General Bradley, he agreed that he had possibly been mistaken in his view.

"We then returned to the main thread of the discussion.

"I said that the first matter on which we wanted and needed British cooperation was in connection with decisions that would have to be made in the event that there was no armistice or in the event that an armistice entered into was later broken. In either event two things seemed to us essential: One was to carry air war to China; the other one was to cut off all ocean trade with China.

"The first matter led to a general discussion of what sort of bombing we were talking about. General Bradley and [Secretary of Defense Robert] Lovett made it clear that we were not thinking of bombing population centers; all the targets would be military targets; and the effort would be to break up transportation and air concentrations. He pointed out about where these were. After considerable discussion of this, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden seemed to understand the point. Mr. Eden kept saying that the matter had not been put before the cabinet and they were not in a position to agree. I made it clear that we were not asking them to agree now, but were merely discussing the matter so that they could understand our position more clearly.

"We then discussed the blockade. Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden thought that this would be futile because we could not and should not blockade Dairen and Port Arthur. . . General Bradley and I pointed out that this was not the case. . . We urged strongly that the blockade was essential in the event of a renewal of hostilities.

"The conversation then went on to the subject of the inadvisability, from Mr. Churchill's point of view of using atomic bombs in Korea or China. This led to considerable talk, in which General Bradley pointed out that it was not our intention to use these bombs, since up to the present time no suitable targets were presented. If the situation changed in any way, so that suitable targets were presented, a new situation would arise. So far this was entirely theoretical."

Truman's Journal Writings

Here are Truman's complete journal entries for January 27 and May 18, 1952, with occasional errors noted by "sic" and a few insertions in brackets.

Jan. 27, 1952

"The situation in the Far East is becoming more and more difficult. Dealing with communist governments is like an honest man trying to deal with a numbers racket king or the head of a dope ring. The communist governments, [like] the heads of numbers and dope rackets, have no sense of honor and no moral code.

"It now looks as if all that the Chinese wanted when they asked for a cease fire [in June 1951] was a chance to import war materials and resupply their front lines.

"It seems to me that the proper approach now, would be an ultimatum with a ten day expiration limit, informing Moscow that we intend to blockade the China coast from the Korean border to Indo-China, and that we intend to destroy every military base in Manchuria, including submarine bases, by means now in our control and if there is further interference we shall eliminate any ports or cities necessary to accomplish our peaceful purposes.

"That this situation can be avoided by the withdrawal of all Chinese troops from Korea and the stoppage of all supplies of war materials by Russia to Communist China. We mean business. We did not start this Korean affair but we intend to end it for the benefit of the Korean people, the authority of the United Nations and the peace of the world.

"We are tired of these phony calls for peace when there is no intention to make an honest approach to peace.

"There are events in the immediate past which make it perfectly plain that the Soviet government does not want peace.

"It has broken every agreement made at Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam.

"It raped Poland, Roumania, Czechoslovakia (sic), Hungary, Estonia, and Latvia and Lithuania.

"The citizens of these countries who believe in self government have either been murdered or are in slave labor camps.

"Prisoners of World War II to the number of some 3,000,000 are still held at slave labor contrary to cease fire terms.

"Children have been kidnapped in every country occupied by Russia by the thousands and never again heard from.

"This program is evidently a continuing one.

(Continued on page 44)

Book Essay

A NEW PRINCE SIHANOUK

Martin F. Herz

There are now four major contenders for power in Kampuchea, formerly known as Cambodia: 1) The essentially colonial, Vietnamese-imposed regime of Heng Samrin; 2) the remnants of the genocidal Khmer Rouge regime of Pol Pot, both of them communist and deeply despised by the Cambodian people; 3) the person of Prince Sihanouk, formerly a figurehead and prisoner of the Khmer Rouge, who is now attempting to rally the various émigré factions behind himself; and 4) the Khmer National Liberation Front which is situated, like the remnants of the Khmer Rouge, on the Cambodian-Thai frontier and is fielding minor guerrilla forces that mainly fight the Vietnamese occupiers and their puppets. As usual when a country suffers multiple misfortunes, there are many factions among aspirants for power, but the foregoing contenders are the most important; and among the non-communists Prince Sihanouk is probably the most important.

In his latest book, *War and Hope—The Case for Cambodia* the prince displays himself in what might be called a new incarnation, as an anti-communist who perceives "imperialism" more in the Vietnamese than he once did in the Americans. ["Since 1975," he said in a press conference in Washington in early 1980, "I have had the time to compare this US imperialism with Vietnamese imperialism and Khmer Rouge communism. . . . The communists understand only the language of force. They are basically immoral."] But his book was written in 1979, primarily for a French-speaking readership, and he still tries to justify the help he gave to the Vietnamese communists up to the time when he was deposed in 1970:

I have been criticized for giving various kinds of help to the North Vietnamese and Vietcong in their fight against American imperialism. Lon Nol, Sirk Matak, Son Ngoc Thanh, and their followers sentenced me to death for it, claiming that colonization by the Americans was less serious than the Vietnamese threat. As for myself, I never asked Cambodia

to choose between two or three different types of colonialism. All I ever wanted for my country was total independence and unquestioned territorial integrity.

It must be said immediately that if Prince Sihanouk helped the North Vietnamese and Vietcong communists during their war of aggression and civil war, it certainly was not because of any ideological affinity for their cause. He no doubt hoped to incur the gratitude of the victors, and he says as much in this book; but he conveniently overlooks what he has said on other occasions, that his regime was less than "totally independent" and that it enjoyed less than "unquestioned territorial integrity" *because of that very assistance*. In a moment of candor he described his erstwhile dependent relationship to an American journalist (Henry Kamm in the *New York Times*, July 4, 1973):

To placate his army, then headed by Marshal Lon Nol, and angry over the loss of American assistance, Prince Sihanouk said, he allowed the port of Sihanoukville—now known as Kompong Som—to be used by Chinese ships. He said they delivered military equipment, arms and ammunition to the Vietnamese communist troops based on both sides of the Cambodian-South Vietnamese border.

"There were two-thirds for the Vietcong and one-third for my army," the prince said. "That way I didn't have to provide in my budget for military equipment, arms and ammunition. Two-thirds for the Vietcong, one-third for yourself—at that rate one sells oneself. So that was my end, that was my end. There is the truth."

The Sihanouk who wrote *War and Hope* is somewhat less repentant. He still (or again) says: "Doing everything possible to help a neighbor threatened by imperialism was a duty the kingdom of Cambodia could not shirk." And while he brands the Heng Samrin regime in Phnom Penh a colonialist puppet regime imposed on his country by the Vietnamese invaders, he blames the Vietnamese invasion of 1978/79 much more on the follies of Pol Pot and on Vietnamese troubles in the aftermath of their long war against the Americans, than on any inherent aggressiveness of Vietnam. To do so would, after all, undermine the ra-

tionale for his erstwhile aid to the Vietnamese communists. In fact, he blames the Soviet Union more than he blames the Vietnamese whose aggression they are supporting. "Soviet-backed Vietnamese expansionism in Southeast Asia," he says in a final chapter entitled "*Post-script*," "may well trigger a Third World War." (If it were not Soviet-backed, the implicit argument goes, it would not be so dangerous.) But from this he draws only the conclusion that countries desirous of peace must withdraw recognition from the Khmer Rouge (and presumably transfer it to him), and he does not call upon his compatriots—or anyone else—to fight the invaders: He is looking for a compromise between the Chinese and the Vietnamese that may yet result in a neutral Cambodia.

And he makes a good case for such a Cambodia. The Vietnamese, he says, must realize that their puppet regime in Phnom Penh cannot govern the country because of the unalterable opposition of the people. The Chinese must realize that the Khmer Rouge, who had transformed "all of Kampuchea into a vast gulag, an immense slaughterhouse worthy of Auschwitz," have no chance of winning even grudging acceptance by the Cambodians; the Russians should prefer Cambodia as a neutral buffer and should promote a reconciliation between Cambodians and Vietnamese, which is only possible if the latter abandon their conquest. What Sihanouk is looking for is an internationally guaranteed neutrality for Cambodia ("our Cambodia would be . . . truly neutral, not merely nonaligned"), free elections on a multiparty democratic basis, complete freedom of the press, and a "liberal, even capitalist and free-enterprise system."

