

Acheson and the H-bomb

Foreign Service Journal

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JUNE 1983

What's at the Top?



Wm. J. Harrison Jr.

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COVER: Diplomats struggling up the career ladder must wonder what it's really like at the top. Beginning on page 26, a career ambassador compares the view from the bottom with that from the upper rungs. Airbrush by William J. Hennessy Jr.

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The *Foreign Service Journal* is the magazine of professionals in foreign affairs, published 11 times a year by the American Foreign Service Association, a non-profit organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and does not necessarily represent the official views of the Department of State, the U.S. Information Agency, the Agency for International Development, the United States Government as a whole, or AFSA. While the Editorial Board is responsible for general content, statements concerning the policy and administration of AFSA as employee representative under the Foreign Service Act of 1980 on the editorial page and in the Association News, and all communications relating to these, are the responsibility of the AFSA Governing Board.

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Subscription to the *Journal*: one year (11 issues), \$10.00; two years, \$18.00. For subscriptions going abroad, except Canada, add \$1.00 annually.

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and at additional post office. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Foreign Service Journal*, 2101 E Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

The *Journal* welcomes manuscripts of 1500–4000 words for consideration by the Editorial Board. Author queries are strongly urged. Stamped envelope required for return.

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June 1983. Volume 60, No. 6. ISSN 0015-7279.

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LETTERS

Editorial Responsibility

By chance an article of mine appeared in the same issue of the *Journal* as Robert White's letter relating to the George Gedda article on U.S. diplomats assigned to Central America ["A Dangerous Region," February]. Let me add my own objections to the Gedda article.

First, Gedda's somewhat vague summarization of Ambassador White's position is false. The record is clear that he opposed giving a blank check to the degenerate killers that constitute the Salvadoran security forces—not that he opposed U.S. policy of support to the Duarte government.

Second, the article repeats the old canard that White endorsed U.S. military aid to the Duarte regime. Of course he did—but subject to rigorous conditions which if enforced might have had an effect on stopping the cold-blooded butchery of peasants and other noncombatant civilians by their own government.

Third, Gedda's statements and insinuations that White's former colleagues deplore his public activities are both unsubstantiated and false in the categorical way stated. We see innumerable Latin America Bureau personnel at Carnegie events, and with one exception I have never heard anything but undiluted praise for Ambassador White—especially for his courage in telling the truth.

These contradictions raise a fundamental question about your responsibility as editors. As usual in such cases, the article seems to rely heavily on undisclosed sources. Just who are these "former colleagues"? At what level—office boy or assistant secretary? Do they even exist? Who is the "top administration official" in the last paragraph that makes the earth-shaking revelation that policy is often made at the deputy or assistant secretary level?

This article is another illustration of why the credibility of Washington journalists is so low. Too often purported quotations from unnamed sources are fabrications. Often the so-called source is a composite or invention used to lend credibility or liven up a "story."

As editors it seems to me that you have a responsibility in these matters. We can make our own judgments about the reli-

ability of stories about policy developments that are based on undisclosed sources, and no one is much hurt by them. But in cases where an author casts aspersions on the integrity, performance, or motivation of individuals, and bases them on anonymous sources, you should insist on full disclosure of the sources and make independent verification both of their identity and the accuracy of remarks imputed to them. Otherwise, quite apart from fairness to the persons discussed, you become a party to defamation of character.

CHARLES MAECHLING JR.
Senior Associate,

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Washington, D.C.

The questions of fact raised in Mr. Maechling's letter were, in our belief, adequately answered in Mr. Gedda's reply to Mr. White's letter in the April issue. As for the more basic concern raised here—that of editorial responsibility—we would like to take this opportunity to address the question of unnamed sources. Unnamed sources are, perhaps unfortunately, essential when attempting to gather opinions about policies and the personalities that help shape them. For obvious reasons, few government employees are willing to discuss their views about anything on the record, as Mr. Maechling's own attribution to unnamed "Latin American Bureau personnel" attests. Journalists must therefore often rely on unnamed sources for information that is essential to a story. The editor then has an obligation to question the journalist on the sources and to assess the journalist's professionalism and integrity. In the case of Mr. Gedda and his article, we were, and are, fully satisfied.

Mr. Maechling goes on to say that, while unnamed sources may be necessary in reporting about policies and events, since no one "is much hurt by them," they should not be used when assessing the integrity, performance, or motivation of those who are the architects of the policies or the actors in the events. We believe that the two are closely related, that the motivation and consequences of Mr. White's actions were properly included in an article such as this.

Last, both Mr. White and Mr. Maechling have charged Mr. Gedda with displaying bias. If the full text of the author's comments on Mr. White is read, however, one would see that the criticisms are balanced by the observation that Mr. White acted because he feels that such dissent was a matter of patriotic duty. The criticisms, in our view, were hardly severe, and were backed by sound reporting. —ED.

Our Borrowing

I found Charles Maechling's article "The Credit Collapse" in the April issue of

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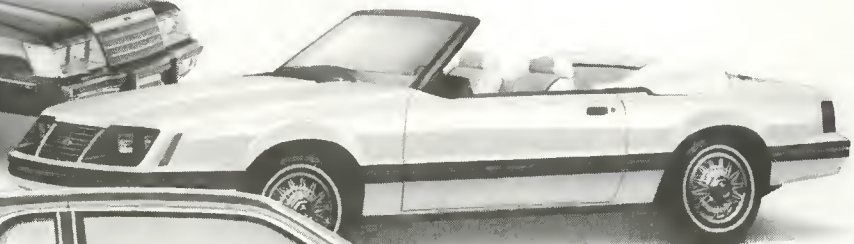
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the *Journal* interesting and informative.

Every time the United States government or an international monetary organization of which it is a member, such as the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, or private American banking institutions, renegotiates a loan of a debtor nation or bank, it is like a snake devouring itself, bite by bite, from the tail forward until it consumes itself.

When a borrower owes a bank \$1000 he worries, but when he owes \$100,000 the bank should worry. The American people, collectively as a government, or individually as stockholders in private banks, should be as nervous as a cat on a hot tin roof.

Joking aside, if this situation creates an international financial crisis it may well become the "beginning of the end" of the capitalistic system of monetary controls and the end of private international banking.

Thanks for publishing such a thought-provoking article. In the future, economic factors will play a greater role in our foreign policies and international relations.

WILLIAM G. VALE
Key Biscayne, Florida

Cover Comments

No kidding, I nearly tossed the *Journal* in the trash can today along with a pile of junk mail. I saw the title "The Credit Collapse" [April] and thought it one more financial or computer magazine that regularly comes through our mail slot. I know it was an editorial decision to change the covers, but I think it was a mistake. Am I the only one who looked forward to the artistic covers which portrayed the various countries in which we in the Foreign Service are posted?

PENNE LAINGEN
Washington, D.C.

Come on! The *Journal* needs to hire a professional model to portray the role of "Secretaries at State"? [Cover photo, May]. Good grief! Surely we can do better than that! What does that say about the obligation the Department and the Service owe to the Secretarial Corps? They are what makes the system work, and the Real Thing ought to be front-paged. All the time.

L. BRUCE LAINGEN
Foreign Service Officer
Washington, D.C.

The editors decided to change the cover format to

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depict better the contents of the magazine and thus to encourage readership. AFSA's membership has been growing rapidly—fully 25 percent since 1980—and we wanted our new audience, as well as our longtime readers, to be more aware of the issues discussed in their professional magazine. We too found the former covers attractive, but we believe the new style of covers has helped generate the increasing number of letters and articles we have been receiving on topics of importance to the Foreign Service.

In choosing to have a model portray the professionalism and dedication of the Foreign Ser-

vice's "Secretaries at State," the editors wanted to avoid any misunderstanding that might arise if we used a real secretary because, at least to some readers, the person pictured would be identified with the opinions of the writers whose articles were featured on the cover. We had no intent to cause offense and regret that our motives were not made more clear. The editors' recognition of the important role secretaries fill in the Foreign Service ought to be fully apparent by the fact that we devoted most of an issue to a serious discussion of their professional concerns.

—ED.

BOOK REVIEWS

Negotiating NATO

THE BIRTH OF NATO. By Sir Nicholas Henderson. Westview Press, 1983. \$17.50

Nicholas Henderson, then second secretary of the British embassy in Washington, was the junior British member of the working group which drafted the North Atlantic Treaty, "despite," it was remarked at the time, "the efforts of the Ambassadors' Committee" that was supposed to be drafting it (this reviewer was a member of the U.S. delegation). Immediately after the signing of the treaty in April 1949, Henderson wrote a confidential report on the negotiations for the Foreign Office. Now published for the first time in this slim volume, it covers the whole process from the supersecret tripartite talks in the Pentagon in March 1948 to signature of the treaty on April 4, 1949. As such it is the most comprehensive and authoritative account of the negotiations ever likely to be written.

In July 1947 the shadow of Soviet imperialism and Communist subversion was lengthening across a Western Europe prostrate from the war. Henderson duly records Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin's paternity of the treaty with his pleas to Secretary of State George Marshall for such "a mobilization of moral and material force as will inspire confidence and energy within and respect elsewhere."

Henderson gives due credit to the efforts of John D. Hickerson of the U.S. delegation in nursing U.S. policy through a fundamental change from the traditional stand of "no foreign entanglements" to one of widespread popular support for the treaty and Senate ratification by a vote of 82 to 13. Hickerson insisted throughout on the need to secure bipartisan support and the "advice"—not merely the eventual consent—of the Senate and Foreign Relations Committee as to the treaty's content. Robert Lovett, who was acting secretary during most of the negotiations, understood this situation, which was compounded by a Democratic President and Republican Senate in an election year and a Foreign Relations Committee chairman aspiring for the Republican presidential nomination. Accordingly, Lovett proceeded with

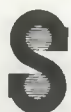


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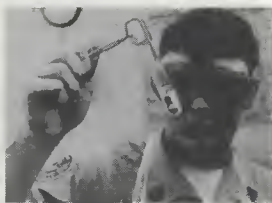
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great caution, to the concern and frustration of the British and French who were increasingly alarmed by events in Europe. This book is a strong nail, if any be needed, in the coffin of the revisionist canard that the United States forced the treaty upon reluctant Europeans.

Henderson also portrays the "NATO spirit" that developed in the working group. One example was the experience of Derick Hoyer-Millar, now Lord Inchyra. After making a proposal that the rest of the working group stated bluntly was a non-starter, Hoyer-Millar remarked, "Very well, those are my instructions. I'll tell the Foreign Office I made my pitch and got shot down and this is what I think my instructions should be." Everyone except the French got the habit. If there was a consensus against any country's position on a minor point, its representative undertook to get his instructions changed to meet the consensus position.

In only one respect do I fault the accuracy of the book. It gives the impression that consultations with the Foreign Relations committee effectively began only after the change of administration in January 1949. In fact, Lovett had worked with its chairman, Senator Vandenberg, throughout 1948, Hickerson and I with Francis Wilcox, the committee's chief of staff, for months, and the three of us had met privately with the entire committee more than once during the fall.

This book is both a pleasure to read and an intimate and authoritative account of an epoch marking negotiation process.

—THEODORE C. ACHILLES

A Basic Guide

WHAT KIND OF GUNS ARE THEY BUYING FOR YOUR BUTTER?: *A Beginner's Guide to Defense, Weaponry, and Military Spending.* By Sheila Tobias, Peter Goudinoff, Stefan Leader, and Shelah Leader. William Morrow and Company, 1982. \$15.95.

Until the last century military operations and terminology did not mystify the public, the authors of this useful, basic guide point out, for the implements of war were the very tools of their existence—horses and rifles, for instance. But as the current dispute over the basing of the MX missile shows, today even the experts do not have a common understanding of defense hardware, nor do they agree on policies governing their use. Because these policies have an obvious effect on the citizenry, both in terms of actual rising military budgets and potential falling warheads, the people should participate in defense debates.

Though none of the authors comes from

the defense community, they have managed to put together a clear discussion of weapons and military policy in a historical context, something that other popular literature, such as newspapers and general-interest magazines, seldom does. They have kept jargon to a minimum. As a result, unfortunately, their prose at times seems directed to grade-schoolers. Witness this item on early weaponry: "Most sticks were wood, but a good piece of bone would do." An entire paragraph is devoted to the method of firing an ordinary arrow from a wooden bow. These excesses aside, however, *What Kind of Guns* succeeds in its mission.

The chapter on the evolution of strategic weapons is particularly enlightening, showing, for instance, how misperceptions by both superpowers of the other's ability led to the development of unneeded weapons (remember the "missile gap"?). Though chapters on arms control and policy controversies suffer from the authors' low-level approach, the section on "Why We Buy the Weapons We Buy" is a first-class tour of the various neighborhoods in the defense community. Those who deal in military matters will find this book of little or no use, but diplomats wishing for a basic understanding would do well to start their research here.

—S.R.D.

U.S. Errors in the Mideast

SUPREMACY AND OIL: *Iraq, Turkey, and the Anglo-American World Order, 1918-1930.* By William Stivers. Cornell University Press, 1983. \$19.95.

Was the United States guilty of committing a fundamental error in its Mideastern policy in the inter-war period by backing Britain and the other colonialist powers instead of establishing close relations with emerging moderate nationalist groups? Yes, answers William Stivers, an assistant professor of political science at Colorado College. His book, *Supremacy and Oil*, deals with Washington's decision generally to support London's policies toward Iraq and Turkey in the belief that the maintenance of British influence would facilitate U.S. commercial activity without requiring a proportionate U.S. political or military involvement.

The strength of the volume is Stivers' careful examination of the diplomatic archives of the period and his excellent writing style, which makes it easier reading than many novels. Unfortunately, *Supremacy and Oil* is marred by the author's gratuitous unflattering comments about the United States in general and about American Foreign Service officers in particular.

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The consul of Baghdad, Thomas Owens, is described as having an "infirm grip" on the political situation there, the State Department as "arrogant without calculation," and America's conduct as "distinctly opportunistic." By contrast, Stivers displays a sneaking admiration for the British, whom he believes "keenly appreciated the exigencies of a radically new era," and cleverly invested the embryonic Iraqi government with real power so long as this did not interfere with London's strategic requirements. Nonetheless, the book's strengths outweigh its flaws; it is recommended to both the casual reader and the specialist in the area.