One oddity of Prince Sihanouk's book is that nowhere in it—except in the "Introduction" written by Shawcross himself—is there support *by the prince* for Shawcross's odd theory that the United States, by its incursion into Cambodia in May, 1970, "pushed" the Vietnamese communists into that country. This is pure moonshine: Sihanouk was overthrown on March 18, 1970. The government of Lon Nol, in early March, 1970, peremptorily called on the Vietnamese communists to vacate Cambodian territory, whereupon the Vietnamese communists at-

tacked into Cambodia on a broad front toward the end of March, 1970. The American-South Vietnamese incursion began only on April 30, more than a month later, when the Vietnamese already controlled one-third of Cambodia. To claim that the Americans caused the Vietnamese in 1970 to attack in the direction of Phnom Penh, or that the Americans were responsible for the Vietnamese "unleashing" of the Khmer Rouge, is like claiming that elephant tusks are made out of piano keys.

For readers who enjoy trying out historical parallels, the career of Prince Sihanouk has certain similarities to that of Alcibiades, the Athenian politician and general who fell in disgrace and, rather than stand trial in Athens, went over to the side of Sparta, which was then at war with Athens. [Sihanouk, upon being overthrown by people who wished to rid his country of the Vietnamese occu-

Tell That to the Cambodians!

In 1972, in his book *The Crippled Giant*, Senator J. William Fulbright wrote the following (pp.92/93):

"At the risk of being accused of every sin from racism to communism, I stress the irrelevance of ideology to poor, peasant populations. . . . What earthly difference does it make to nomadic tribes or uneducated subsistence farmers in Vietnam, Cambodia or Laos, whether they have a military dictator, a royal prince or a socialist commissar in some distant capital that they have never seen and may never even have heard of?"

The difference, for Cambodia, may be two million dead Cambodians who might be alive today, but for the "irrelevant ideology" of the Khmer Rouge.

M.F.H.

piers of Cambodia's border areas, went over to the side of the Vietnamese who were then invading Cambodia and became a standard-bearer of the Khmer Rouge in 1970.] Alcibiades later fell into trouble with the Spartan king and fled to the protection of the Persians. [Sihanouk sought and found refuge in China after the defeat of the Khmer Rouge by the Vietnamese in 1978.] Later—and this is no doubt

what Sihanouk hopes to duplicate—Alcibiades was recalled to Athens. There ensued a period of Athenian successes, but the story ended badly, with Alcibiades exiled to the Hellespont. In 404 B.C., at the request of the Spartans, he was murdered. As the Columbia Encyclopedia summarizes his life: "Historians have disagreed in their estimate of Alcibiades from his own day to the present; some have viewed him as a highly competent and unappreciated leader, but most have considered him largely responsible for the decline of Athens."

WAR AND HOPE: *The Case for Cambodia*, by Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Pantheon Books, \$10.95.

Bookshelf

A Hidden Utopia

THE WAY TO SHAMBHALA: *A Search for the Mythical Kingdom beyond the Himalayas*, by Edwin Bernbaum. Doubleday Anchor, \$6.95.

The title suggests Hilton and Tolkien under the auspices of a guru or tutelary deity but the book is a whole lot better. Shambhala is the pure land, the hidden valley in which, according to Tibetan Buddhists, knowledge, beauty and tolerance survive. The myth may represent the possibilities of the discovered and tamed inner self, or perhaps it is an echo of a now vanished Central Asian kingdom of exceptional wisdom, harmony and achievement. Then, tantalising thought, maybe there really is a Shambhala which has eluded detection in the no man's land between the Tibetan Himalayas and the Altai Mountains of Mongolia.

Edwin Bernbaum inspects the three possibilities and develops their cases in a well-researched and highly readable manner. His explanations of Tibetan Buddhism (ever a nebulous subject and, in the case of Tantric Buddhism, sometimes downright lurid) are lucid and non-condescending. His discussion of the universality of belief in a hidden utopia in Central Asia is fascinating. The Chinese called it Hsi Wang Mu and the nomadic Kirghiz invested their hopes in Janaidar. For the Hindus it was Uttarakuru, and there was a sect of dissident Russian Christians who yearned for the perfections of Belvodye—all in the same

region. And the universality doesn't stop with geography. Bernbaum even brings Westbrook Pegler into the tale; and a lama (whose omission from Kipling's *Kim* can only have been an oversight) with the delightfully suspect name of Dorjjeff.

An encouraging note in these troubled times: at some point in the next century or two, when the world has succumbed utterly to materialism and tyranny, the mists that surround Shambhala will lift and the forces of good will sally forth to prevail against the forces of evil.

—PAMELA BURDICK

Where We Fit The War

THE SOUTH IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION 1780-1781, by Lucien Agniel. Artpress International, Myrtle Beach, S.C. 1980 (revised) \$7.95.

It is appropriate to read this fine summary of part of the first war for independence in North America on the anniversary of its concluding campaigns in the South. (The second war for independence burned across the same ground in the 1860s.)

Both wars were "civil," those most terrible of conflicts, although the second "Civil War" had far more unanimity of purpose in the South. Both wars were settled by the capture of an army in Virginia; and both wars killed a lot of rebels.

But the eighteenth century conflict was portrayed in most American schools as a struggle started and won in New England and the Middle Colonies. New England dominions rode into the Middle West in the early 1800s with as little interest in the fighting in the Carolinas as they had in the settlement of Jamestown half a generation before Plymouth landing. Even today most American children will declare that the Pilgrims formed the first permanent English-speaking settlement in North America.

So it is time that Lucien Agniel, and more historians of his breadth of view, should celebrate the victories in the South which sealed our fate. (It is too late to deplore the initiative of the Founding Fathers.)

The fighting followed the British runs upcountry from the ports. Agniel deftly sketches the characters and origins of the main contenders—Nathaniel Greene, Morgan, Tarleton, Light-Horse Harry Lee, Cornwallis and others. His descriptions of the campaigns and major battles are not

overburdened with detail. They give, with clarity, a sense of the maneuvering and clashes, in rough country, with the final kill at Yorktown.

This is a book for pleasant reading and for basic reference, assuming that the reader is not harnessed to the theory that New England won the war.

—JOHN STUTESMAN

Shuttle Diplomacy

THE LAST CRUSADE: *A Negotiator's Middle East Handbook*, by William R. Brown. Nelson-Hall.

The author of this work served with the Department of State and the Agency for International Development in a number of Moslem and/or Arab countries. He now is at Central Connecticut State College and also serves as a consultant on the Middle East. His book deals primarily with Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy in the aftermath of the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. The emphasis throughout is on the differing perceptions held by the Arabs and Israelis and on the impact of Kissinger's mediation on those perceptions. The author explains that he chose the title "The Last Crusade" because he believes that Kissinger's intervention may represent a turning point in the attitude of the Arabs toward the West.

The organization of Dr. Brown's book is not easy to follow, but essentially he presents several background chapters and then goes on to 1973 and the problems which Kissinger faced in trying to bring about an accommodation between the parties. In the background section, more attention is devoted to the Arab than to the Israeli point of view, but the author provides some useful insights respecting both. His treatment of the subject, however, is over-detailed and sometimes confusing. This reviewer would take issue with some of his historical data, particularly with respect to the post-World War I period.

The main points which Brown makes are as follows: (1) the psychological factor is all-important in the Arabs' perceptions of the West, which have been marked by suspicion and a feeling of weakness and inequality; (2) the overriding concern of the Israelis is with their security, to such an extent indeed that Israel has "less interest in a long-range settlement based on compromise than in weakening the military capa-

bilities of the Arab enemy" (p. 203); and (3) in pursuing his immediate objective, military disengagement, Kissinger was successful in convincing each party that a given action would be in its own interest, whereas the underlying political issues are far more difficult to deal with in terms of finding a mutually acceptable solution.