—BENSON L. GRAYSON

Nuclear War as Just War

LIMITED NUCLEAR WAR: *Political Theory and War Conventions*. By Ian Clark. Princeton University Press, 1982. \$22.50.

When John Kennedy said "unconditional war can no longer . . . settle disputes," he implied that nuclear weapons could not be used to achieve rational political objectives. War could no longer be a continuation of politics by another means.

The incompatibility of total nuclear war and such objectives seems clear. Ian Clark argues more disputably that even *limited* nuclear war cannot be meaningfully called winnable—it cannot acceptably serve political ends.

Clark, an Australian political scientist, sees the problem as one of continuing to apply traditional restrictions on warfare and wartime behavior to a new type of combat. He considers the historical and theoretical continuity of traditional just-war theory and the proposed limitations on nuclear conflict in a lengthy overview, which those interested in such philosophy will find thorough albeit pedantic. Others should skim the opening chapters, inessential to understanding his main contention that restrictions traditionally applied to conventional war cannot limit nuclear war sufficiently to salvage it as a political instrument.

Of several problems cited by Clark, the central and most compelling objection is that no limiting theory provides grounds for stopping nuclear exchanges from escalating. While the same is true of conventional theory and war, only nuclear war can escalate to a level that undermines all political objectives. Citations of ambiguous policy statements extolling the virtues of limited nuclear war while acknowledging the probability of escalation give the analysis its edge.

Political theory has failed to give policy-

makers effective guidance, Clark concludes. He tentatively suggests that a new theoretical approach devising game-like limits that would determine the outcome of suitably limited nuclear exchanges might better accommodate the reality of nuclear weapons to the instrumental nature of war. However, a nuclear dice throw to settle disputes is odd and cold comfort even as an alternative to Armageddon, and this may be a theory policymakers should eschew. But theory has not proved totally useless in the nuclear debate: Clark's thoughtful analysis reveals the intractability of the link between limited and total war, and should make us more skeptical of purveyors of limited strategies.

—CAROL ANN DROGUS

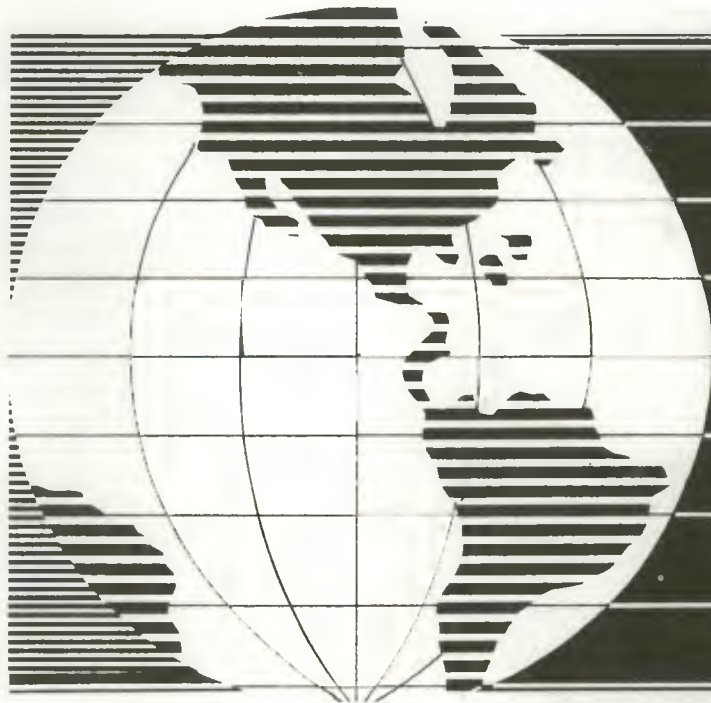
Primers on Terrorism

MANAGING TERRORISM. Edited by Patrick J. Montana and George S. Roukis. Quorum, 1983.

A CONTEMPORARY CRISIS. By Clive C. Ashton. Greenwood Press, 1983.

Terrorism, or rather writing about it, has become big business, to judge by the sheer volume of books on the subject now in print. Unfortunately, volume appears to ensure low quality. A few exceptions to this rule have appeared and, happily, the two books reviewed here fall within this small and select group. One common denominator of both is that they have been written or compiled by people who are apparently not motivated by the need to ensure their academic tenure.

Managing Terrorism is the more interesting and useful of these two books. It is directed to the management of multi-national corporations and, thus, is a pragmatic and serious attempt at defining the problem and providing a logical series of measures and policy guidelines for coping with the increasing tendency of terrorists to prey on expatriate firms and their managers, particularly in Latin America. Chapters dealing with the psychology of terrorism, preparing and protecting personnel and property, and negotiating with terrorists, along with a descriptive list of private organizations serving the protection field, are all useful and relatively unusual. The list of private organizations is somewhat misleading, as it includes various official and non-profit associations. An extensive bibliography adds weight to this work, which deserves to be included in any list of useful books on terrorism. One of the most interesting—and appalling—sections deals with the economic impact of terrorist attacks on expatriate busi-



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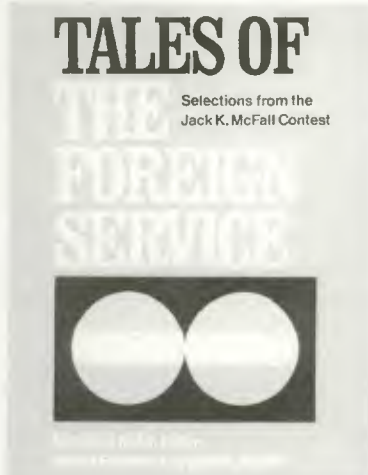
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ness: "Total known losses in terrorist bombing actions during this 2½ year period [1979–81] were \$165,013,800. Of this figure, more than 60 percent involved business targets, with U.S. business losses reaching \$45,518,500."

A Contemporary Crisis, written by an established scholar and author in the field, deals with the psychology, politics, and counter-measures of political hostage-taking. It is a useful work, weakened somewhat by the author's penchant for academic "double-speak" and his attempts to reduce to a statistical level the random actions of zealots, madmen, and trained intelligence operatives. Chapter headings speak for themselves: "Pre-incident Flow of Relations; Termination of the Disruption Phase; and a Typology of Crisis Management." I applaud the author's opinion of most of the books in this field as "normative garbage." Ashton, however, comes perilously close to becoming a member of this growing fraternity. Nevertheless, the subject matter is so germane in this time, and most of the insights are so obviously pragmatic and useful to the policymaker, that this work deserves inclusion on any short list of substantive books on terrorism. Perhaps the most interesting sections are those which examine in detail the Munich kidnappings. The author uses that incident to illustrate his thesis that the best governmental response to hostage-taking is the utilization of "traditional techniques of crisis management."

—MICHAEL F. SPEERS

Israel Re-examined

THE LONGEST WAR: Israel in Lebanon. By Jacobo Timerman. Translated from the Spanish by Miguel Acoca. Alfred A. Knopf, 1982. \$11.95.

This work is about the inner geography of Israel and, in its truest sense, about the soul of Jacobo Timerman. It is altogether a personal account of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, written with passion and anguish. It is also a scathing criticism of the current Israeli leadership, especially Prime Minister Menachem Begin and then Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, who, according to Timerman, unleashed without any valid provocation the awesome military might of Israel into Lebanon in order to destroy the stronghold of the Palestinian Liberation Organization. The task was to be accomplished within a matter of days, but the war went on for months, causing massive death and destruction and untold human suffering.

Timerman is an introspective man, a seasoned journalist, and a keen observer of

the world scene. Although he is a relatively recent resident of Israel with no knowledge of Hebrew, he has been a lifelong student of Israel, looking at its development from outer, as well as inner, perspectives. He believes that by becoming the most powerful state in the Mideast, Israel has come to rely too much on military solutions for the area's problems, thus losing sight of reality and abandoning some of the moral tenets upon which the centuries-old dream of Israel was founded. After all, what is Israel, if not, as the author puts it, "the moral idea that Jews have of themselves."

It is incompatible to the Jewish psyche for the victim to become the victimizer. "We," writes Timerman, "are victims who have created our own victims in acts of cruelty. From now on, our tragedy will be inseparable from that of the Palestinians. Perhaps some of us will try to sidestep the Israeli moral collapse by resorting to statistics and comparing Auschwitz to Beirut. It will be in vain. The victims of Auschwitz would never have bombed Beirut. Our moral collapse cannot be diluted by statistics."

This call for Jewish moral precepts and traditions reverberates throughout Timerman's impassioned narrative, intertwined with a clear reappraisal of Israel's security needs and an urgent call for a re-evaluation of the nation's democratic values, coexistence with its Arab neighbors, and a just resolution to the Palestinian problem.

In *The Longest War*, Timerman defends the right of the Palestinian people for a homeland, an independent and sovereign state with amicable relations with Israel. He sees historical parallels between the two peoples—both victimized, both determined to forge their own national destinies.

Timerman stresses that the invasion of Lebanon has caused considerable changes in Israeli society. People are beginning to doubt the manifest destiny of Israel as perceived by the present leadership. They ask questions, they search for the concepts and moral codes that were once the cornerstone of the Jewish promised land. The Peace Now movement, the anti-war demonstrations, the growing voice of the Jewish intelligentsia, and incidents of dissent in the military ranks, all testify to the fact that Israeli society is going through the throes of evolutionary processes. The author is convinced that as a result of this national self-evaluation, a stronger and a more democratic Israel will emerge, in harmony with itself, its Arab neighbors, and the world at large.

This is a painful book, written with the utmost intellectual integrity and with

burning patriotism. Timerman's is a voice calling for sanity and the dignity of humanity everywhere. —JACK KARAPETIAN

Books in Brief . . .

A SHORT HISTORY OF MEXICO. By Selden Rodman. *Stein and Day*, 1982. \$14.95.

This readable history is a revised and updated version of material that first appeared in *The Mexican Traveler*, by the same author. Although concise and rather informal, this is a solid introduction to the political and cultural past of Mexico.

PROGRESS OF ECONOMIC REFORM IN THE

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. By D. Gale Johnson. *American Enterprise Institute*, 1982.

In this monograph the author takes a pessimistic view of the future of Chinese economic reforms. Without effective price reforms, he argues, all other reforms will be for naught.

SYRIA: Modern State in an Ancient Land. By John F. Devlin. *Westview Press*, 1983. \$16.50.

A concise and well-written account of Syria's political, economic, and social development by a former CIA Mideast analyst, highly recommended to anyone wishing to understand that country's present situation and future prospects.



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BOOK ESSAY

Debating the Freeze

THE APOCALYPTIC PREMISE. Edited by Ernest W. Lefever and E. Stephan Hunt. *Ethics and Public Policy Center*, 1982. **BEYOND THE FREEZE: The Road to Nuclear Sanity.** By Daniel Ford, Henry Kendall, Steve Nadis. *Union of Concerned Scientists*, 1982. **FREEZE! How You Can Help Prevent Nuclear War.** By Edward M. Kennedy and Mark O. Hatfield. *Bantam Books*, 1982. **INDEFENSIBLE WEAPONS.** By Robert Jay Lifton and Richard Falk. *Basic Books*, 1982. **THE INTELLIGENT LAYPERSON'S GUIDE TO THE NUCLEAR FREEZE AND PEACE DEBATE.** By Joyce Larson and William Bodie. *National Strategy Information Center*, 1983. **RISKS OF UNINTENTIONAL NUCLEAR WAR.** By Daniel Frei with Christiana Catrina. *United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research*, 1982. **SEEDS OF PROMISE: The First Real Hearings on the Nuclear Freeze.** *Federation of American Scientists*, 1983. **THINKING ABOUT THE NEXT WAR.** By Thomas Powers. *Alfred A. Knopf*, 1982.

The American people prefer a mutual freeze on nuclear weapons with the Soviets to a military build-up by the United States by a margin of 64 to 25 percent, according to a *New York Times*/CBS News Poll taken in early April. President Reagan's vigorous campaign against the freeze, including a major speech on arms control in Los Angeles on March 31, has not turned this tide of opinion, for the controversy involves issues that go well beyond the freeze itself. Widespread support for the freeze is a manifestation of deep-seated concern about Reagan's policies and attitudes toward the use of nuclear weapons and arms control.

The effects of nuclear war would be catastrophic. But Reagan's policy toward the use of nuclear weapons provides grounds for uneasiness. He does not rule out the first use of nuclear weapons by the United States, and he supports the doctrine of flexible response although, in view of Soviet nuclear capabilities, it is evident that any use of nuclear weapons in Europe would risk self-destruction. Furthermore, the Reagan administration's extensive military build-up program—however it may be rationalized—will give the United States a first-strike capability and the ca-

capacity to fight a "protracted" nuclear war.

President Reagan's policy toward nuclear arms control is ambiguous. He did not authorize the resumption of negotiations with the Soviets until after long delays, and then only under pressure from our Western European allies and the American public. The proposals that the United States has introduced in both the negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces and on strategic nuclear weapons are not negotiable. Pessimistic forecasts by the two U.S. negotiators, Paul Nitze and Edward L. Rowny, implicitly confirm this harsh judgment. In the INF talks, the United States has proposed that reductions be confined to missiles based on land. But because the Soviet Union bases its missiles mainly on land and the West mainly at sea, an agreement founded on this proposal would guarantee a one-sided result. The Soviets will not agree. The proposal the United States has introduced in the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks is equally one-sided. For example, the Soviet Union would be required to scrap more than 70 percent of its MIRVed intercontinental ballistic missiles, leaving the remainder of its land-based force vulnerable to a first strike. No restraints would be placed on America's qualitative lead in weapons technology: the United States would be free to deploy first-strike weapons such as MX and Trident II as well as easy-to-hide and hard-to-verify cruise missiles. The administration's START proposal makes heavy demands on the Soviets but cedes little in return.

In his Los Angeles speech, President Reagan argued that the most popular alternative to START—the freeze concept—is dangerous because it "would preserve today's high, unequal, and unstable levels of nuclear forces." The President contended that the Soviets have a definite margin of superiority in nuclear weapons. Fifteen years of American neglect have resulted in a dangerous imbalance in strategic and intermediate-range land-based missiles, according to Reagan.

Congressman Edward J. Markey (D.-Mass.), a freeze advocate, argues that the ICBM imbalance does not create a window of vulnerability. The Soviets would not launch a pre-emptive attack to destroy U.S. land-based missiles because such an attack would presuppose that the Soviets could launch a near-perfect simultaneous attack against 1000 hardened targets; that the U.S. President would not retaliate with its sea- and air-based missiles; and that the United States would not launch on warning. The Presidential Commission on Strategic Forces—the Scowcroft commission—which reported to the President on

April 11, agreed with Markey's conclusion: The so-called "window of vulnerability" is not cause for concern. "Different components of our strategic forces should be assessed collectively and not in isolation." The full range of U.S. nuclear forces—land-based missiles, sea-based missiles, and bombers—does provide deterrence.

Concern over the military implications of the intermediate-range, land-based missile imbalance in Europe is also unwarranted. British, French and U.S. sea-based missiles and aircraft constitute a powerful deterrent. In the *Washington Post* on April 10, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Burt pointed out, perhaps unwittingly, that "the deployment of 572 new American missiles in Western Europe capable of reaching only limited areas of the Soviet Union has little impact on the U.S.-Soviet balance at a time when both sides have over 10,000 warheads, deliverable on short notice, to any location in the other's country."

The overall nuclear balance between the United States and the Soviet Union is one of essential equivalence—the United States has about 9300 strategic warheads and the Soviets have about 7300. The U.S.S.R. has the advantage in warheads on land-based missiles (about 5000 to 2000) but the United States has the advantage in warheads on sea-based missiles (4800 to almost 1800) and in bombs on aircraft (2200 to 300). The United States also enjoys a numerical advantage in aircraft themselves (375 to 150). A freeze would not leave the United States in a position of inferiority.

President Reagan argues that more American arms are needed to bargain with the Soviets for fewer arms. The ABM treaty is cited as an example to prove this point; after Congress authorized six ABM sites, the Soviets agreed to limit them. The threat of American deployments may have been a factor motivating the Soviets, but there was a more compelling reason: both sides knew that ABMs would not work. It was not hard to give them up. The President also says that the MX missile is needed to provide an "incentive" for the Soviets in the arms reduction talks. According to Reagan, the MX would allow the United States to begin to match Soviet ICBM capability. Soviet General Secretary Yuri Andropov said in December, however, that the Soviet Union would counter an American MX with a Soviet MX. The arms race would accelerate as both sides sought to match each other, weapon for weapon, and arms reduction would become an even more remote possibility.

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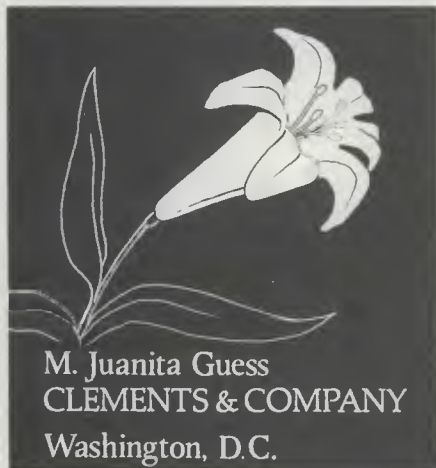
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Were the United States and the Soviets to stop the arms race, both would be more secure. One possibility would be to negotiate a mutual, verifiable nuclear weapons freeze. The nuclear freeze, however, is neither a new nor a simple idea. Statesmen considering arms control proposals have always had available a full menu of options: ban, build, reduce, limit—or freeze. In 1964, President Johnson thought it a propitious time for Soviets and Americans to freeze deployments of offensive and defensive nuclear weapons; the Soviets, who were then way behind, disagreed. Today, although the nuclear world is essentially balanced, the nuclear landscape is far more complex and the question of what to freeze is more difficult to answer. The most promising interpretation of the freeze concept combines a long-term, comprehensive approach with more limited, readily achievable proposals built on precedents established in earlier U.S.-Soviet negotiations and discussions.

Both superpowers need to address the vulnerability of their land-based missiles. Widening windows of vulnerability do exist on both sides and foster insecurity and instability. Negotiating verifiable freezes on five items would constrain the arms race and control the very weapons that first opened that window: MIRVED intercontinental ballistic missiles. First, a freeze on underground nuclear testing has come within grasp of the superpowers more than once. Until recently, a comprehensive test ban had been a continuing goal of U.S.-Soviet talks since the Eisenhower administration. A CTB was almost fully negotiated when President Carter broke off talks in the wake of the Soviet move into Afghanistan. Most important, the Soviets had accepted the principle of on-site inspection—the installation of seismic boxes within their country, for instance—so that the verification issue is not the major obstacle in these negotiations. Second, both sides could freeze the types of MIRVED missiles that now exist in each arsenal. SALT II froze all types of land-based ICBMs but allowed each side one new type. It is through this loop-hole that both superpowers are driving two new and dangerous missiles—the American MX and a similar weapon on the Soviet side. A more comprehensive freeze would prevent further erosion of the survivability of land-based missiles. Third, the superpowers could readily negotiate a fractionation freeze—a freeze on the number of warheads that would be permitted on each type of existing missile. Thus, even were the Soviets to achieve the miniaturization required to quadruple the number of warheads on the SS-18 missile, they would not be allowed

to do so. Such a freeze was negotiated in SALT II but that treaty remains unratified. Fourth, a freeze on flight-testing of MIRVED missiles would further constrain the development of new, destabilizing missiles by decreasing confidence in their effectiveness and accuracy. Each side would remain less sure that a first-strike would succeed. Not a new idea, the flight-test freeze would be more easily verifiable than SALT II's complex regulations governing these tests which require subtle interpretations of electronic intelligence. Last, both sides could immediately freeze the deployment of additional warheads. Such a freeze is certainly verifiable; The President's own plan proposes to control the numbers of warheads in certain categories of weapons.

In the long term, the two sides could look toward an eventual freeze in other, little explored areas. A complete stop to the production of nuclear weapons, for example, would require lengthy negotiations on principles of on-site inspection that have never been agreed upon before. Perhaps the two sides will require types of verification technologies that do not yet exist. In the short-term, a partial but nonetheless significant freeze would change the direction of Soviet-American relations and set the stage for negotiations to reverse the arms race and achieve reductions in nuclear weapons.

The continuing popularity of the freeze concept has led not a few authors to put their thoughts, and in some cases proposals, on paper. The eight books considered here reflect both the complexity of the topic and the diversity of opinion that the freeze debate has inspired.

Seeds of Promise presents an in-depth scrutiny of the freeze idea as held by four experts, ranging from proponents to opponents. Knowledgeable panelists act as devil's advocates, exposing the assumptions underlying both the freeze and the President's START proposal. The most balanced of the books listed here, it has no final conclusion; this is a substantive book that is not ideal for beginners but will be manageable for most arms-control enthusiasts and professionals.

Beyond the Freeze is a primer on the nuclear arms race from a liberal point of view. It devotes much more space to the history of the nuclear arms race than to the freeze concept itself and emphasizes the reluctance of the United States to forgo new weapons developments only to have the Soviets later acquire them. The authors strongly advocate a freeze and briefly explore other proposals, including "no-first-use" of tactical nuclear weapons by NATO in Europe.

A careful and systematic study of the problem of preserving strategic stability, *Risks of Unintentional Nuclear War* also contains concrete suggestions, such as restrictions on missile tests and anti-submarine warfare and the creation of submarine sanctuaries. As the book's name implies, the risks of unintentional nuclear war are assessed in the context of the stable balance of terror. The Swiss authors present a highly academic book, a detached analysis that emphasizes the perceptions the superpowers have of one another and compares their strategic doctrines and postures. The authors note that misunderstanding an adversary's peculiar ways of thinking about nuclear weapons can increase the risk of their use. For example: "It should be borne in mind that, from the Soviet point of view, secrecy is also part of the Soviet strategic posture." Such insights may lessen the inclination for each side to assume the worst possible intentions on the part of the adversary. This is a book with many references and is not recommended for those just beginning to explore the mass of literature on nuclear weapons.

Senators Edward Kennedy and Mark Hatfield, the two original cosponsors of the Senate freeze resolution, have written a non-polemical introduction to the nuclear weapons freeze. *Freeze!* attempts to overcome the psychological tendency to deny the danger of nuclear war by starting with descriptions of the probable effects of an attack. The book contains strong chapters on the inherent difficulties of fighting a limited nuclear war and on the birth of the freeze movement but soft-pedals some of the objections to the freeze. It concludes with suggestions for citizen participation in the national security debate and in the freeze movement.

The Intelligent Layperson's Guide is no more than a polemical rightist overview of the U.S.-Soviet military balance using highly selective figures and data. The authors maintain that the United States "did relatively little to strengthen or improve defense capabilities" throughout the 1970s; that a nuclear freeze "would perpetuate the present dangerous imbalance"; that SALT II "legitimized imbalances unfavorable to the United States and would have undermined deterrence"; and that the policy of détente merely allowed the Soviets an opportunity to expand their influence. They much prefer President Reagan's START approach.

The Apocalyptic Premise is a collection of 31 essays on nuclear issues by various commentators purporting to present a wide range of opinion. Contributors include Kennedy, Jonathan Schell, and George Kennan as well as Irving Kristol and Ed-

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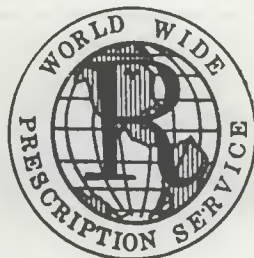
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ward Luttwak. But the point of view of the editors comes through clearly: "Freeze proponents ignore hard and verifiable facts about the actual nuclear forces on both sides of the Iron Curtain."

In *Indefensible Weapons* Lifton and Falk present a rather abstract treatise against "nuclearism"—the psychological, political, and military dependence on nuclear weapons. In the first half of the book, Lifton explores the implications of having a gun permanently pointed at humanity's head: "By impairing our imagination of the future, the bombs enter into all the crevices of our existence." Falk writes the second half, which examines the political forces that buttress the need for nuclear weapons and shape our political attitudes toward them. "Technological relentlessness has become an even greater threat to human freedom than tyranny. . . . This fatalistic outlook disastrously neglects our special capacity for symbolism, that is, for projecting images and possibilities that give direction to human freedom." The book concludes by asking "Would the survivors envy the dead?" "No," the authors respond, "they would be incapable of such feelings. They would not so much envy as, inwardly and outwardly, resemble the dead." *Indefensible Weapons* provides a look at a humanistic dimension of the nuclear debate, a dimension not addressed as often in the United States as it is in Europe. There are no comparisons of megatonnage in this book.

Thomas Powers offers an analytical rather than prescriptive exploration of the nuclear problem in his *Thinking About the Next War*. This book is deeply disturbing. The author believes there is no way out of nuclear obliteration; arms agreements merely shape the management of weaponry. After Hiroshima and Nagasaki we had a chance to avoid the nuclear arms race but did not take it. "Since 1945 the United States and the Soviet Union have been preparing to fight each other in a big war. . . . I can't think of a way we might escape it. . . . When war comes, we shall fight it with the weapons at hand, and these prominently include nuclear weapons." Powers does not prove that preparation for war leads to war, yet by relying on historical precedent and an assumption that nations are not as in control of events as they are inclined to believe, he arrives at that conclusion. "If nations are ready for war and constantly push and test each other, eventually things will slip out of their control and war will follow." *Thinking About the Next War* is a serious but easy-to-read book, one of the best listed here.

—DAVID LINEBAUGH and
JOSEPH PEPE NEWMAN

PLUS ÇA CHANGE . . .

Foreign Service Journal, June 1973: "The fundamental flaw in the Foreign Service promotion system is that it forces promotion boards to make discriminations for which they have no proper basis. The other shortcomings and inequities that are so apparent and widely commented on are for the most part the inevitable consequences of this pernicious requirement that the boards rank officers numerically in pre-determined upper and lower percentiles. The performance evaluations on which the system rests are inherently and manifestly incapable of providing a fair and rational basis for this fine tuning. . . .

"The promotion boards have no choice but to 'read between the lines' of evaluations and search for any nuance that will provide them with some basis, however tenuous, for making the choices between individual officers which the system forces on them." — RICHARD J. SMITH

Foreign Service Journal, June 1958: "One wonders whether in the writing of the efficiency reports due this month rating officers realize how much they reveal of themselves. One can think of few accumulations of documents which would tell more about an officer than a collection of his efficiency reports on others during his Foreign Service career. . . . They reveal more clearly than the reports on his own performance by others the extent of his knowledge and understanding of the duties of his subordinates and thereby his own. . . . What a man says about those who work for him cannot but reflect his own qualities of leadership." — AFSA EDITORIAL

Foreign Service Journal, June 1933: "Many, perhaps most, Foreign Service officers simply live week by week looking forward to the next leave period and the longed-for visit home. [At home] prices are unbelievably low. Men's suits that, if not good are at least good looking, are priced as low as \$9.85 and thereabouts, and a really good two-pants suit can be bought for \$20." — HOMER BRETT

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Truman, Acheson and the H-bomb

By BARTON J. BERNSTEIN

On January 31, 1950, after weeks of public speculation and military and congressional pressure, President Harry S. Truman publicly announced that the United States would continue work to determine the feasibility of the hydrogen bomb. Nearly six weeks later, on March 10, after additional pressure from the Department of Defense and

the Joint Chiefs of Staff, he secretly ordered expanded preparations for the production of the new weapon.

Why did Truman make these commitments? Did a demanding military and its congressional supporters compel him to act? Was Truman's decision, like the Nixon-Kissinger refusal to ban MIRVs at SALT 1 and possibly the Carter and Reagan commitment to the

MX missile, a critical turning point where the United States might have slowed the arms race by acting differently?