Brown has some interesting comments with regard to Kissinger's methods and accomplishments. He points out that Kissinger saw his role as one of changing the perceptions of the Israelis and Arabs, not just acting as a courier. His shuttle diplomacy laid greater stress on process, motion, and momentum than on goals and objectives. The use of ambiguity was an essential tool.

The author concludes that while the results of this exercise were admittedly limited, it brought the Middle East closer to a settlement than ever before. The alternative, the search for a comprehensive settlement of all issues outstanding between the parties, would require them to abandon some of their basic national perceptions and this they are not yet prepared to do.

—EVAN M. WILSON

A Handy Tool

DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC HISTORY, by John E. Findling. Greenwood Press.

Students and practitioners alike will find this new reference tool a very useful source of quick information on many aspects of the nation's diplomatic history. Its coverage is extensive, extending to 1050 entries. About half of these are biographical notes treating the cast of characters from secretaries of state (Thomas Jefferson) to secret emissaries (Silas Deane), some of them significant but little-known practitioners. Other entries deal with important events, such as negotiations, peace treaties, and crises. The remainder treat basic concepts such as "disengagement" and "open diplomacy." The entries seek to specify the significance of the subject as well as to identify it. Attached to each is a brief bibliographical citation. Several useful appendices are attached, including a chronology and a list of manuscript collections relating to American foreign relations.

Specialists will undoubtedly quibble about the brevity of the entries,

the quality of bibliographical citations, omissions, and some factual errors, but generalists will find the book most helpful as a handy body of basic information about people, places, happenings and concepts. Professionals in the field, whether practitioners or students of foreign relations, ought to make good use of this work.

—DAVID F. TRASK

History Revisited

AMERICA REVISED, by Frances Fitzgerald. Atlantic Little Brown, 10.95.

This book will appeal to all of us who at one time or another have been dissatisfied with the books from which our children get their ideas about American history and politics. Frances Fitzgerald, who received the Pulitzer Prize for *Fire in the Lake*, carefully examines American textbooks from Muzzey (1911) to the New Social Studies (1965). Her thesis is that with all the rewriting of American history to suit pedagogical fads and political interest groups there remains no clear idea of what the American Dream is supposed to be.

A reading of this provocative and quietly contemptuous book leaves us disillusioned not only with the traditional textbook method, but also with the lack of clearly articulated goals in social studies. Fitzgerald shows us that truth is often political and that we frequently seem more interested in citizenship than education. Her plea is to call for a rise in intellectual standards in textbook writing.

It would be a pity if this expose of our textbooks would lead to further pressures towards conformity on authors, publishers, school systems and universities. Already organizations—Left and Right—have seized upon textbook analysis as a means of promulgating "objectivity." Jewish groups are pushing to teach the Holocaust, black groups want more black history, some diplomats want to rewrite the Cold War, and the ICA is funding in the United States (!) examinations of the treatment of Germany and the Soviet Union in American textbooks (under cultural agreements with the USSR and the Federal Republic). One wonders whether it is really possible to teach American foreign affairs in the context of American history. Foreign

policy or international affairs is no longer simply the action of a president or secretary of state. Worldwide inflation, nuclear proliferation, the multinational corporation, SALT II—how does one fit this into the standard American history textbook???

Perhaps we ought to get away from the single textbook approach. If the textbook omits discussions of economics (as Fitzgerald convincingly demonstrates) or is unable to describe the dense networks that connect us with the rest of the world or is unwilling to look at crises from the point of view of different national actors, then what is needed is a variety of tools to help teachers train children. In St. Petersburg, Florida most of the high schools have Associated Press news tickers; in Peoria, Illinois every student uses the daily newspaper in a "Peoria and the World" project. The multiplicity of our curricula and the variety of textbooks and other materials then provides its own corrective to the weaknesses of the textbooks discussed in *America Revised*. If we can motivate children and inform them of the reality of the world using a variety of uncensored materials, American school children will no longer find history and social studies boring and valueless.

—CHARLES R. FOSTER

On Deporting People and Peoples

THE PUNISHED PEOPLES, by Aleksandr M. Nekrich. W. W. Norton, \$10.95.

THE SECRET BETRAYAL 1944-1947, by Nikolai Tolstoi. Scribner's, \$14.95.

Aleksandr Nekrich, until 1976 a leading member of the Institute of History of the Soviet Academy of Sciences but now at the Russian Research Center at Harvard, has written a detailed account of the brutal deportation to Siberia in late 1943 and in 1944 of about a million non-Russian minority peoples of the Crimea and the northern Caucasus. After Khrushchev came to power, some of these people were allowed to return to places of birth, but the Soviet government to this day had kept secret the story of this cruel punishment of innocent peoples. Nekrich's sad but fascinating book has not, of course, been published in the Soviet Union.

Nikolai Tolstoi, also a Russian but one born and raised in England, has for his part written a book on a

similar topic—the story of deportation to Siberia of two million Russians who found themselves in territory controlled by the British and American forces at the end of World War II. Taken together, the two books demonstrate that even Great Britain and the United States have been guilty of crimes against humanity not qualitatively or in consequence all that different from some of the war-time offenses against humanity of the Nazis and the communists.

If *Journal* readers have forgotten about these things, or allowed their memories of them to grow dim, Nekrich's book can be a useful reminder of a side of contemporary Soviet political reality too often kept out of view. And Tolstoi's study, though also documenting Soviet barbarity, can serve as well another important purpose. It can show that even western democratic governments manned by liberal and humane individuals with the best intentions in the world are capable on occasion of appalling cruelty to weak and innocent peoples in their midst.

How astonishingly easy it has been, one must conclude, for the best of governments to commit crimes which courts condone, the press passes over in silence, and churches look away from! I was an officer in the army in Germany during the time these deportations took place. There was in fact a Soviet repatriation mission housed only a mile or two away from a village outside Paris where I was billeted in the second half of 1945. I was interested in foreign affairs, read newspapers and books on the subject, and talked to my colleagues about the state of the world. And yet, I am ashamed to say, I have no recollection of ever hearing discussed any aspect of the whole shameful story described so movingly by Tolstoi.

The lesson to be learned from books such as these, then, is not that such crimes takes place. It is rather that they take place without any evident objection from normally well-intentioned people who, if they would, could sometimes do something about them. When I look back on my own career in the department, for example, I recall with most satisfaction a few occasions in 1955 and 1956 when I prevented the Immigration and Naturalization Service from deporting displaced persons

who, in having had nervous breakdowns, were mandatorially subject to deportation to their now communist homelands.

INS people who came to the department saw nothing wrong with the law, and felt it was their simple duty to enforce it. I put an end to such nonsense by being willing to put on State Department stationery my opinion that "the action desired by INS would not be in the *national interest*." Oh happy words, how seldom do they serve such a useful purpose! Pay heed to these words, my young *Journal* readers. You can be a lot more useful to your fellow man, even as junior FSOs, than ever you might think. But only if you set your mind to it, and are careful that your smooth-faced superiors, all intent on making career minister, don't take fright at what you are up to!

—THOMAS A. DONOVAN

The Way It Was

A PORTRAIT OF LOST TIBET, by Rosemary Jones Tung. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, \$19.95.

In 1942 an American diplomatic mission went to Tibet to request permission from the Dalai Lama to transport military supplies over the Tibetan trade routes linking China to India. The Allies were looking for an alternative to the "Hump"—the dangerous air route being used to supply operations in China. Although the members of the expedition—Ilya Tolstoy, a grandson of Leo Tolstoy, and Brooke Dolan, a noted naturalist and explorer—failed in their mission, they did succeed in taking a remarkable set of photographs of life in Tibet shortly before its annexation by China. These have just now been published in *A Portrait of Lost Tibet* by Rosemary Jones Tung.