Though the current debate over deployment of the MX has largely occurred in the public arena, there are several similarities to the deliberations that went into the decision to develop the H-bomb. First, like the new missile, the H-bomb was seen by the administration as a necessary counter to a new Soviet weapons capability. Second, this new capability in both cases caused pressure to be brought upon the President by the military, the Congress, and the public. Last, in both the H-bomb decision and the MX decision the President turned to a panel of experts representing various involved constituencies which, in effect, seemingly served to ratify and justify the production of a weapon on which the chief of state had already made up his mind. At present it is unclear just how important official and public pressures were to Ronald Reagan and to what extent the Scowcroft Commission may have rubber-stamped his decision to build the MX, but Truman seems to have been unaffected by these pressures because he clearly had his mind made up before he set the deliberations in motion that supported development of thermonuclear weapons. It may be too early to say so in the case of the deployment of the MX, but Truman's decision to develop the H-bomb was virtually inevitable.

Four months before the Truman announcement, Americans learned that the Soviet Union had tested an atomic bomb. Policymakers were dismayed that the U.S. nuclear monopoly had ended so soon and anxious about another Communist triumph after the recent "loss" of China. "This means that we are in a straight race with the Russians," concluded Under Secretary of State James Webb. The Soviet bomb

compelled a reconsideration of American nuclear policy. It created pressures on the administration and within it to expand production of fission weapons. And it renewed and invigorated efforts to speed the Atomic Energy Commission's continuing quest for a fusion device.

Little Attention

Though the AEC and its General Advisory Committee of nine prominent scientists had unanimously approved an effort to develop the H-bomb in the early postwar years, the project received little attention. Shortages of skilled personnel and resources, an emphasis on improving fission weapons, and doubts about feasibility helped to slow the project. At that pace, even the feasibility of the fusion bomb would not be known until the late 1950s.

After the Soviets exploded their A-bomb, some members of the American weapons community pushed for a faster effort on the H-bomb. They included Admiral Lewis Strauss, financier and conservative Republican on the AEC, Senator Brien McMahon, Democratic chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, and physicist Edward Teller, a long-time supporter of the weapon, who had despaired earlier of being able to push the AEC into an energetic effort to develop the H-bomb. Alarmed by the test, Strauss concluded that the United States should start an "all-out" effort to create thermonuclear weapons. In early October, he told the other commissioners of a need "for a quantum jump in our planning . . . an intensive effort to get ahead with the Super [H-bomb]." Such a weapon, promising virtually unlimited power, was essential to national security, he argued.

Strauss did not expect to persuade most of his fellow commissioners. But

he knew that he had allies elsewhere: Teller, probably Nobel physicist Ernest O. Lawrence and the Berkeley group of physicists and chemists, some scientists at Los Alamos, and McMahon and his associates on the joint committee. Strauss also deftly campaigned for the new weapon with Admiral Sidney Souers, secretary of the National Security Council. Strauss learned from Souers that the President had not even known about the H-bomb, but now "Truman wanted Strauss to force the issue up to the White House and to do it quickly."

Teller, Lawrence, and another physicist, Luis Alvarez, helped spur support for the bomb. Visiting Washington in early October, Lawrence and Alvarez pushed for a speeded-up project with McMahon, who was enthusiastic, and with some of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who also favored it.

But not everyone in the weapons establishment liked the project. David Lilienthal, the AEC chairman, who had long endorsed the leisurely quest for the H-bomb, was appalled by the new enthusiasm for such a powerful weapon. Lawrence and Alvarez were "drooling over the H-bomb," Lilienthal complained in his diary. "Is this all we have to offer?" Lilienthal was in anguish. He hoped desperately for some path out of the arms race and regretted the growing reliance on nuclear weapons as a deterrent and guarantor of victory. He was torn between his hopes for peace and his obligations to improve nuclear weapons. "More and better bombs," he lamented in his diary. "Where this will lead . . . is difficult to see. We keep saying, 'We have no other course'; what we should say is 'We are not bright enough to see any other course.'" Unable to find a path out of the arms race, he did not want to add to the moral burden and world danger by seeking the H-bomb. For him, the weapon's awesome power

posed new moral and international issues. It etched in bold relief the gnawing dilemmas that he could neither solve nor escape.

J. Robert Oppenheimer, a brilliant physicist and chairman of the GAC, shared many of Lilienthal's doubts and fears. Wartime head of the Los Alamos laboratory that had produced the A-bombs for Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Oppenheimer never escaped a resultant feeling of guilt. Now, confronted sharply with the question of the H-bomb, which he and the AEC had long supported, he felt compelled to consider again the moral issues. The new weapon was, he concluded in mid-October, a distasteful matter—uncertain scientifically, dubious militarily, troubling morally. It was certainly not the appropriate response to the Soviet bomb. Emphasis on such a powerful weapon would "even further worsen the unbalance of our present war plans."

Lingering Guilt

James Conant, a GAC member, president of Harvard, and a chemist who had overseen the Manhattan Project, may have also felt guilty about his work on the A-bomb. Like the other members of the committee, Conant had earlier endorsed the slow quest for the H-bomb. But now, faced with the plan for a greatly accelerated program, he too confronted the moral, military, and international-political issues that the slower pursuit had not seemed to raise. His conclusion: Don't build it. "Over my dead body," he said. "[The] real answer [to the Soviet bomb] was to do a job and revamp our whole defense establishment, put in something like universal military service, [and] get Europe strong on the ground."

In mid-October, the AEC asked its GAC for advice on the H-bomb and the entire nuclear-weapons program. At the end of the month, following a

three-day meeting, the eight members at the session presented their recommendations: expansion of nuclear-production facilities; greater emphasis on tactical nuclear weapons; support for the "booster" (a fission-fusion hybrid of up to 300 kilotons yield scheduled for testing in 1951); and opposition to a speeded-up project for the "Super." All opposed pursuing the H-bomb "with high priority" even though there was, in their estimate, "a better than even chance of producing the weapon within five years."

The GAC hoped the government would not even do research to determine whether the weapon was feasible. The committee denied that scientists had a duty to learn whatever could be discovered, an imperative that Oppenheimer and other members had once stressed. Rejecting that, the GAC argued that a higher morality—the danger of genocide—should bar the pursuit of this knowledge. "It is clear," the members wrote, "that the use of this weapon would bring about the destruction of innumerable human lives; it is not a weapon which can be used exclusively for the destruction of material installations of military or semi-military purposes. Its use therefore carries much further than the atomic bomb itself the policy of exterminating civilian populations." Using damage area per dollar, they concluded "it appears uncertain . . . whether the Super will be cheaper or more expensive than the fission bomb."

Unconditional Renunciation

A six-member majority (led by Oppenheimer and Conant) recommended unconditional renunciation of the H-bomb, while a minority (I.I. Rabi and Enrico Fermi) sought conditional forbearance. The majority thought the weapon was strategically unnecessary because the U.S.S.R. had few large cities. They were troubled by moral questions related to this "threat to the future of the human race." Moreover, development of the weapon would injure the nation's moral position and weaken America in the cold war race for allies and international support. Even if the Soviets developed the H-bomb, the United States would still have enough A-bombs for adequate de-

terrence or retaliation. "In determining not to proceed to develop the Superbomb," the majority concluded, "we see a unique opportunity of *providing by example* some limitation on the totality of war and thus eliminating the fear and arousing the hopes of mankind." [Emphasis added.]

The minority (Rabi and Fermi) offered a more sharply worded statement of moral objections but ended by proposing conditional forbearance: Try to develop the bomb *only* if the Soviets would not renounce it. The Rabi-Fermi argument implicitly undercut the majority conclusion (unilateral renunciation) by suggesting that under some conditions the H-bomb would be useful and necessary to the United States if the Soviets had it. Curiously, Rabi and Fermi never spelled out their thinking on this vital matter: Under what conditions would the bomb be strategically or psychologically valuable? Nor, strangely, did the majority opinion take issue with this lurking set of assumptions in the Rabi-Fermi statement.

The reports — taken individually or together — were defective. They were loosely written and did not make clear either their assumptions or the precise basis for their conclusions. For example, was the majority's argument of "no strategic necessity" for the Super sufficient to support its conclusion that the bomb should not be sought? Did the strategic argument then liberate them to stress morality? If so, what if new arguments emerged which undermined the position of "no strategic necessity"? Would the moral argument then have to yield? There was also a major unaddressed question, as McMahan forcefully pointed out to Truman: Since bombing was quite inaccurate, was the greater power of the H-bomb, with its capacity to destroy a greater area, a useful or vital compensation for inaccuracy?

Beyond that, why did the GAC deem the Super immoral but the booster and tactical nuclear weapons moral? It was not simply a matter of power. Their argument was more complex. They were suggesting that the booster and tactical weapons would probably be used against military targets but that the H-bomb would prob-

ably be used against cities. The GAC was moving toward a tactical and counterforce (as opposed to a counter-city) strategy in an effort to make nuclear war less inhumane and nuclear strategy more rational, but the argument was murky.

The Rabi-Fermi report had suggested that inspection might be unnecessary to police a Soviet pledge not to produce the bomb because "it appears highly probable that an advanced state of development leading to a test . . . could be detected by available physical means." Unfortunately, the tempting possibility of a pledge, which could be policed by imposing a ban on testing *any* nuclear weapons, was not pursued. Had Rabi and Fermi argued this matter more forcefully and explained why detection would be "highly probable," perhaps they could have placed this alternative on the agenda for discussion.

Unsurvivable Policy

These criticisms of the GAC report should not be understood as an indictment, only as a statement of shortcomings. Men who had long lived with the nuclear arms race and, in some cases, with guilt about Hiroshima and Nagasaki were being asked to examine questions that reached near the core of their assumptions and beliefs. In a rushed weekend, even when aided by some earlier private discussions, they could not establish firm arguments on these troubling matters. They faced a formidable challenge. It was one they could not fully meet.

Oppenheimer, hoping to carry the GAC's campaign to the White House, decided first to discuss the report with Secretary of State Dean Acheson. Acheson, as Oppenheimer found, "wished he could go along with [the GAC], but didn't think he would be able to. . . . Acheson didn't see how the President could survive a policy of not making the H-bomb." After that conversation in early November, Oppenheimer concluded that the GAC position would fail. He realized there was no value in seeking a meeting with the President. America's quest for the H-bomb was inevitable.

The five AEC commissioners split, 3-2, against the H-bomb, but they did

agree on the need for public discussion. It was, they informed Truman, "inescapable, . . . necessary, and . . . desirable." Three commissioners—Lilienthal, Sumner Pike, and Henry D. Smyth—opposed the quest for the bomb. Their arguments were similar to the GAC majority's. Lilienthal, the most forceful, stressed that a decision for the bomb would impair the President's peace program, injure America's image abroad, "not increase our over-all strength," and promote the dangerous "misconception and illusion [that nuclear weapons are] the chief means of protecting ourselves." The Super, even if it slightly increased America's strategic power, was not necessary, he asserted. Lilienthal implied that the administration should reassess its military capacity, move away from its heavy emphasis on nuclear weapons, and build up its conventional forces.

The other two commissioners—Gordon Dean, who was McMahon's former law partner, and Strauss—were enthusiastic supporters of the thermonuclear device. Strauss presented a vigorous argument for the bomb: The United States "must be as completely armed as any possible enemy." How, he asked, could the opponents of the H-bomb, including the GAC, support the A-bomb and not the Super? Both weapons were horrible, both greatly expanded the damage area, and both were necessary. The GAC was, in short, morally inconsistent. Moreover, the Soviet Union, "a government of atheists," was not likely to be dissuaded on moral grounds. Strength, not forbearance, was essential to American well-being. Strauss's arguments, submitted to the President after a discussion with McMahon, buttressed the senator's own vigorous pleas for the H-bomb.

On November 18, news leaked out that the administration was secretly considering whether to seek the H-bomb. Until then, Americans had not known of the top-secret venture. Truman promptly renewed his order of secrecy. He wanted to avoid a public dialogue, to reduce the pressure, and to gain time for a carefully weighed decision. The President had his own inclinations about the H-bomb proj-

ect. He had given up hope for international control of atomic energy and, like Acheson, did not expect relations with the Soviet Union to improve. Under pressure from McMahon and his congressional committee, as well as the Joint Chiefs, who also wanted the H-bomb, Truman was being pushed in that direction. It could meet political needs at home and aid him abroad. It could create, in Acheson's words, "situations of strength."

But rather than make an abrupt decision, the President appointed a three-man advisory committee: Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson, who favored the bomb, perhaps largely because his Joint Chiefs wanted it and it seemed cheap; Acheson, who, like Truman, was inclined toward it; and Lilienthal, who opposed it. This special committee, staffed by the heads of Defense, State, and the AEC, brought together most of the major bureaucratic interests. Because two of the three favored the bomb, the ultimate results were predictable.

Essential Strength

The key person on the committee was Acheson, whom Truman greatly admired and trusted. The secretary, though inclined toward the Super, would (as Truman knew) scrupulously investigate the issues and canvass the interested parties, usually probing assumptions and trying to understand positions. When Acheson spoke to Oppenheimer, whom he liked and admired, the secretary, predictably, could not accept Oppenheimer's analysis: "You know, I listened as carefully as I knew how, but I don't understand what Oppie was trying to say," he told an associate. "How can you persuade a paranoid adversary to disarm 'by example'?" For Acheson, the opposite analysis was compelling: Only a vigilant and better armed America could halt Communist nibbling or massive aggression, and ultimately triumph, in the cold war. Military strength—not negotiation—was essential.

The Department of State had traditionally left questions about new weapons to the Pentagon. Acheson nonetheless sought advice within State. He received competing counsel from the two leading members of the

Policy Planning Staff: George Kennan, the architect of containment and director of the staff, and Paul Nitze, the man scheduled to replace him. Nitze, whose analysis of Soviet malevolence and American needs closely comported with Acheson's, argued that the nation must explore the feasibility of the H-bomb. "It is essential that the U.S. not find itself in a position of technological inferiority in this field."

In contrast, Kennan hoped to head off the quest. He wanted the United States to make a sincere effort at international control of atomic energy. Unfortunately, despite his anguish and effort, he could not formulate a plan likely to be acceptable to both superpowers. The basic problem, Kennan stressed, was that the administration did not want international control because the atomic bomb was the keystone of America's military edifice. The administration relied upon nuclear superiority to compensate for inferiority in land forces. It believed that the A-bomb probably deterred Soviet aggression in Europe and promised a speeded victory if war erupted there. The A-bomb, he reluctantly acknowledged, would not be surrendered.