Beautifully composed and well-reproduced, the black-and-white photographs form the core of the book. They range from pictures of wild nomads on the Tibetan Plateau to portraits of sophisticated government officials in Lhasa. They show the ordinary activities of everyday life in Tibet and the elaborate pagantry of religious festivals and ceremonies. A particularly striking photograph is an ethereal vision of Mount Chomolhari reflected in the clear waters of Rham Tso. A picture of a nomad in a huge sheepskin coat, mounted on a yak, looks like

something out of the recent movie, "The Empire Strikes Back." The photographs have been selected to give a good over-all view of the Tibet seen by Tolstoy and Dolan in their travels from India to the borders of China.

The text that accompanies the photographs describes the journey of Tolstoy and Dolan and gives a good picture of life in Tibet before its modernization by China. The sections I found most interesting and informative deal with Tibetan architecture, the life of the nomads, festivals, and Tibetan attitudes toward the military. There are a few factual errors, but they do not detract from the over-all text: for example, the Tibetan language is not a form of Sanskrit (it belongs to an entirely different language family, although its script is derived from that of Sanskrit) and "rice heap" is not a nickname for Drepung Monastery (the word *Drepung* itself means "rice heap" in Tibetan). The book also includes an amusing foreword by Robert Payne describing his acquaintance with Ilya Tolstoy in the inebriating atmosphere of a vodka factory in China.

A Portrait of Tibet gives us a beautiful and evocative record of a society and way of life that have largely vanished from modern Tibet.

—EDWIN BERNBAUM
author of *The Way to Shambhala*.

Easing Apartheid?

WHICH WAY IS SOUTH AFRICA GOING by Gwendolyn Carter. Indiana Univ. Press, \$12.95.

Will South Africa find a peaceful solution to its racial tensions? Gwendolyn Carter, *grande dame* of South African studies and currently professor of African Studies at Indiana University, has written a thoughtful and factual report on South Africa, its peoples, its institutions, and its conflicts.

Frequently banned from South Africa, she was permitted a visa to attend a human rights conference in Capetown in early 1979, and then proceeded to spend two months crisscrossing the country.

Two themes run through her book. The first is the familiar theme of the prevailing political splits and racial tensions. The second is the effort put forth by the new Botha regime to ease the strictures of apartheid sufficiently to meet the demands of

business by establishing a loyal black bourgeoisie.

On the whole, the forecasts in this book hold out slim hope of a peaceful resolution of the existing racial conflicts. The reasons being (1) the lack of judicial restraint on the parliament whereby the nationalist party has lawmaking power giving government officials the widest possible exercise of authority, (2) the failure of the "homelands" policy as an answer to South African race relations, and (3) the intense bitterness on the part of urban black youth and workers that creates a potentially growing instability only restrained by increasing military means.

Major sections are devoted to the white political opposition, the Coloured, the Indians, private business, trade unions, the press, the churches, and the security forces. It is this wide spectrum of carefully weighed information that makes Carter's book so valuable to diplomats, journalists and students of South Africa.

—CHARLES R. FOSTER

Europe Today

A TALE OF FIVE CITIES: *Life in Europe Today*, by John Ardagh. Harper and Row, \$15.95.

UNSETTLING EUROPE, by Jane Kramer. Random House, \$9.95.

John Ardagh, a dedicated Europeanist and a journalist with an observant eye, writes about life today in the five European cities of Stuttgart, Bologna, Newcastle upon Tyne, Toulouse, and Ljubljana. These five cities were selected because they were small enough to retain a provincial quality yet large enough to have diversity and activity. Ardagh's treatment is systematic: the chapter on each town covers history, local government, town planning, community life, cultural life, standard of living, education, industry, and attitudes toward the rest of the world. Ardagh, a resident of London and Paris, warmed to the snugness and human scale of these towns and discovered that their strongest common feature, apart from a common consumer gloss, was the feeling each had of its own specialness. Surprisingly, Ardagh places Bologna (with its communist city government) and Ljubljana (his favorite town of the five) just behind Newcastle as the best exam-

ples of a "generous participatory democracy."

Ardagh is writing about provincials who have a sense of belonging, a gregarious tribalism, and a matey democratic spirit. He is writing about the insider.

Jane Kramer of *The New Yorker*, in contrast, is writing about four families in Europe who are outsiders, who fell into the cracks of history, unwelcome and unwanted. We tend, she writes, to think about Europe in abstractions and windy idioms, ignoring those millions of migrants and resettled and unsettled people who do not fit into the exhausted conventional categories in European life. Kramer describes, with compassion and understanding, a Yugoslav migrant worker who lives in Stockholm, a Muslim from Uganda driven out by Idi Amin who lives in London, an Algerian family living in a village in Provence, and an Italian communist family headed by Mario Cecci and living in their own village in Italy. The description of the Italians is brilliant counterpoint between Mario Cecci and his family and the changing and evolving Communist Party of Italy. Predrag Ilic, the Yugoslav, and Cecci, the Italian, both cling to their Communist Party mythologies but "mainly their longing is for the real world, the world around them, and they measure themselves by its values." But Cecci believes "the Party has transformed his world—it has taken the fatal span of a poor Italian life and added the sweetness and the edge of possibility. . . ." Predrag says that no one in Sweden treats him badly. "The problem, he says, is that no one seems willing to admit that he is really there." Predrag is shunned and lonely.

—DAVID LINEBAUGH

A Feast for the Eye

ARABIA FELIX, by Pascal Maréchaux. Barron's, \$34.95.

Arabia Felix is one of those rare gems that turn up all too infrequently. I have seen a number of "coffee table" books about the Arab world recently, but *Arabia Felix* is head and shoulders above all of them. The book contains over 80 of the most stunningly beautiful photographs I have ever seen. The photography is clearly on a par with that

of Eliot Porter's in *The African Experience*. Market scenes, landscapes, buildings, faces—all are superb.

The picture section of the book is preceded by a series of brief vignettes about the author's travels in the Yemen, all of which ring true. A minor cavil is the omission of any pictures of Mokka and Hodeida.

Despite the price (\$34.95), persons who have visited or been stationed in the Yemen will be sorely tempted to buy this magnificent publication.

—JAMES H. BAHTI

Just Desert

SINAI: THE GREAT AND TERRIBLE WILDERNESS. by *Burton Bernstein*. Viking Press.

Part of this book appeared in *The New Yorker* in 1978, and the author has added material based largely upon his trip to Israel and Egypt in the spring of that same year. His own experiences (he was also in the Sinai in 1969) are preceded by a brief historical chapter. As there is no bibliography, it is difficult to judge the depth of his research. I

thought it a bit sketchy.

Old Sinai Field Mission hands will enjoy reading his impressions of that unusual establishment. He must have used a tape recorder for some of his interviews and briefings, as he catches the exact nuances and atmosphere of the camp. Indeed, the account of the briefing by Doug Dodson, the E-Systems operations manager, has everything but the Texas twang. Bernstein also shows keen insights into the attitudes and behavior of the UNEF Swedish and Ghanaian troops as well as Egyptian bureaucrats and Israeli soldiers. He clearly has a soft spot in his heart for the Sinai Bedouin, whose rights, he thinks, are being largely ignored. Anyone who has served in Cairo will be amused by his frustrating experiences with the telephones and the bureaucracy. His reference to "beggars outnumbering pedestrians" in some Cairo streets is, in my recent experience, a serious inaccuracy.

As UNEF no longer exists and the role of SFM has changed, there are a few statements in the book that have been overtaken by events. But

in balance, it is a readable, enjoyable book.

—JAMES H. BAHTI



Books For Professionals By Mail

Sidney Kramer Books offers a unique collection of books for professionals, with special attention to the fields of economics, area studies, politics, international affairs, energy, natural resources, business, investment and statistics.

Sidney Kramer Books attends to the needs of domestic and overseas individual and institutional customers with efficient mail order services.

Write for our free lists of monthly acquisitions and details of services we can provide.

SIDNEY KRAMER BOOKS
1722 H Street NW, Washington, DC 20006
(202) 298-8010

servicing the professional communities for 34 years

HAIR INTERNATIONAL



GEORGETOWN

1740 Wisconsin Ave., N.W.
965-2006

FOGGY BOTTOM

Columbia Plaza Mall
DOMINIQUE INTERCOIFFURE
504 23rd St., N.W.
293-3006

BRING THIS
COUPON

\$5 OFF

for permanent
and tinting

Podhoretz's Policies

THE PRESENT DANGER, by Norman Podhoretz. Simon and Schuster, \$7.95.