Around the time of the new year, Acheson came to believe that there was no compelling argument against determining the feasibility of the H-bomb, and many arguments supporting it. The bureaucratic and political pressures were great—especially from the Joint Chiefs and the McMahon committee. It would be "intolerable," the Joint Chiefs had declared, if the Soviets developed the weapon and the United States lacked it. The bomb could be an added deterrent, create more flexibility in conducting war, substitute for a greater number of A-bombs, and possibly use scarce materials more efficiently. Such arguments, the Joint Chiefs concluded, "decisively outweigh the possible social, psychological, and moral objections."

Acheson, already under attack for "losing" China, did not want to face a domestic political battle on why he and Truman were leaving America strategically weak by not pushing for the bomb. As important, for Acheson,

(Continued on page 31.)

Life and Love



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The quotation above comes from Si Rinden, contributor of countless *Journal* articles and steward of *LIFE AND LOVE* from 1962 till its disappearance two years ago. The series was founded by Bob Rinden in 1959. Its goal, as expressed by Malcolm McLean, was and is "the gentle exposure of that which is self-serving and ridiculous. It never seeks to humiliate individuals nor leave cutting wounds. It searches for satire and eschews sarcasm." In that spirit, we present the following.



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View from the Top

A Former Ambassador Ponders the Real Goals and Successes of a Foreign Service Career

By MARTIN F. HERZ

Looking back on my career of 32 years in the Foreign Service, I am struck by a number of incongruities. Not the least is the undeniable fact that in my first position, as third secretary with the American legation in Vienna, I had more influence on events than I had in my last position, as "Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary" to the People's Republic of Bulgaria. This was because Austria immediately after World War II was in a focal area of interest, the zone where western and Soviet power met; whereas when I was in Bulgaria it was the least important of the Soviet satellites, and Washington couldn't have cared less what was going on there. It might well be said that in some respects it is perhaps more important where you are than what position you occupy. And there may be something to the remark attributed to Henry Kissinger that he had more respect for officers who wanted to "do something" than for those who only wanted to "be something." Being where the action is, and getting a part of it, is still the name of the game in the Foreign Service.

Having "part of the action," however, doesn't mean that one must hold a high rank. In any case, the view from the bottom is in some ways much more interesting than from the top. A sec-

ond secretary of embassy, for instance, operates under considerably fewer constraints than his superiors, is much better able to follow a personal work program and social schedule, and can be much more his or her own person. One need not meet only "important people," so the horizon is less constricted than is that of people higher up. And reporting, analysis, and policy recommendation (the latter of course only within limits when one is younger) are a lot more fun than "program management" with its multifarious concerns that leave little time and opportunity for creativity. Most of the good ideas I had during my career, most of the really exciting conversations, most of the really good reports and analyses, were in the early years. Hans Habe, the novelist, wasn't wrong when he said that "second secretaries are really much more interesting people to know than ambassadors."

A Small Target

I was attracted to the Foreign Service by the example of an officer (I was assigned to work alongside him while still in the military) who produced political analyses that were masterpieces of disciplined exposition with conclusions cleanly drawn from the evidence, scrupulously distinguishing between what we knew and what we couldn't be quite sure about, and with an exciting distinction between power and influence. This, I said to myself, is the kind of work I would like to do! Unfortunately, the officer who produced those masterpieces turned out to be quite unappreciated in the Foreign Service

and ended his career a bitter man. So I discovered that one has to have, in addition to a disciplined mind and good drafting ability, the gift of presenting material in such a manner that it will be read. This does not mean resorting to sensationalism, but simply that it is dangerous to be dull. I count this on balance to be a rather favorable development.

Let me offer a word on what one can legitimately and realistically hope to attain in a Foreign Service career. I once had a colleague, an unusually bright and capable officer, who unhesitatingly answered "power!" when I asked him what he was seeking in his career. He is still in the Service and perhaps will attain his goal, but I warned him that he was shooting at a very small target and that he stood a better chance of reaching it if he went into politics. What one can attain in varying degrees is *influence*. One can make small contributions to big decisions and help roll the stone of Sisyphus up the mountain. For diplomacy is a *process* consisting for the most part of many small actions and decisions. It is the accumulation of contributions by many people, and contrary to the image conveyed by college texts and TV shows, even the big decisions in Washington are not really made by single individuals. To seek a position in American diplomacy that will allow one to "control events" is utopian. A consul who saves an American life, a political officer who drafts a timely warning, an economic officer who points out an opportunity—they don't make the earth tremble but they are

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justified in feeling at the end of the day that they have protected or advanced American interests. Abroad and in Washington, we should get our satisfaction from knowing that our reports, papers, and arguments went into some big decisions and that we contributed in thousands of ways to making the world a less dangerous place. This is truly a goal worth pursuing.

There are frustrations, of course, in a more or less disciplined career service—the capriciousness of Personnel, the unfairness of efficiency reports, the undeserved promotions or preferments of people obviously less qualified than oneself, and the impersonal quality and insensitivity of the system. These are found in every large organization, not only in the State Department and the Foreign Service. Fortunately for us in the Service, there are elements that balance those frustrations; we frequently change positions and sometimes have more than one superior in a position—an advantage which many other public servants do not enjoy. I have in my own career experienced what I thought were injustices—really shafted one time and just nicked by a poisoned stiletto another—but there have also been times when superiors, on the basis of what might have seemed inadequate evidence, concluded that I should be promoted forthwith. Luck does play a role, but in the Foreign Service it plays a smaller role than in other merit systems—until you come within hailing distance of the top, the ambassadorial position.

Prospects Uncertain

Anyone who enters the Foreign Service with the firm determination to become an ambassador and who will judge the success or failure of his or her career in terms of that goal would do best not to enter in the first place. The prospects, even for very good people, are too uncertain. And they would still be uncertain even if we did not have the national disgrace of unqualified people from outside the profession being appointed to ambassadorships.

The following story well illustrates the unpredictability of ambassadorial appointments: I was sitting in the State Department's eighth floor dining room with a colleague who was a depu-

ty assistant secretary, had worked at the White House, and had direct access to The Great K. "I am finished," he said to me, "I have lost K's confidence. He won't even talk to me. That means that my chances of getting a mission of my own are zero. I'm looking for an outside job so that I can take early retirement." Two months later he was nominated to be ambassador at a Class I mission. Many of us know at least one person who was kicked upstairs—given the "lateral arabesque"—into an ambassadorship because his presence could not be abided by a superior. Unfortunately, others who do not come into the presence of these movers and shakers don't have the opportunity of being given such a lateral push—or of getting an appointment simply because their fine qualities are appreciated in the right place. If one is very good the chances *are* very good that there will be a promotion. The chances of making it to chief of mission, however, are always uncertain.

The heartbreaking part of being eligible for an ambassadorial position is that the appointment depends so much on chance that it is virtually unpredictable. By and large good people do get nominated, but there have been enough exceptions to make one's flesh crawl. Perhaps the most distressing aspect of the appointment process is that the people on the seventh floor will not be candid. They will not say, "You're on a list but you won't make it" or "You're on a list but that is irrelevant because the selection has already been determined." Nor will they say that you are simply not chief-of-mission material. ("I couldn't say that," a top official once exclaimed to me, "for the person in question could file a grievance against me!") A greater degree of candor in such matters would reduce the amount of heartbreak among those who almost, but not quite, make it. It will not be a consolation to such people to be told that the position of ambassador is really vastly overrated and that there are dozens of positions in the Foreign Service and additional dozens in the department, AID, and USIA that entail much greater responsibility.

It is true that there is a certain cachet to the title of ambassador—al-

though one wonders whether the holder of that honorific can really preen very much when asked "To what country were you ambassador?" and has to reply "to Tuvalu"; and, when the interlocutor blinks uncomprehendingly, has to add, as if that explained anything, "It used to be known as the New Hebrides." Once outside the Service it is a good idea to cash in on any importance attached to the title as quickly as possible if one intends to have a second career, for it is certainly a wasting asset.

Joys Rare

Some readers may ask if I am not overlooking the joys of being in charge, of running one's own shop, of knowing what to do and being able to do it. I am not overlooking them. They exist and are to be savored. But they are much rarer than one might think. One of the most frustrated Foreign Service officers, for instance, must have been the U.S. ambassador to the U.S.S.R. when Henry A. Kissinger was running both the strategy and tactics of our foreign policy. As I point out in my book *215 Days in the Life of an American Ambassador*, "Everyone in government always has a hierarchy of bosses sitting on top of him, unless he is at the very top; and this means that even when you attain the exalted rank of assistant secretary in a major department, you are not the boss. You are that to your subordinates, of course, but you are yourself still very much a subordinate." An ambassador is number one in the embassy but is still far from the top of the totem pole. A chief of mission is a senior representative abroad but is still only a representative—and forgets that at his or her peril.

I have had over a dozen superiors during my career. As I look back, the most outstanding ones came from outside the career service: David K.E. Bruce, Douglas Dillon, and Ellsworth Bunker. Of course the Foreign Service has also produced some giants, but they have been very few, partly because successful noncareer ambassadors go on and on whereas career people must run against the clock ticking away toward retirement. The most limited

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Night Flight

*A. U.S. consul
in New Delhi
issues an illegal
visa to help
Stalin's daughter
escape communism*

By ADRIENNE HUEY

On March 6, 1966, Stalin's daughter Svetlana Alliluyeva defected to the United States while on a religious mission to India. The western world was stunned by the news, for little was known even of this daughter's existence, some 13 years after the dictator's death. This is the story of how a U.S. consul, my husband, George, helped Stalin's daughter escape to freedom.

Following her father's death, Svetlana lived a rather secluded life in Moscow. Eventually, she and her two teenage children came to live with her east Indian common-law husband, Brajish Singh. Of that union Svetlana has said: "The attitude of the party to our marriage was one thing which I think was disgusting. I cannot understand how in a country where marriage with foreigners is allowed by law, a person like me was not allowed to marry by the government and the party. I was not allowed to marry an Indian citizen even though he was a member of the Indian Communist party."

There had been three other men who greatly influenced Svetlana's life. The

Adrienne Huey was the wife of the late George Huey and served with him in Liverpool, Panama, Buenos Aires, and New Delhi.

first was a young Jewish student, Alexey Kepler, whom she met at age 16 while attending the University of Moscow. Her jealous father had him picked up by the secret police to prevent their marriage. The second man was a lieutenant in the Kremlin guard named Gregory Morozov. He was also Jewish and was much opposed by Stalin for both personal as well as political reasons. The defiant Svetlana married him anyway, but the marriage lasted only two years.

Svetlana's second marriage took place in 1949 and was to Yuri Zhdanov, son of Andrey Zhdanov, Stalin's deputy. Andrey Zhdanov was responsible for the Communist party's crackdown on Russian intellectuals, artists, and composers. His son was said to be a coldly calculating manipulator. At one time he was the director of the science section of the Communist party. He was ousted on the death of his father, when his whole family fell from favor. During those years he and Svetlana separated and were finally divorced. He later became president of the University of Rostov and lives in Moscow to this day. It was that kind of government control of literature and the arts that Svetlana sought to escape by her defection.

Ashes on the Ganges

When Brajish Singh died in Moscow, Svetlana applied for permission to return his ashes to India. Hindu custom required the ashes be scattered on the Ganges River. Perhaps the seed of the idea of defection had already taken root. In any case, Svetlana was allowed to make the journey and quietly entered India.

After completing the ritual, Svetlana lingered with her husband's family in the town of Kalakankar, one hundred miles east of Lucknow. The large family welcomed her with open arms, and she thrived in its loving

atmosphere. She would often help with the cooking. She spent many happy hours walking through the noisy bazaars and strolling along the banks of the Ganges in her white widow's sari.

The short visit she had been authorized to make stretched into 10 weeks. The Soviet embassy became extremely impatient with her reluctance to leave India. Letters flew back and forth between New Delhi and Kalakankar. These were eventually replaced by urgent personal visits from disgruntled officials. Svetlana made it clear that she would prefer to stay in India. She even applied to a friend high in the Indian government to intercede. He refused. Finally, one Sunday in early March 1966, Svetlana reluctantly tore herself from the arms of her new family and returned to New Delhi.

The Huey family had arrived in New Delhi the previous year. George was chief of the consular section. His office was in the West Building, which is back to back with the chancery. At that time, the West Building was connected to the main part of the embassy by a rabbit-warren of halls and passageways. The West Building itself is just a block from the Soviet embassy and faces the same street.

At the close of business on March 6, George secured the consulate and headed for our home in the suburb of Defence Colony. We had barely seated ourselves at the dinner table when we heard the distant ring of the telephone. With three teenage daughters in the family, we expected the call to be for one of them. The bearer, Sat Pal, knew we disapproved of his calling the girls away from the table. We were all a little startled, then, when he stuck his head cautiously around the edge of the swinging door and announced that the call was for "Sahib." After exchanging a few disappointed glances, our daughters got back to their dinners.

to Freedom



George went out to the hall to take the call. Shortly he returned to the dining room and announced that he had to go immediately back to the embassy. He looked rather solemn, but his behavior gave no other hint of the seriousness of the events that were to follow.

I walked with him out to the car. Once we were out of hearing of staff and family, he turned to face me directly and mouthed silently the word "defector." With that he got into our

Chevy station wagon and drove into the dusk. I was not to see or hear from him again until early the next day.

There were a number of Red Chinese gymnastic teams and choral groups performing in New Delhi at the time. Thinking there might be some defectors among them, the members of the embassy "defection team" had recently been briefed on the procedure for calling them together. The Marine guards had memorized a code message to summon my husband.

George had been given this message during the telephone call that interrupted our dinner. More or less, anyway. George said later that the excited Marine got it a little mixed up. George had to ask the soldier if he meant to say "such and such," to which the startled Marine had replied with a relieved, "Yes, sir!" Over all, the conduct of the Marine on guard duty in the West Building that night was totally professional, down to the ultimate detail of placing the Soviet passport he had been handed by Svetlana face down on the table, so that passersby who were still in the building would not notice its origin. That "Yes, sir!" was all George needed to hear. It would be his duty to verify the defection and to see that the other members of the team were called.

George walked into the West Building and said to the guard, "What have we got? Does he speak English?" "It's a woman," the marine replied, "and she does speak English."

A Single Suitcase

She was standing there in the middle of the guard's small office, looking sturdy and purposeful, in a neatly tailored suit and sturdy shoes. She was a matronly 41 years old, with short, graying, auburn hair and a serious, pink-cheeked face. She had one suitcase with her, which contained all she would be able to take with her from the life she had known before, including the memoirs she had been writing for several years.

She spoke English very well. She and George had no trouble communicating after the first awkward moments of introductions. When she told George she was Stalin's daughter, he recalled later that he was embarrassed to remember the lack of originality of his response. "You mean *the* Stalin?" he said.

In her book *Only One Year*, Svetlana has this to say about that first encounter: "After the Marine guard had left me in that small room adjoining the front hall, the first man I saw was George Huey—tall, stout, wearing a bright loose shirt. . . . We spoke English. . . . It never occurred to me that my appearance was somewhat like that of a visitor from Mars."

After settling the lady comfortably in his office, George continued to question her for several minutes to determine to his satisfaction that her credentials were in order. His mind was racing with many questions: "Why is she asking asylum? Could there be hidden motives? Is this a plot to embarrass the United States?" Svetlana later said she realized her motives would be suspect.

George soon made up his mind that she was truly Stalin's daughter. She was forthright and openly sincere, so he quickly set the wheels in motion that would eventually bring her to the United States.

Once the defection team had gathered, they moved to a larger office and began an interrogation that was to go on until past midnight. Tea was made and everything possible done to make their unexpected guest comfortable.

Svetlana was obviously not a political person. In her later writings she describes her disenchantment with the Communist party in this way: "I was brought up in a family where there was never any talk about God. But when I became a grown-up person I found that it was impossible to exist without God in one's heart. Since that moment the main dogmas of communism lost their significance to me. There are no capitalists and Communists for me—there are good people or bad people." Later she was to say she "longed to live where the power of the intellect would be respected and freely exercised."

A Treasured Manuscript

The greatest source of interest to the team, next to the lady herself, was the manuscript, which she so obviously treasured. One of the team was an expert in the Russian language. He began scanning and translating the many pages. A year later, on publication, the book would reach 80,000 words.

Our ambassador to India in 1966 was Chester Bowles. He was sick in bed at the time and had to be briefed by phone. He directed the team to do everything possible to help the woman but that a diplomatic incident was to be avoided.

Cables were sent to the Department of State, advising it of the unusual situation in New Delhi and asking for

guidance. As the night wore on and no response was received, the team became intent on forming a workable plan to present to the ambassador.

Svetlana, meanwhile, was telling the story of her escape from the Soviet embassy. The day before, when she had finally arrived from Kalakankar, the Soviets had foolishly returned her passport to her, along with curt orders to return immediately to the U.S.S.R. Still, she pleaded to be allowed to remain in India and received a terrible tongue-lashing from the Soviet ambassador. He was totally unfeeling and disgruntled at her long delay in returning to New Delhi. This scene must have been the last straw for Svetlana. Her decision to defect was solidified, though she knew it would mean not seeing her two children in Moscow ever again.

Later, in a poignant message to those two young people that she had left behind, Svetlana pleaded: "Let them all condemn me—and you condemn me as well, if that will make things easier for you (say whatever you like: it will only be empty words, and they will not hurt me), only do not reject me in your hearts, my children, because you are more precious to me than anything in the world, my dear ones, and I think of you constantly and I pray for you, since nobody here prevents me from doing so."

The evening of her defection there was a large reception at the Soviet embassy. Svetlana was not expected to attend. At seven o'clock taxis began to pull up to deliver guests. There was much confusion as guests, hosts, and servants mingled in the crush and chatter. The vodka flowed freely. Svetlana realized that the time was perfect for her to leave unnoticed. Her passport was in her hand. If she could not stay in India, then she would go to the United States.

Svetlana quickly packed her few belongings in one suitcase, her precious manuscript on the very bottom, and quietly walked out the front door of the embassy. Sarded Indian ladies and their escorts were just leaving a lone taxi at the curb. She hastily slid into the empty seat and pulled her luggage in after her. It was a one-minute ride to the U.S. embassy.

Technically, Svetlana was not granted "asylum," since this would require the U.S. government to inform the host country, in this case India, of her presence. The defection team decided to treat her as they would any other tourist who might wish to go to the United States. Bowles concurred. No veto of the plan was received, so it was put into effect just after midnight. From a diplomatic viewpoint, the plan was scrupulously correct from start to finish.

An Illegal Visa

A check of Palam Airport disclosed a flight to Rome around two o'clock that morning. A tentative reservation was made for Svetlana and her escort. The next problem was what passport she would use. In her passport she was listed as Svetlana Alliluyeva, with no mention of the name Stalin. It was her mother's maiden name and means "Hallelujah" or "Light of the World." The team felt that name would not be familiar, so they decided she should use her own passport. A Russian *tourist* going to the United States by way of Rome would not arouse suspicion.

Now, George faced a dilemma. Svetlana needed a U.S. tourist visa in her Soviet passport. As an avowed Communist, she was totally ineligible. George had the ultimate responsibility of issuing that illegal visa. If the plan blew up in their faces, his job could be on the line. Just after one o'clock he returned to the deserted consular section, heated up the wax pot, and got out the special stamps and equipment. He entered the visa most willingly. The deed was done.

Svetlana was loaded into our station wagon, on the floor of the back seat. Her suitcase was wedged in beside her. Several others of the team followed at a distance in another car. They drove through the empty streets, past the totally dark and blissfully silent Soviet embassy, and headed for the airport.

The quietness of the embassy led them to believe that Svetlana's absence had not yet been discovered. But they were not in the clear yet. On arriving at the airport counter, they were informed that the flight to Rome had been delayed an hour and a half because of mechanical difficulties. Hearts

sank. Was it really a mechanical difficulty, or had Svetlana's escape route been discovered?

The name Svetlana Alliluyeva on the passport proved to be not of the slightest interest to the attendant, so the little group quickly scattered themselves around the surprisingly crowded waiting room, smoking endless cigarettes and drinking countless demi-tasse cups of the brew east Indians call coffee.

The wait was harrowing for all. Each moment brought new fear of discovery. Each time an outside door opened all the conspirators turned their heads in unison to inspect the newcomers. Finally, the flight was announced. Svetlana and her escort were soon aboard. The plane took off into the night. George and the others were in a state of nervous collapse as they headed for their respective homes in the chill dawn.

It was several days before a small item appeared in the *New Delhi Statesman*, a local newspaper, announcing the mysterious disappearance and possible defection of Svetlana Alliluyeva. About the same time, the *paparazzi* in Rome discovered she was there. They became so obnoxious that Svetlana's escort decided she would be safer in Switzerland. They narrowly evaded the persistent photographers long enough to board a plane bound for Geneva.

In April 1967, Svetlana flew the last leg to the United States. Her entry was delayed purposely to give her every opportunity to change her mind, if she so desired. When she finally arrived, she stepped gratefully onto American soil as a smiling tourist, not as an asylee.

From a haven in New Jersey, she completed her memoirs. That book was entitled *Twenty Letters to A Friend*, and, of the \$2.5 million it brought her, she is said to have made a substantial donation to the Indian village of Kalakankar. Later she wrote her second book, *Only One Year*, telling of her visit to India and her defection. When she sent the Huey family an autographed copy, she enclosed for George her baggage tags from that stressful flight out of New Delhi with an illegal U.S. tourist visa in her Soviet passport. □

The H-bomb

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his own sense of America's military and diplomatic needs led him to stress the likely value of the H-bomb. It would be militarily and politically unacceptable, as Nitze argued, for the Soviets to develop the weapon and for the United States to be without it. America's prestige might be found wanting. But it would be unwarranted to argue that Acheson was merely going through a ritual of meetings and deliberations to reach a predetermined conclusion. Rather, as he investigated the issues and tested ideas, his own earlier inclinations were reinforced. Ultimately, he moved from inclination to commitment.

The six weeks from December 22 to January 31 were the period when the new policy was explicitly formulated. The special committee met only twice, on the first day to explore issues and on the last to agree on recommendations. At the first session, Lilienthal was still hopeful; by the last, he knew he had been defeated.

Quest Approved

Midway through the period, Acheson knew that the President was eager to approve the H-bomb. A recent report from the Joint Chiefs had confirmed Truman's thinking, which was also in line with Acheson's analysis. The secretary told an associate, "I had about reached the position that we should advise the President to go ahead and find out about the feasibility [of the H-bomb]. But that we should be quite honest and say that in advising this action, we are going quite a long way to committing ourselves to continue down that road." A decision to produce the weapon, as Acheson noted, would almost ineluctably follow if it proved feasible.

At the final session, Acheson, Lilienthal, and Johnson quickly dealt with the question of feasibility. Lilienthal, acceding to the majority, agreed that the study would be accelerated. They left open the important details but agreed that the AEC and Defense would consult on scale and rate. Acheson and Lilienthal made two other recommendations: a re-examination of

U.S. military policy and the role of nuclear weapons, and a presidential deferral of a decision on actual production. Johnson quickly acceded to the call for a re-examination of military policy but objected to a statement deferring a decision on production. Acheson rapidly backed away from the proposal. He recognized that there was no need for an explicit statement to protect the President's option to defer that decision. He also knew that a decision for production would be hard to resist.

The meeting served to ratify decisions already reached. At the end of the session, Johnson suggested that they go to the White House that afternoon to deliver their report. Johnson, in Lilienthal's words, said "the heat was on in the Congress and every hour counted in getting this matter disposed of." The committee's ten-minute session at the White House was mere ritual. They knew that Truman intended to go ahead with the project. According to Lilienthal, the President "said that he had always believed that we should never use these weapons and that our whole purpose was peace; that he didn't believe we would ever use them but we had to go on and make them because of the way the Russians were behaving; we had no other course."

Truman had made the politically popular and bureaucratically safe decision. Both the public and Congress overwhelmingly favored the effort. To the President, the pressures of politics, the expressed needs of the military, the wishes of Acheson, and the demands of international politics had comfortably coalesced. His own inclinations, his perceptions of needs, and his key adviser—Acheson—all pushed him in the same direction. "[T]here was actually no decision to make on the H-bomb," Truman privately informed his staff. In a sense, he explained, the decision had been made in the autumn, after the Soviet explosion, when he decided to expand the AEC budget. His action of January 31 followed from the earlier decision.

"It seems to me," Robert Bacher, a prominent physicist and former AEC commissioner, complained to Oppen-

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View from the Top

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among my superiors was a career officer who had served mostly in administrative positions. Curiously, some of the best did the least for the careers of their subordinates. The most obnoxious in the way he handled his subordinates was a career officer. Courage and character were found in the most unexpected places. One of the less impressive chiefs of mission for whom I worked had a lasting effect on me because his integrity was so firm that he refused to change an account of a conversation with the chief of state in which he had handled himself rather poorly, remarking to me: "I said it that way and therefore I must report it that way." Very few had that ineffable quality that George Kennan has called style and which he considered almost as important as substance. Unfortunately, in one case style went with a flamboyance that negated some of its good effects. And one of my superiors—a career officer—was so meek that he wouldn't even defend himself when attacked and

had to be pressured to do so. The best, in my opinion, were those who, despite all the pressures converging on them, were able to make time to think, who instinctively gave priority to the important over the urgent, and who encouraged their subordinates to do the same.

Also I have found in my professional life that it is rarely too late to get involved in a subject or issue that is in vogue. During the war, I was interested in psychological warfare but found there were many new experts who had written books or articles on that suddenly important subject, so that I saw myself as a latecomer. To the contrary, it turned out that once I had acquired "hands on" experience I suddenly became one of the oldest and most experienced experts! Similarly, in 1960 I arrived at the Bureau of African Affairs, which seemed to abound with specialists. Africa had suddenly become the vogue, and I felt very modest as an outsider and latecomer. Not so; within a year, most of the old hands had departed for field assignments, and I was one of the bureau's officers

with the most diversified African experience! And the same again with Vietnam. There were experts to the left and right, front and rear, and often underfoot—and of course also upstairs looking down. But there was ample room for more, and as one learns a new speciality one also learns to appreciate that not every expert is really as knowledgeable as he or she had seemed.

As one looks back over a career that has spanned several decades and tries, whether consciously or unconsciously, to draw a balance sheet, the first thing to recognize is of course that a career can be only one dimension of a person's life. The person who completely subordinates his or her personal life to the official one must not be surprised if his personal life is thereby impoverished or, at the very least, greatly complicated. It is a terrible mistake to measure one's success against that of other people, especially in a career service in which we are all on a ladder, for there will always be some who climb up faster, and "success" and "failure" cannot really be measured by such comparisons. For myself, the element of disci-

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pline—of going to unpleasant places because that is what one is told to do, of accepting disagreeable assignments because it would be dishonorable to refuse them—has its own satisfactions. This discipline, incidentally, was one of the Foreign Service's claims to special treatment in terms of compensation and retirement, and we have in my opinion undermined that claim by too much permissiveness.

When I meet with old friends and college classmates, I find that some of these contemporaries have done better

and some less well than I. Some have become very successful, one or two even famous; and in financial terms I imagine quite a few are better off. But it is no exaggeration to say—and readers will probably already have found this out for themselves—that many people envy us the life we lead, and not because of glittering cocktail parties or exotic assignments or diplomatic titles. No, if there is envy it comes from something very hard to articulate, but which comes down to *commitment*: This person has done something with his or

her life. The very things that we find constricting and perhaps even demeaning, the problems of being in a disciplined service and having to cope with annoyances and dangers and hardships of many kinds, these are the things which give real substance to our lives. Nowadays one seems to have to apologize for uttering such things because they may sound corny, but it is nevertheless still true: It is an honorable thing to be serving one's country, and the Foreign Service really is our country's first line of defense. □

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The H-bomb

(Continued from page 31.)

heimer, "that the President's decision could hardly have been otherwise, if made with the present background of public opinion. The amount of speculation and real information on the subject as a whole is most discouraging, and this seems to preclude any sensible discussion until this situation is corrected."