Norman Podhoretz, long-time editor of *Commentary* and a skilled polemicist, believes the United States must redress the balance of power and stop Russian expansionism by force if necessary. He sees some hope: a dangerous period of neo-isolationism in the United States ended on November 4, 1979 when American hostages were seized in Iran; and a period of neo-nationalism may have begun on December 25 when Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan. The cult of appeasement and the danger of Finlandization may be dead as America rededicates itself to a strategy of containment.

Nowhere in this 100-page editorial does Podhoretz use the word "diplomacy" or the word "negotiation." He makes no reference to concepts like accommodation or common interest or peaceful settlement. To Podhoretz, the West "permitted" Russia to occupy Eastern Europe during World War II. To him, Nixon's policy of détente was a cover for "strategic retreat." He refers to the

"failure" of the United States to take "military action" against OPEC in 1973-74. He suggests the possibility of ABM deployment without even mentioning the far-reaching consequences of such deployment on mutual deterrence and stability. He seems concerned about the American attitude toward war: "The idea of war has never been as natural or as glamorous to Americans as it used to be to the English or the Germans or the French."

Podhoretz's policies would result in two dangerously hostile armed camps, bristling with nuclear weapons, for as far ahead as we can see. They are a prescription for disaster.

—DAVID LINEBAUGH

COVER ARTIST

Stephanie Kung Stryker was born and educated in Peking. She taught Chinese and painting at the consulate general in Hongkong and had many Foreign Service students. She had two exhibits in Singapore where her husband, Jerry, was director of USIS. This is Mrs. Stryker's second appearance on the *Journal's* cover.

a fully accredited
independent college
of arts and sciences
une faculté américaine
de lettres et
de sciences humaines

THE AMERICAN COLLEGE IN PARIS

31 av. Bosquet, 75007 Paris, France
Tel. 555.91.73.

B.A. degree programs in:
art history/
comparative literature/
european cultural studies/
international affairs/
french studies/
international economics/
international business
administration

Summer Session 1981
June 17-July 28

AUTHORIZED EXPORTER

GENERAL  ELECTRIC
-U.S.A.-

Refrigerators • Freezers • Ranges
Washers • Dryers • Air Conditioners
Dishwashers • Radios • Phonos
Small Appliances
Available for All Electric Currents
Local Warehousing for Immediate
Shipment

General Electronics, Inc.

SHOWROOM: 4513 Wisconsin Ave.,
Washington, D. C. 20016 EMerson 2-
8300

WRITE FOR CATALOG. Our catalog is
sent to administrative officers em-
bassies and consulates throughout
the world.

ATTENTION:
State Department and
Foreign Service Personnel

**Riverside
Liquors**

Our 50th Year

2123 E Street, N.W. At Va. Ave.

(conveniently located across
from the State Department on E
Street, next to Peoples Drug
Store)

5% off on regular low prices on
liquor and wines; also ask
about our case prices

Wide variety of Domestic and Imported
BEERS ★ WINES ★ CHAMPAGNE
Complete Selection of Whiskeys and
liquor

338-4882

**Liquor
Discounts**

Customer Parking at
Gulf Station 22nd & Va. Ave.

**BUY
SELL
INVEST**

Ed Joyce
Retired FSIO

LICENSED IN VIRGINIA
and MARYLAND

**MOUNT
VERNON
REALTY**
INC.



6257 Old Dominion Dr.
McLean, Va. 22101
Off: 821-8300
Res: 821-2109

OTHER SCHOLARSHIPS AVAILABLE TO FOREIGN SERVICE CHILDREN

The Association has been informed that the following scholarships are available to children of Foreign Service personnel. Applicants should write for complete information directly to the schools, colleges and universities indicated:

Castilleja School, Palo Alto, California. Scholarships are available to daughters of personnel in the foreign service agencies or of US military personnel serving overseas who are registered at Castilleja School for admission to grades 7 to 12, inclusive. For complete information write to the Headmaster, Castilleja School, 1310 Bryant St., Palo Alto, California 94301.

Dartmouth College: S. Pinckney Tuck Scholarship. For students at Dartmouth College who are the children or grandchildren of Foreign Service officers of the United States and who are in need of financial assistance. Address inquiry to the Director of Financial Aid, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire 03755.

Middlesex School Scholarship: Offered on a competitive basis for Grades 9 through 11 to the son or daughter of a Foreign Service family. For complete information write to the Headmaster, Middlesex School, Concord, Massachusetts 01742.

The Hall School: For the daughters of Foreign Service Personnel, a \$1,665 tuition reduction is available. Formerly known as Miss Hall's, the School enrolls 185 students from grades 9 through 12. This reduction is offered in recognition of higher travel costs and represents 25% of the total tuition cost for 1981/82. For further information, contact Mr. Diederick van Renesse, Director of Admission, The Hall School, Pittsfield, Massachusetts 01201.

The New Hampton School: Offers a \$1000 abatement on tuition to Foreign Service boys and girls. Additional scholarships available as warranted. The school enrolls approximately 285 students in grades nine through postgraduate. For further information write to Mr. Austin C. Stern, Director of Admissions, The New Hampton School, New Hampshire 03256.

Northfield Mount Hermon School:

A \$1,000 reduction in tuition is offered all sons and daughters of US State Department personnel stationed overseas in grades 9 through 12. This reduction is afforded in recognition of the higher travel cost experienced by such personnel. Additional financial aid is available on the basis of need. At present students from 40 states and 46 countries are enrolled. For further information contact Adrienne Carr, Northfield Mount Hermon School, Northfield, Massachusetts 01360.

Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts. The Charles and Jane Stelle Memorial Scholarship awarded to the son or daughter of a Foreign Service person. The award is based on financial need. For further information, and to apply for this scholarship, write to Mr. Joshua L. Miner, Director of Admissions/Mr. Richard Griggs, Director of Financial Aid, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts 01810.

St. Andrews School: Middletown, Delaware. The Norris S. Haselton Scholarships are awarded to sons and daughters of Foreign Service families where need is indicated. For complete information write John M. Niles, Director of Admissions, St. Andrews School, Middletown, Delaware 19709.

Vassar College: The Polly Richardson Lukens Memorial Scholarship is awarded at Vassar to children of Foreign Service personnel. Another scholarship, awarded by an anonymous donor, is granted at Vassar to the child of an American Foreign Service officer. If no such applicant qualifies, the scholarship may be awarded to the child of an employee of the federal government or of a state government. Both awards are based on financial need. Apply to Director of Financial Aid, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York 12601.

Vermont Academy: An Edward R. Cheney Memorial Scholarship is being awarded at Vermont Academy to the son of a Foreign Service person. Those interested in applying should write to the Director of Admissions, Vermont Academy, Saxtons River, Vt. 05154. The Academy enrolls approximately 235 students in grades nine through postgraduate: girls, day students only.

Yale University Scholarship: A scholarship given by an anonymous donor is awarded each year to the son of an American Foreign Service officer who demonstrates financial need. If no such applicant qualifies, the scholarship may be awarded to the son of a member of the United States military services, or of an employee of the federal government. Complete information is obtainable from the Director of Financial Aid, Box 2170 Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut 06520.

Westover School: Middlebury, Connecticut: Generous financial aid and scholarship awards for grades 9 through 12 are available to daughters of personnel in the foreign service agencies or of US military personnel serving overseas. Write Director of Admissions, Westover School, Middlebury, Connecticut 06762.

Dana Hall School is accepting applications from ninth grade girls who wish to compete for the Congdon Merit Scholarship awarded on a competition basis to an entering sophomore resident student. In addition to the \$1,000 prize, the winner is eligible for financial aid up to full tuition when warranted. Applications must be completed by February 1, 1981. Inquiries should be addressed to: The Congdon Prize Scholarship, Dana Hall School, Wellesley, Mass. 02181.

1981-1982 AFSA SCHOLARSHIPS

Applications will be available in November for the 1981 AFSA Merit Awards Program for 12th (and graduating 11th) grade high school and preparatory school students and for the 1981-1982 AFSA Financial Aid Program for college and university undergraduate study.

AFSA also has a very limited number of scholarships which may, under special circumstances, be awarded to secondary school students in need of financial aid.

For applications and information, write now to the AFSA Committee on Education, 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, DC 20037. The deadline for completion of the application is February 15, 1981.

ten months ago, but I seem to recall that we all thought anybody serving abroad was: (a) living the good life; (b) out of touch with American life and politics; (c) inclined to be surly and troublesome in comments on US policy; (d) a little lazy when it came to answering weekend Night Action messages, warmly receiving more official weekend visitors, and the like; and (e) not very helpful and therefore not deserving of a lot of our precious time and information. As I recall, we shared a feeling that ambassadors who didn't send too many bleats and words of advice and conscience-easers were vastly to be preferred to their more eager colleagues. Silence might not be golden, all the way, but reticence was an awfully good thing.

Once in the field again, I quickly lapsed into old Service patterns of thought, and was struck at how the inhabitants of Foggy Bottom: (a) were too busy with insignificant bureaucratic matters to pay proper attention to larger questions, questions that we in the field perceived rather clearly; (b) took what seemed like ages to act on our advice or requests; (c) seemed excessively preoccupied with domestic political considerations, to the detriment of the Larger National Interest (which we in the field perceived with startling clarity and reported to Washington with regularity); (d) got angry or at least petulant when we made policy suggestions which they always seemed to think went beyond our writ; and (e) never sent us vitally needed information. In short, those guys in Washington, while they may not consider our silence as golden, seem to think that reticence, among us field types, is an awfully good thing . . .

Communication Re:

The Foreign Service and Me

KRISTEN WELLDE

From presenting flowers to the guest pianist at the embassy through handing out warm clothes to Arabic orphans in winter to specializing in languages, I knew the Foreign Service was for me. A child, one of five, and eldest daughter of a USIA man, my life was steeped in foreign culture. When American children were learning to speak, I was being crooned to in German. When they dressed for school clutching their favorite Mickey Mouse lunch boxes, I trudged off to my Arab school, where I enjoyed the distinction of being the only westerner enrolled, with my three-course lunch box—a round, gray metal affair with meat in the bottom, rice in the middle and vegetables in the top. When American children were gathering around the Good Humor truck, I was pleading with my mother for *srafeh* (small change) to buy *ka'k* (a Middle Eastern bread crusted with sesame and thyme).

I was born in Frankfurt, Germany and lived overseas in Germany and Jordan until a tour of duty in Washington was commanded. At the age of eight I was left fatherless but this is neither a heart-wrenching tale of death nor a mournful saga of growing up with a single parent. It is the tale of one woman's desire to be in the Foreign Service.

Plans were laid at an early age to join USIA. While



FREE! NEW CAR CATALOG BUY DIRECT

The comprehensive NAI Master Catalog contains 32 pages, over 150 illustrations, DIPLOMATIC and FACTORY tax-free prices, equipment, options, colors, and all the details on how to order your car at these special savings.

The Nemet Organization has been meeting the needs of Americans throughout the world since 1916. You will have your car, waiting where you want it, STATESIDE OR IN EUROPE—when you want it, all serviced and ready to go at special factory prices.

Buy your new car from Nemet because we'll be here when you get home.

Please send me a FREE copy of your 32 page Master Catalog. FSJ-1180

I am interested in Stateside Delivery European Delivery

AUDI	MG	RENAULT
BMW	MERCEDES	TRIUMPH
DATSUN	PEUGEOT	VOLKSWAGEN
FIAT	PORSCHE	VOLVO
JAGUAR		

Name _____ Rank _____
 Social Security No _____ Date of Birth _____
 Address _____
 Date of Rotation _____
 Delivery Place _____

Nemet Auto International
 World's Largest Distributor of Tax-Free Cars
 153-03 Hillside Avenue, Jamaica, New York 11432
 Telephone (212) 523-5858 / Cable NEMETAUTO
 Toll Free 800-221-0177

RIVERSIDE TOWERS HOTEL

"... a tradition of Distinction in Service to World Travelers"

—ACCOMMOATIONS—

77 suites, studios and efficiencies, fully equipped kitchens, color televisions, telephones, laundry facilities, roof garden, maid service, air conditioning.

—CONVENIENT—

Walk or Public Transportation to: State Department, Kennedy Center, WHO, the White House, GWU, National Monuments, Georgetown, Smithsonian Institution, to satisfy Business and Pleasure.

—ECONOMICAL—

Less expensive than most hotel rates offered daily, weekly, monthly. A congenial staff is here to serve you.

ALSO OFFERED ... as a guest of Riverside Towers Hotel, special privileges are available to you at the Wayside Inn, a recreational facility located in Middletown, VA in the beautiful Shenandoah Valley. Brochures available.

For Reservations Contact:
RESIDENT MANAGER

RIVERSIDE TOWERS HOTEL

2201 Virginia Avenue, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20037

Phone (202) 452-4600 Cable: Riverside



If your plans are:

- * To buy a home
- * To rent a home
- * To purchase investment property—

You will want to know about:

- * The area
- * The schools
- * Public transportation
- * Taxes
- * Financing
- * Current market trends

Diane Underwood—a 20 year resident of Northern Virginia, will correspond with you, help you "shop" in advance of your arrival and send you free information and brochures.

Write: **PANORAMA**
 REAL ESTATE

Attn: Diane Underwood
 130 S. Washington St.
 Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Telephone: (703) 548-3111 or
 (703) 823-1359

others wanted to be nurses and mothers, I wanted to be a USIA officer.

Languages were mastered with a smattering of international relations courses, government courses, cultural courses. A well-rounded individual, I surmised, was best. A semester was spent in Paris and traveling about Europe, ostensibly to improve my French and gain a more current sense of foreign cultures but also to enjoy myself.

The State Department exam was taken in college, and failed. Economic subjects and obscure questions (i.e., "Prior to the nineteenth century, state formation in the interior of east Africa was stimulated by all of the following EXCEPT . . .") were not for me. The USIA exam was taken after college. Four points away from success, I realized a greater awareness of cultural events was required. The *New York Times* was the answer and diligently I read every page concentrating on the "Arts and Leisure" section. Simultaneously I began to work under contract with ICA (for by now USIA had changed its name). My goal was close to being attained. I worked on exhibits for our overseas posts and continued to read the *New York Times*.

At last, in December, 1979, I attained my goal—I passed the ICA written exam. Pre-exam anxiety, post-exam nausea were sensations of the past. I could go on to the oral phase and pray. I was jubilant, elated, thrilled. But the fine print prevailed: Because of "affirmative action requirements . . . it is not expected that your candidacy is to be continued. If by June 1, 1980 you are not invited to be assessed, you may conclude that your candidacy has been discontinued."

Disregard the fact that I was one point from the new goal of 75 on the English expression test and 14 points over the

goal (89, an extremely high score I was told) on the functional background (the most important) test. I was dismayed. I had finally overcome the challenge of part one and I wasn't even going to be allowed to rise to the challenge of part two. My traditional liberal thought began to erode. Why was I being excluded when others who had not done as well were offered advantages, were being included? Today I sympathize more with Alan Bakke. I talked with diplomats, wrote to administrators, pleaded with petty bureaucrats. To no avail! I occasionally received a form letter response, I sometimes was offered a sympathetic ear, I even encountered an indignant sharing of my feelings. I was still was denied the oral part of the exam. Try next year.

Six months have passed. The anger has subsided but the hurt remains. I will try next year and the year after if necessary. I try to console myself. "Victory and defeat are each of the same price."

When Quality Counts... count on Brewood for stationery, announcements, invitations, cards, and informals. Our engraving consultants are at your service.

BREWOD

Fine Engraving & Printing Since 1892
1147 20th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C.
223-2300



SHOP IN AN AMERICAN DRUG STORE BY MAIL!