After Truman's announcement, some prominent physicists called for renewed efforts at international nuclear disarmament. McMahon, who had ardently pressed for the H-bomb, suddenly shifted his emphasis and publicly urged a program to end the arms race and establish world peace. A few other leading Democratic congressmen, including Senator Millard Tydings, offered similar notions. So great was their horror of nuclear war that these men, long accustomed to supporting large defense budgets and even calling for more nuclear weapons, hoped desperately to find some way out of the arms race. Yet none analyzed the cold war or the Soviet-American stalemate on international control of atomic energy. Instead, they offered exhortations and hopes. This mainstream "peace offensive" quickly gained popular support and placed the administration on the defensive. Truman and Acheson responded promptly. The secretary lashed out at his unexpected adversaries. Weakness, he asserted, was an invitation to the Soviets "to fish in . . . troubled waters." Meaningful agreement with the U.S.S.R. was impossible. It is "our basic policy," he emphasized, to build "situations [of] strength."

Was an opportunity missed in 1949-50 to stop the thermonuclear race? What would have happened if the United States, as Oppenheimer and others urged, had renounced the H-bomb? Might the Soviets have done the same?

Sketchy evidence suggests that the Soviets were already seeking thermonuclear capabilities. Probably the Soviets would not have believed an administration declaration (unless some inspection was allowed) that America was unilaterally or conditionally forgo-

ing the weapon. Nevertheless, critics may justifiably lament that the United States did not make some effort to slow the nuclear race by renouncing—at least temporarily—the quest for the H-bomb.

Had the United States chosen unilateral or conditional renunciation, it would not have taken a serious military risk. Its growing stock of atomic bombs (more than 100) and the construction of even bigger fission devices (500 kilotons) could have compensated for a Soviet H-bomb. As Oppenheimer later argued, the U.S.S.R. had been behind in thermonuclear research but was able to speed its project by using information gained from American H-bomb tests. In short, the United States may have missed a critical opportunity to slow the arms race and avoid the superpowers' "quantum jump."

Effort Accelerated

In his public announcement on January 31, Truman spoke only of "continuing" the quest for the H-bomb. Actually, he was accelerating the effort. Then, on February 24, he received a warning that the Soviets might have many A-bombs and even the H-bomb. The Joint Chiefs and Johnson urged an "all-out program of hydrogen bomb development." Faced with this new request, the President again appointed a special three-man committee of Acheson, Johnson, and Henry Smyth of the AEC, replacing the recently retired Lilienthal. The committee unanimously agreed that Truman should order the AEC to prepare for production of H-bombs. On March 10, Truman secretly endorsed the recommendation. The veil of security kept the public and most of Congress from knowing the commitment had been made.

The President's decisions to study and then to prepare to produce the fusion weapon were virtually inevitable. He had no reason to resist this commitment and many—both domestic and international—to make it. He was not compelled to do so by powerful domestic political and bureaucratic forces. McMahon, his congressional colleagues, the Joint Chiefs, and Strauss, as well as scientists like Teller

and Lawrence, only reinforced Truman's desires and predilections.

Had Truman wanted to resist pressures for the H-bomb, he might have taken his case to the people. Public opinion was confused and he might have reshaped it to oppose the H-bomb. It would not have been an easy task in a nation where many condemned Truman and Acheson for "losing" China. In late January and early February, Americans overwhelmingly favored (73 to 18 percent) seeking to build the H-bomb but also slightly favored (48 to 45 percent) trying negotiations with the Soviets for international control of atomic weapons. But Truman did not want to make such an effort with the Soviets. His policy of secrecy barred dissenting scientific advisers like Oppenheimer and Conant from arguing publicly against the H-bomb. It left opponents with a lingering sense that they could have persuaded the nation that the weapon was unnecessary.

In March, probably under the tutelage of McMahon, Tydings, and others, public opinion swelled (69 to 23 percent) for seeking international control first, even though most (60 to 17 percent) anticipated failure. Had Truman wished, he might have successfully exploited this sentiment for control to delay his March 10 secret decision. But he had no desire to do so. Instead, he and Acheson campaigned against the "peace offensive."

Ultimately, the key men were Acheson and Truman. On the H-bomb, as with so many other issue in the cold war, they found themselves in comfortable agreement. In view of their similar suspicions of the Soviet Union and their desire for more military power, that agreement became nearly inevitable. By appointing Acheson to the three-man advisory committees, Truman created a mechanism that assured him of a recommendation for the weapon. At a time when America was ahead in the nuclear arms race, Truman and Acheson turned away from any possibility of slowing the buildup. □

Barton J. Bernstein, longtime contributor to the Journal, is professor of history at Stanford University.

FOREIGN SERVICE PEOPLE

Eighth Annual AFSA/AAFSW Merit Award Winners for 1983

The Honorable H.G. Torbert Jr., chairman of the AFSA Committee on Education, has announced that the four review panels consisting of 24 volunteers from State, AAFSW, AID, and USIA have completed their work on the 1983 AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards. This year, the \$500 awards for academic excellence and outstanding leadership are given in memory of Ambassador Clare H. Timberlake, long-time friend and supporter of the scholarship programs for Foreign Service Juniors. Funds for these awards are provided jointly from the AAFSW Bookfair and the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

The 22 graduating high school students who are winners of the 1983 Timberlake Merit Awards are listed below. The September *Foreign Service Journal* will include pictures and brief biographies of these talented students. Congratulations!

WINNERS

Peter L. Barry
Gillian Burlingham
Anthony A. Diggle
Diana L. Edensword
Catherine J. Edwards
Ralph W. Falzone
Jeffrey D. Giese
Michael J. Goff
Kristin L. Hoganson
Stephen F. Howland
Liane M. Hirabayashi
Michael A. Jones
Trevor F. Kienzle
Mark A. Kockler
Jana S. Lee
Anne Lorimer
Jeffrey S. Moeller
Nancy P. Nenno
James W. O'Brien
Catherine S. Teare
Hilary A. Wilkinson
Thomas E. Williams

HONORABLE MENTION

Rachael G. Abramowitz
Paul R. Churchill

Alain J. Cohen
Edward T. Ewing
Kristen A. Johnson
Viktoria M. Lopatkiewicz
Rachel L. Mohn
Mary M. Thurber
Thomas J. Wajda Jr.
Chad B. Wootton

The volunteer panel members who reviewed the 108 applications are as follows:

From the Department of State—Michael Cotter, Morris Hughes, George Humphrey, Kenneth Hubbard, Alfred Verrier.

From AAFSW—Janet Biggs, Judith Livingston, Olivia Brown, Lucille Noel.

From AID—Roy Harrell, Ralph Barnett, Paul White, Sally Sharp.

From USIA—Frederick Hartley, Caroline Osterling, Harvey Leifert.

From the retired Foreign Service—Ambassador Claude Ross, Mrs. Dwight Porter, Ambassador Robert Moore, Ambassador David Popper.

The Committee on Education members are Robert Caffrey, State; Janet Biggs, AAFSW; James Singletary, AID; David Jones, State; Susan Modi, USIA.

Deaths

STEWART G. ANDERSON, a Foreign Service officer for 23 years and subsequently protocol officer for Governor Nelson Rockefeller in New York City for 11 years, died of heart failure while visiting in Naples, Florida, on March 11. He was 70 years old.

Anderson was a graduate of Dartmouth and of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. He entered the Foreign Service in 1940 and served in Toronto, Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro, Bogota, and Manila. In 1952-53 he was detailed to the Denver office of the Institute of International Education.

At the inception of President Truman's Point Four Program for developing countries, predecessor to AID, Anderson, then an economic officer at the U.S. embassy in Bogota, established the program in Co-

lombia and was thus its first director there. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1963.

He is survived by his wife, Marguerite, of 5303 Kenwood Avenue, Chevy Chase, Maryland 20815, two daughters, a son, and several grandchildren. The family has suggested that any expressions of sympathy take the form of contributions to the Juvenile Diabetes Foundation, 23 East 26th Street, New York, New York 10010.

MILDRED P. BELL, a former volunteer with the Association of American Foreign Service Women's Bookfair and the wife of a Foreign Service officer, died of septic shock March 12 at Suburban Hospital in Bethesda, Maryland. She had been hospitalized since January 24 because of a ruptured appendix. She was 67.

Bell, who lived in Washington, D.C., was born in Newark, New Jersey. She took courses in library science at the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, New York, and later ran a bookmobile in Columbia, South Carolina. She moved to Washington in the late 1940s and accompanied her husband to posts in Europe and Asia.

In the early 1970s, she began a used-book trade from her home. She started "The Book Cellar," an out-of-print bookstore in Bethesda, in 1976. Her family plans to continue it.

Bell is survived by her husband, Harry H. Bell of Washington, D.C.; a daughter, Jane Bell Davis of New York City; a granddaughter; and two step-granddaughters.

LENNA NEAL GOODSON, mother of Foreign Service Officer W. Neal Goodson, died February 12 in Danville, North Carolina. She was 86 years old. Goodson attended Gilliams Academy and University of North Carolina at Greensboro. She taught in Caswell County, North Carolina, schools for 37 years.

Bookfair '83

The annual AAFSW Bookfair needs books and art objects, according to its chairman, Marlen Neumann. Hardcover, paperback, fiction, and non-fiction, as well as specialty books are needed. Donations may be placed in the book bins or taken directly to Room 1524 in the State Department. Home collection of large quantities of books may be arranged by calling Maggy Morse at 223-5796. The Bookfair Workroom, Room 1524, which is next to the cafeteria, is open 2-3 p.m. daily except Wednesday for direct sales to personnel.

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Association News

Hundreds Honor Beirut Dead at Plaque Ceremony

Several hundred members of the Foreign Service, active and retired, gathered in the Diplomatic Lobby on Foreign Service Day, May 6, to honor the men and women who died in the terrorist bombing of the Beirut embassy in April and all those who gave their lives in serving the United States in foreign affairs since the founding of the diplomatic service. The event concluded several weeks of memorial events, beginning with a high-ranking delegation to Lebanon to accompany the bodies home; a ceremony at Andrews Air Force Base when the caskets arrived; and a memorial service at the National Cathedral, where Acting Secretary of State Kenneth W. Dam told the more than 5000 present filling the building to capacity, including Vice President Bush, delegates from the Washington diplomatic corps, and members of the decedents' families, "Let it be known that we



will not be deterred by cowardly acts of terrorism."

At the plaque ceremony, AFSA President Dennis K. Hays lauded the commitment to service despite the hazards of the post. "They knew of the danger," he said. "Despite this, they went." He called the attack a "crushing blow" to the Foreign Service, the worst in its history. Dam read messages from President

Reagan, who was in Phoenix, and Secretary of State George Shultz, who was in the Mideast, praising the sacrifice of the Foreign Service members and military colleagues who died. Both vowed that the American effort in Lebanon would go on.

As the crowd looked on, including family members of the deceased, a military honor guard, and a large press contingent, Dam and Hays pulled a cord which dropped the black veil shrouding the names of the 13 Americans who died in the bombing who were members of the mission under the command of the ambassador. They then stood to either side of the plaque at attention for a minute while a member of the honor guard placed a memorial wreath before the plaque.

The plaque, which stands on the east side of the lobby, was placed there in 1972. It continues a roll that begins on a similar plaque on the west side of the lobby. The earlier plaque honors the 81 persons who died between the founding of the Service and 1967, a period of 187 years. When the new memorial was erected, the criteria for inclusion on it were changed to omit listing those killed by disease or natural disaster and to include all Americans, such as Marine guards and military attachés, who serve overseas under the command of an ambassador. With the addition of the names of the Beirut dead, the 56 names carved in granite have filled nearly three-quarters of the new plaque in just 16 years.

Bad Faith Charged in State's Stalling on Danger Pay

Two days after the terrorist bombing of the U.S. embassy in Beirut, the Association filed an unfair labor practice charging the State Department with bad faith, dilatory bargaining regarding implementation of Danger Pay. The Foreign Service Act of 1980 authorized an allowance for service in foreign areas of up to 25 percent of basic pay based on civil insurrections, civil wars, terrorism, or wartime conditions that threaten physical harm or imminent danger to health or well-being. The charge came more than five months after AFSA had notified the department of its wish to renegotiate the existing agreement on Danger Pay because management had interpreted it so that employees serving in posts such as San Salvador and Beirut were denied the pay. At present, the only danger post is Kabul.

In its charge, the Association also alleged that management's failure to respond to its proposal on Danger Pay is part of an ongoing pattern of refusing to bargain. AFSA has had to file unfair labor practice charges on Family Visitation Travel, Standby Pay, and Special Incentive Differential to force management to the negotiating table. The Foreign Service Labor Relations Board has sided with AFSA in each case.

After informing the department of its wish to renegotiate in November, the Association continuously urged management to respond to its proposal. Having still failed to receive an answer, the Association wrote to management in February reiterating verbally expressed concerns about its failure to negotiate. The department did note in December that it found merit in the proposal. Management's continued neglect has allowed its interpretation of the regulations to stand—an interpretation which would still not classify Beirut as a danger post even in light of the recent tragedy at that embassy.

AFSA Joins Battle to Combat Anti-Union OPM Guidelines

To battle an Office of Personnel Management proposal to gut employee collective bargaining rights, AFSA has joined a coalition of federal employee unions' general counsels formed to coordinate possible legal action. The coalition was formed when OPM issued what it called a set of guidelines intended to govern consultation and scope of bargaining policy in labor-management relations. Members of congressional committees in both the House and Senate that are hearing the issue have told OPM Director Donald Devine that the office has no legal authority to propose or implement such

measures, which would sharply limit federal employee rights protected by statute.

"The Foreign Service Act of 1980 codifies AFSA's right to negotiate on behalf of State Department and AID employees concerning conditions of employment," said AFSA General Counsel Susan Z. Holik. The stated intent of the act's provisions on labor-management relations, she said, is to ensure a broad scope of bargaining. "The act accords OPM no role in the administration of Foreign Service labor-management relations," she added. "The OPM guidelines violate the act, both because OPM is attempting to exercise authority it lacks and because it purports to preclude negotiation in areas which Congress and the courts have determined to be negotiable."