An ice cream soda is one of the few items we cannot mail. Drugs, cosmetics, sundries mailed to every country in the world. We maintain permanent family prescription records. SEND NO MONEY—pay only after satisfactory receipt of order.



Western Pharmacy, Inc.

t/a Morgan Pharmacy
3001 P Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

STUART & MAURY, Inc.
REALTORS

Specializing in Residential Sales and Rentals

Member Montgomery County and D.C. Multiple Listing

CHEVY CHASE, D.C. 20016
5010 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
(202) 244-1000

POTOMAC, MD. 20854
10220 River Road
(301) 983-0240



Phone
(703) 356-8300

DO YOU WANT TO BUY, SELL or RENT A HOME? . . . If so, let me help you. I will send you information on taxes, schools, financing and pictures of homes currently on the market. Write me . . . **CAROLYN MOONEY** at

Hugh T. Peck Properties of Virginia
1401 Dolley Madison
McLean, Virginia 22101
32 offices in Virginia, Maryland and D.C.

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
Return date _____ Price range _____

If you need temporary housing, check here



NEW 55 PAGE CATALOG CONTAINS OVER 1000 HARD TO OBTAIN HOUSEHOLD AND PERSONAL ITEMS.

Prompt shipment. Satisfaction guaranteed. We are prepared to fill orders pursuant to consumable allowance. Write for details.

THE SUPPLY CENTER, P.O. Box 146,
Gettysburg, PA 17325

Send me your free catalog "The Supply Center."

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

**NORTH-SOUTH:
NEGOTIATING SURVIVAL**

from page 30

President released in July 1980 sketches a grim prospect for the world as a whole—rapid population growth mainly in the Third World, slow growth of food production, doubling of real prices, negligible increases in arable land, maximizing of oil production, severe regional water shortages, 40 percent loss of tropical forests, world-wide deterioration of soils, probable climatic change because of pollution, “. . . a picture of intensifying stresses, as the world enters the twenty-first century.” Nor should we overlook at this juncture two major factors not even mentioned in Global 2000—the possibility of economic breakdown in the industrialized world through sheer inability to adjust and, with it, breakdown of the world trade and monetary system; and the emergence of the Soviet Union as a global power with global aspirations, the context in which the deterioration of political relations with the Third World must now be viewed.

We may conclude, therefore, that


the question of survival is very real indeed. The decade of the '80s, resumption of the North-South dialogue, is not just a continuation of the '70s, a return to business-as-usual positions, but a new situation different in kind rather than degree. North-South relations have already entered a new or fourth phase before even settling the problems of the previous, even of the latest, phases. It follows that the negotiating positions of both sides, North and South, are essentially based on the economics of the '50s and '60s, which are passé, and certainly will be counter-productive if pursued into the new era.

Whatever is to be done, it will be demanding in the extreme to all parties. It calls for a new order of statesmanship above and beyond that demonstrated heretofore. It certainly will call for imaginative US leadership above and beyond the essentially negative policy of damage limitation. It demands what the Global 2000 study calls “an era of unprecedented cooperation and commitment.” It could mean scrapping the whole North-South process as now constituted which focuses the time


and scarce negotiating resources of the world on a demonstrably unproductive exercise; starting fresh, perhaps with the summit of world leaders recommended by the Brandt Commission; and, as Indian ambassador to the CIEC Vaidya recommended, it will mean getting down to fundamentals.

Whether or not any real progress can be made in a world at daggers drawn between East and West, North and South is problematic. The issues are complex and sensitive, long-term, not amenable to direction. The call for action is urgent yet there are no quick fixes. But, let there be no mistake about it, we are no longer dealing with mere advantage, but with survival. The opportunity cost of failure, of further delay increases with every year. There is really no choice, no alternative to trying.

The late Hans Morgenthau, replying to a speaker who said he could not support SALT II with any enthusiasm, said, “Well, then you will have to support it without enthusiasm.”

The same may be said of the North-South dialogue. 

COMING or GOING
You can count on
PERSONALIZED SERVICE
from
W. C. AND A. N. MILLER
DEVELOPMENT CO
A Complete Real Estate Service Since 1912
NEW HOUSE SALES • BROKERAGE SALES
RENTALS
4701 Songamore Road, Washington, D. C. 20016
Phone 229-4000 Phone 229-4016


REAL ESTATE
Specialists in
TOWN HOUSES
CAPITOL HILL • GEORGETOWN
FOGGY BOTTOM • MT. PLEASANT
202-546-2676
RHEA RADIN, Inc.
REALTOR
536 Eighth St., S.E.

Let's discuss real estate
Let me help you with . . .

- INVESTMENT IN A HOME
- INVESTMENT FOR INCOME
- INVESTMENT FOR CAPITAL GAIN


Call or write to me, Harold O. Wright, FSIO/Ret., a real estate professional serving the Foreign Service in the Washington area, with the experience at home and abroad to help you analyze and meet your real estate needs.

Address inquiries to:
HAROLD O. WRIGHT
5938 Dorchester Way
North Bethesda, Md. 20852
(301) 468-9577 (202)537-1800
associated with
EDMUND J. FLYNN COMPANY

Calvert School
The school that comes to your child

Complete home-study course for elementary-level students. Kindergarten through 8th grade. An American education anywhere in the world. Ideal for enrichment. Home is the classroom, you are the teacher with Calvert's approved instruction guide. Start any time, transfer to other schools. Used by over 300,000 students. Non-profit. Write for catalog. Admits students of any race, color, national or ethnic origin.

Established 1897 **301-243-6030**

Calvert  **School**

Box F11-0 Tuscany Rd. Baltimore, Md. 21210

Parent's name

Address

City State Zip

Child's Age Grade

Special Services

REAL ESTATE

ARE YOU SINGLE and thinking of retirement? Looking for a HOME? Consider the Central Florida area which offers year round golf, tennis, boating, fishing, educational facilities, fine shopping areas, and the good life. Join other Foreign Service retirees in the Golden Triangle Sunshine Area. Contact Central Service Realty—Realty World, P.O. Box 151, Mount Dora, Florida 32757—(904) 383-4197.

FLORIDA—WATERFRONT, CONDOS—HOMES—INVESTMENTS—LAND. Helen Clark Realty, Realtor, 353 Tilden St., Dunedin, Fla. 33528. Tel. 813-734-0390 eve. 733-9428.

ARE YOU TRYING to find that house you will love and can afford in Georgetown or Cleveland Park? Call Moune Souvanna Phouma Stieglitz at 333-3347 or 965-3533.

RETURNING TO THE US?



Ginny Lewis

After 30 years in the F.S., I understand your needs. Let me help you find a home. Write me.

MT. VERNON REALTY

428 S. Washington St.
Alexandria, Va. 22314
TEL.: (703)549-8700

I will send you a kit with maps, information on areas in northern Va., schools, taxes, etc. and pictures of homes for your selection.

BOOKS

IF YOU ARE LOOKING for an out-of-print book, perhaps I can find it. Dean Chamberlin, FSO-retired, Book Cellar, Freeport, Maine 04032.

CURRENT PAPERBACKS airmailed within 5 days at reasonable prices. Send for monthly list to Circle Enterprises, Box 1051, Severna Park, Maryland 21146

BE THOUGHTFUL! Save time! Give a book! Send your friends Give-A-Book Gift Certificates redeemable at 700 bookstores across the U.S. and by mail from THE BOOKSERVICE INC. SIMPLE. Send \$10 for each certificate and list recipients. ECONOMICAL. Include 25c for gift card and postage for each name. FAST. Gifts mailed first class from Boston. WORRY-FREE. Your friend chooses the right gift. NO RISK. Give-A-Book Certificates are a joint venture of American Booksellers Association and National Association of College Stores. They guarantee redemption or refund at full value. Send check or money order to THE BOOKSERVICE INC., 470 Atlantic Ave., Boston, MA 02210.