Awards Committee Requests Names for AFSA Honors

The AFSA Awards Committee has requested the membership to nominate Foreign Service employees in State, AID, and USIA for the Association's awards honoring "extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage, and creative dissent." In addition, the committee is seeking names for the Avis Bohlen award, to be given "to that member of the family of a Foreign Service employee whose relations with the American and foreign communities at a Foreign Service post have done the most to advance the interests of the United States in the tradition of the late Avis Bohlen."

The Herter and Rivkin awards, given

to senior and mid-career officers, respectively, carry stipends of \$1000. The Hariman, for junior officers, and the Bohlen have \$2500 prizes. Nominations, due by June 30, can be made by anyone to honor any Foreign Service employee or family member. Those submitting names should document the accomplishments of the nominee by supplying: biographical data (name, grade, agency, position, relationship to person making nomination); association with the nominee (not to exceed 250 words); and justification for the nomination (580 to 780 words discussing nominee's qualifications and performance, bearing in mind the award criteria for extraordinary accomplishment or impact on the American and foreign communities at a post).

Nominations should be pouched or cabled to AFSA at the State Department or mailed to the Awards Committee at 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C.

Mason Performs a Sad Duty at State



Stonecarver Breon Williams cuts a stencil for list of 13 names of those who died in Beirut added to the memorial plaque last month. He has engraved 56 names there in just 16 years.

Department Cable Spurs Association ULP Charge

AFSA filed an unfair labor practice charge against the State Department in early May for unilaterally amending a recent agreement liberalizing importation and sale of personal property by employees serving overseas [ASSOCIATION NEWS, May]. The amendment would restrict employees in converting foreign currency generated by the sale to U.S. dollars. The change, of which employees were informed by cable, would in many cases effectively negate the benefits won under the agreement.

In amending an agreement without the Association's knowledge or concurrence, the department committed an unfair labor practice proscribed by federal labor laws. Upon learning of the cable, AFSA demanded that it be revoked. The department, acknowledging that the cable was sent without the Association's knowledge, nonetheless refused to rescind it. The unfair labor practice charge was before the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board at press time.

Association a Record 7500 Members Strong

More than 200 members were recruited in April, lengthening the Association's membership roll to 7523, the highest level ever. The new mark significantly eclipses the old record of 7316, set eight years ago. The number of new recruitments for the months of February, March, and April alone totaled 644, enlarging the previous membership base by almost 10 percent in just three months.

AFSA Donates \$5000 to Aid Families of Beirut Nationals

The Governing Board voted to contribute \$5000 to a relief fund run by Ambassador Robert Dillon to aid families of Foreign Service national employees killed in the bombing of the Beirut embassy. Others who wish to contribute should direct funds to the Near Eastern Bureau, Room 4249A, Dept. of State.

House Committee to Query Political Hiring at USIA

In the wake of a senator's protest about hiring practices at USIA and a flurry of coverage in the press, Representative Dante B. Fascell (D.-Florida) announced April 18 that his Foreign Affairs subcommittee on international operations will investigate allegations that friends and relatives of current and former administration officials are getting agency jobs traditionally reserved for career employees. The protest came from Senator Edward Zorinsky (D.-Nebraska), who conveyed his charges in a letter to USIA Director Charles Z. Wick.

Dubbed "Kiddiegate" by one writer, the flap about the hirings started when the *Christian Science Monitor* revealed on March 18 that progeny of three prominent Reagan appointees were working at the agency. Caspar Weinberger Jr. works in television; Barbara E. Haig, daughter of the former secretary of state, is a special assistant to the counselor; and Monica Clark, daughter of the national security adviser, will shortly be posted to Bonn as assistant cultural officer for exchanges. "An appearance of favoritism among those already well off is not very encouraging to Americans outside the circles where 'everybody knows somebody,'" the *Monitor* later editorialized.

USIA has given "high-salary jobs and plum overseas posts to children and friends of top administration officials," said the *Washington Post*. The newspaper quoted one source who said the administration had made 150 political appointments to the agency, topping the previous record of 43. The *New York Times* published the names of some others who had been appointed to "particularly choice posts," in Zorinsky's words. Daniel Wattenberg, son of Ben Wattenberg, a member of the Board for International Broadcasting, was recruited from college to be assistant to the Paris embassy public affairs officer. Anne Collins, a friend of the William Clark family and an oil company publicist, was named CAO in the London embassy. She joins Catherine Smyth, a family friend of the vice-president, as the only non-career CAOs in foreign posts at present.

Other appointments questioned by the newspapers included that of Steve Gergen, nephew of White House communications director David Gergen, as

an intern with VOA; Laurette Conkling, daughter of former VOA Director James Conkling, to a clerical agency position; and Jody Ann Zolenski, a prospective cultural affairs officer in Port-au-Prince who is fresh from college, where she majored in international relations, and currently "a cashier at the Gourmet Food Emporium, a New York deli," said Zorinsky.

Zorinsky questioned the qualifications of the appointees and whether the appointments may "violate the letter or spirit of any anti-nepotism laws or regulations." He said that, as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, answers to his questions would be necessary in the panel's deliberations on the agency budget.

"Everything we're doing is exceedingly proper," said Wick, "as against the implication that this is an end run on

'It Won't Work,' Says Hays of Security Order

"Our objections to this directive can be summed up in three words," AFSA President Dennis K. Hays told a House subcommittee on civil rights examining the administration's recent national security directive intended to prevent unauthorized disclosure of classified information. "It won't work." The new directive will not be more effective than existing measures intended to protect secrets, he said, but it will place an undue burden on the employee. The directive mandates the use of polygraph tests of suspected "leakers" under threat of dismissal; provides for pre-publication review of any writings by present or former officials who handled information on intelligence sources and methods; and requires all federal employees handling classified information to sign non-disclosure agreements [ASSOCIATION NEWS, May]. The State Department is in the process of writing implementing regulations.

President Reagan responded to the wave of protest in the press that followed the directive in March by later saying that leaks of national security secrets have "endangered" foreign relations. The White House refused to provide examples, saying that to do so would compromise the secrets. In contrast, the director of the government's Information Security Oversight Office, charged with oversee-

ing executive branch information security, told the press that only "half a dozen" leaks of classified information had been reported to him in the last three years. "Most of them came from military agencies," said Steve Garfinkel. "Some ended up being reported in the press. Some didn't." An executive branch report that served as the basis for the directive, however, called such leaks "a routine daily occurrence." Deputy Assistant Attorney General Richard K. Willard, who was in charge of the report and wrote the directive, acknowledged to the subcommittee that no special study had been undertaken to show the need for the directive. "We have never suggested" leaks have increased greatly in recent years, he said. A panel chaired by Willard later recommended that uniform criminal penalties of up to three years in prison and \$10,000 in fines for leaking classified information be made law.

At the same time as the hearing, the Pentagon's health director was quoted in a report charging that the polygraph "misclassifies innocent people as liars. No machine can detect a lie," Dr. John F. Beary III wrote in a memo to Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger. Beary noted that the accuracy of the so-called lie detector probably ranged between 62 and 72 percent. The director wrote the memo when the Pentagon was considering greater use of the polygraph last winter. The Defense Department's proposed directive is considered a prelude to the new national security directive, which makes polygraphs mandatory whereas the Pentagon wanted them voluntary.

(At press time, the *Post* reported that Weinberger resigned his position at USIA perhaps because of the controversy.)

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Shakespeare Speaks on Broadcasting at Foreign Service Club

"When you come into the government from a private lifetime association with commercial broadcasting in the United States," said Frank Shakespeare, chairman of both the Board for International Broadcasting and the board of directors of Radio Free Europe—Radio Liberty, before a luncheon audience at the Foreign Service Club, "you are astonished, dismayed, even bewildered. How could it be that the government and people of the United States, who are on the cutting edge of the communications revolution, are permitting the existence of a unique instrument of broadcasting to the oppressed peoples of Communist societies to be undertaken with second- or third-rate equipment, in an underfunded research program, and out of the mainstream of the action."

Shakespeare, speaking about the role of international broadcasting in foreign affairs on April 7, was the sixth lecturer in AFSA's "Public Diplomacy in the 1980s" luncheon series, sponsored by its USIA Standing Committee. Shakespeare is a former director of USIA and the only person to have headed the parent organizations of both RFE-RL and Voice of America.

Before an audience of 75 AFSA members and guests that he called "part of the minority of Americans" who are aware of RFE-RL and international broadcasting in general, Shakespeare criticized arguments that "we have chosen to have second- or third-rate radio operations be-



"The real value of radio as an instrument of foreign policy is absolutely beyond question," said former USIA Director Frank Shakespeare at the Foreign Service Club in April.

cause of budgetary reasons." When compared with the millions of dollars spent on a single MX missile, he said, radio "doesn't cost anything." Shakespeare added that RFE-RL's current annual budget of \$100 million should be increased by 20 percent.

The neglect of international radio, in Shakespeare's opinion, comes from the fact that it has no political constituency and is not supported by non-government media. "The media are inately very sceptical about government radio or government information. They feel that it is propaganda, that it's not real, and that it's faintly dangerous. They are convinced that any informational media is, per se, or will become, propaganda—because only free media could be dispassionately truthful. On balance, media support for government radio is more a negative force than a positive one."

In the private sector, he said, the success of a radio service can be measured by "precise yardsticks," such as Nielsen ratings or the number of advertisers. But in

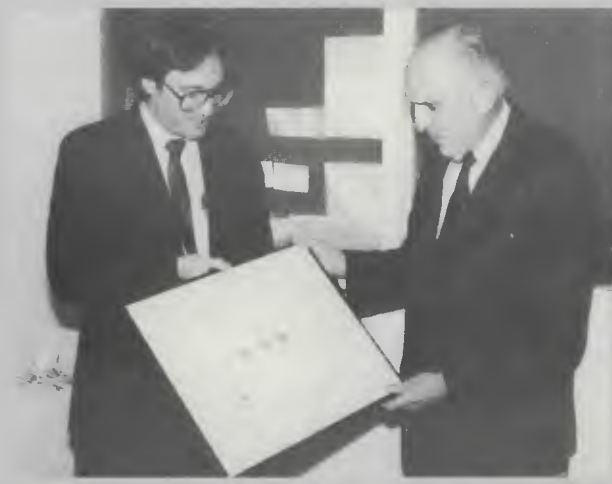
government radio, "one is stripped naked. The voice goes out into the air and what do you know? What impact does it have and is it worth anything?" The one way that RFE-RL has been able to get an idea of the impact it has comes from piecing together comments such as those from Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko—"What are we going to do about the damn radio?"—and General Secretary Yuri Andropov—who was "very unhappy" with VOA's activism.

Shakespeare went on to discuss the impact of the "communication revolution" on the kind of world leaders in power today. He used Pope John Paul II and President Reagan as examples of a trend in leadership toward an emphasis on an ability to communicate. Andropov is also a response to the communication revolution, he said, but in a different way. Freedom of information "represents a danger to power and control" to the Soviets who, since Andropov has been general secretary, have started "a substantial, across the board wave of political arrests of Soviet citizens whose *ideas* are dangerous."

Shakespeare asked his audience to focus attention on the value of international broadcasting. Although the future of government radio looks brighter under the Reagan administration—there may be an increase in its budget in 1984—there is not enough awareness of its political power.

"The real value of the radio as an instrument of the foreign policy of the United States is absolutely beyond question," said Shakespeare. "Do you know what it costs to put two people with a taperecorder and a pencil and maybe a secretary on the northern border of Pakistan for a year? Maybe \$200,000. Yet there's no money for it. That's a scandal. As a broadcaster, it's unbelievable. As a citizen, it's a tragedy." —S. RONDEAU

Torbert Honored for Scholarship Service



AFSA President Dennis K. Hays (left) presents a certificate of appreciation to H.G. Torbert Jr., who retired after five years of "superior service" as chairman of the AFSA Committee on Education.

Early Victories, But Retirement Fight Continues

Both the House and Senate budget committees filed their reports on the first budget resolution without addressing the President's fiscal year 1984 proposals for sweeping changes in the federal retirement system. Indeed, despite the fact that the administration proposed omitting any cost-of-living adjustment for retirees during the budget year, both committees made provision for a COLA in 1984, though it would be delayed beyond the present schedule. In addition, a White House attempt to deny federal workers their annual comparability adjustment was thwarted through House action to include a four-percent increase. There is, however, always the chance that legislation to accomplish the retirement changes may be introduced in this session of Congress, or an amendment may be appended to a high-priority legislative item such as a continuing resolution.

AFSA is now realigning its legislative efforts on retirement towards three principal objectives:

- First, to resist all efforts to cut back on the terms and conditions of retirement eligibility and benefits for active duty Foreign Service personnel;
- Second, to play a role in the development of a new and equitable retirement system to supplement the Social Security that will be extended to all new Foreign Service employees;
- Third, to ensure that the annuities of Foreign Service retirees continue to be securely funded and adequately insulated against inflation.

The administration's announced objective is to reduce the cost of the retirement program from 35 percent of payroll to 22 percent, to quote its figures. Essentially, this would be accomplished by making early retirement financially impractical, shifting a greater proportion of the cost of retirement from the government to the employee, and capping or otherwise limiting in some fashion the COLAs applied to retirees' annuities.

Of central concern to AFSA obviously, is the preservation of the Foreign Service personnel system, of which our retirement program is an integral operational component. AFSA has communicated its concerns about the probable impact on the Foreign Service of the President's re-

tirement proposals to both the Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs committees. These important and influential legislative bodies stand ready as necessary to assert their jurisdictional responsibility and oversight authority over the Foreign Service personnel sys-

Legislative Action Fund Donations Top \$19,000

Donations to AFSA's new Legislative Action Fund stood at \$19,051.67 from 387 donors on May 2. The fund is designed to help defray the Association's expenses in carrying out a lobbying effort on Capitol Hill to oppose administration proposals which, in AFSA's belief, would ultimately dismantle the present Foreign Service retirement system.

Persons wishing to assist in AFSA's lobbying efforts are urged to contribute to the fund. Monies collected are being

used exclusively to defray the costs of seeking to preserve the present structure of the Foreign Service personnel system by actively opposing legislation that would undermine or compromise its basic components. Several IRS examiners have indicated that contributions to the fund are tax deductible. We are awaiting a ruling on the issue.

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