NEWSLETTER

WASHINGTON, D.C. UPDATE: Write for a free introductory issue of the WASHINGTON OVERSEAS NEWSLETTER—the monthly newsletter which keeps you up-to-date on Washington's real estate, food prices, financial opportunities, restaurants, cultural events and shopping. Write to: Phoenix Enterprises, P.O. Box 406, Vienna, Va. 22182.

HOME EXCHANGE

SABBATICAL? Rent/exchange housing worldwide. Loan-A-Home, 18F Darwood, Mt. Vernon, N.Y. 10563.

Foreign Service People

Birth

Boyatt. A son, Alexander Shearwood, born to Ambassador and Mrs. Thomas D. Boyatt on September 4 in Gloucestershire, England.

Marriage

Boren-Dorman. Susan Hope Boren was married to Mark Sander Dorman, son of FSO and Mrs. Philip F. Dorman, on September 6, in Washington.

Deaths

Biggs. Arthur Perry Biggs, FSO-retired, died on June 30 in San Diego. Mr. Biggs joined the Department of State in 1945 and served as geographic specialist in Bogota, Buenos Aires, Caracas, Cairo, Paris and Rio de Janeiro. He retired in 1970. He was a member of the Foreign Service Retirees of Southern California, the Association of American Geographers and the San Diego Museum of Art where he became the first male docent in 1973. Survivors include his wife, of 2620 Second Ave., #4C, San Diego, California 92103.

Lee. James D. Lee, FSO, died on September 18 in Fairfax. Mr. Lee joined the Foreign Service in 1969 and served as economic-commercial officer in Oslo, Toronto and Prague. For the past two years he had been assigned to the bureau of economic and business affairs. He is survived by his wife, Elizabeth D'Zmura Lee, and a daughter, Elizabeth North Lee, of 223 South Virginia Ave., Falls Church, Virginia 22046, and his mother, Annie K. Lee of Mebane, N.C.

Mangano. Philip Austin Mangano, FSO-retired, died on September 30 in Washington. Mr. Mangano joined the State Department in 1940. He served with the OSS during World War II here and in Italy. After the war he resumed his career at State with the international organizations division where he represented the United States on delegations to Greece, Israel and Tunisia before his retirement in 1962. He then became a professor of international relations at the Naval Academy. Survivors in-

TAX RETURNS

TAX PROBLEMS, returns and representation. T. R. McCartney (ex-FS) and John Zysk (ex-IRS), Enrolled Agents, Business Data Corp., P.O. Box 57256, Washington, D.C. 20037. (703) 522-1040.

clude two daughters, Marilinn M. Carroll and Kathryn M. Harris, a brother, Richard F. Mangano, and four grandchildren, all of Scottsdale, Arizona.

Ripps. Evelyn L. Ripps, FSR-retired, died on August 17 in Bethesda. Miss Ripps worked for AID and its predecessor agencies beginning in 1948. She was a program officer in Pakistan and Paris. From 1974 until her retirement in 1976, she was assigned to Howard University to work on a study of foreign assistance.

Utter. John E. Utter, FSO-retired, died on September 10 in Paris. Mr. Utter entered the Foreign Service in 1941 and served at Casablanca, Tunis, Cairo and Paris. He later was head of African affairs at the Department of State. Mr. Utter then became private secretary to the Duke and Duchess of Windsor and remained as the Duchess's private secretary until his retirement in 1975.

Krausse. Otila C. Krausse, widow of FSO Henry G. Krausse and mother of FSO-retired Henry G. Krausse, Jr., died on June 18 in Brownsville, Texas. She accompanied her husband on assignments to Matamoros, Nuevo Laredo, San Luis Potosi, Saltillo, Reynosa, Merida and Vera Cruz. In addition to her son of 1134 Belthair, Brownsville, Texas 78520, she is survived by five grandchildren.

Potter. Mary M. Potter, mother of FSO-retired Jane M. Potter, died on June 10 in Tucson. Mrs. Potter lived with her daughter in Madrid and Lima and visited her in Paris, Mexico City and Santo Domingo. In addition to her daughter of 810 N. Camino Santiago, #34, Tucson, Arizona 85705, she is survived by a son, four grandchildren and eight great-grandchildren.

Wolfe. Suzanne Lucile Wolfe, wife of FSO-retired Glenn G. Wolfe, died on September 28 in Washington. Mrs. Wolfe accompanied her husband on assignments to Rio de Janeiro, Frankfurt, Bonn, Paris and Pretoria. After Mr. Wolfe's retirement in 1964, they lived in New York City for eight years while he was associated with the Institute of International Education. In addition to her husband, of 3003 Van Ness St., N.W., Apt. W-801, Washington, D.C. 20008, Mrs. Wolfe is survived by a daughter, Jacqueline West, of Washington, three granddaughters and one great-grandson.



More than 50 years in the Foreign Service

The AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION was established for Foreign Service personnel by Foreign Service personnel. It came into being on March 1, 1929, and on the same date insurance coverage was effected on its 205 members.

The group life insurance then as now, was underwritten by the Equitable Life Assurance Society, one of America's largest and oldest mutual companies, and the originator of group protection.

The first hospital-surgical coverage was announced with pride by the Association in 1943, with the statement:

"Owing to the unusual geographic distribution of our membership, the insurance companies, up to this time, have been reluctant to underwrite such a group as ours."

The Company willing to underwrite that hospital-surgical policy was the Mutual Benefit Health and Accident Association, now known as Mutual of Omaha.

Today the Association's group life program insures

almost three thousand Foreign Service personnel, and covers more than twelve thousand members under its Foreign Service Benefit Plan. This Plan is approved by the U.S. Office of Personnel Management under the provisions of the Federal Employees Health Benefits Act of 1959; it is underwritten by Mutual of Omaha and offers comprehensive surgical-major medical expense coverage. One of its finest features is its catastrophic coverage under which if expenses in a calendar year reach \$10,000, benefits for additional allowable expenses will be paid at the rate of 100 percent.

The American Foreign Service Protective Association was incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia on July 11, 1951, as a private not-for-profit corporation. Its Board of Directors is made up of active duty and retired Foreign Service personnel, who serve without compensation.

The Association maintains a small office and a paid staff in downtown Washington, convenient to the agencies whose personnel it serves.

If you have any questions about the Association, its hospital-surgical program, its group life program—or in general, please do not hesitate to call or write.

AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION, INC.

SUITE 1305
1750 PENNSYLVANIA AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

OR
PHONE
393-4220

CARE OF
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520



Buy direct from Chrysler Corporation:

Get the car of your choice at full diplomatic discount.

Chrysler's 1981 Diplomatic Purchase Program is available to all active members of the diplomatic community. And it can mean significant savings when you buy your next car.

Choose one of the new front-wheel drive K-cars — Dodge Aries or Plymouth Reliant, America's highest mileage* six-passenger cars with front-wheel drive. Or select any of the other fine Chrysler Corporation vehicles — from subcompact Omni and Horizon to the magnificent new Imperial, the luxury car unlike all others.

Whichever you choose, you'll buy direct from Chrysler Corporation at full diplomatic discount. Complete the coupon and we'll send you details.

*Sedan: 25 EPA est. mpg, 41 est. hwy. Wagon: 24 EPA est. mpg, 40 est. hwy. Use EPA est. mpg for comparison. Your mileage may vary depending on speed, weather and trip length. Actual highway mileage probably less. Calif. est. lower.



Dodge Omni



Plymouth Reliant Special Edition Station Wagon

Diplomatic Sales Office
Chrysler Corporation
P.O. Box 1688, Detroit, Michigan 48288

Name and Title _____

Post _____

Address _____

Country/Area of Vehicle Use _____

Send information on your Diplomatic Purchase Program and these Chrysler Corporation products:

DODGE	PLYMOUTH	IMPERIAL
<input type="checkbox"/> Omni	<input type="checkbox"/> Horizon	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Aries K	<input type="checkbox"/> Reliant K	<input type="checkbox"/>
<hr/>		
<input type="checkbox"/> LeBaron	<input type="checkbox"/> CHRYSLER Cordoba	<input type="checkbox"/> New Yorker

 THE NEW CHRYSLER CORPORATION