

—Associated Press

CLARK MOLLENHOFF  
Secret ProbeOFFBEAT WASHINGTON

# Mollenhoff One-Upped Rogers; Another Astronaut in Politics?

By VERA GLASER  
and MALVINA STEPHENSON  
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President Nixon soon will receive the findings of a secret probe of 250 employees in the State Department and related agencies who criticized his move into Cambodia.

White House Special Counsel Clark Mollenhoff is gathering intelligence on the individuals, their views and political leanings, against the express wishes of Secretary of State William P. Rogers.

On May 21, in a heated telephone exchange, Rogers flatly refused to divulge the dissenters' names to Mollenhoff.

But the President's "ombudsman" one-upped the Secretary.

Mollenhoff has the list and is doing what comes naturally to a born sleuth who has been gunning for months for entrenched antiNixonites at State.

## Tense Time

The tense situation between the two men may be a hitherto undisclosed factor in Mollenhoff's recent decision to leave the White House.

No mention of it was made, of course, in the "sweetness and light" exchange of letters between Mollenhoff and the President when the resignation was announced.

The incident began in early May, when a group of Foreign Service officers and other staffers signed a letter to Rogers expressing "concern and apprehension" about the Cambodian move. They asked him to "seek reconsideration of U.S. policy in Southeast Asia."

The dissenters work in State, the Agency for International Development, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

After the story broke into print, they were reprimanded by two high State officials. Rogers decided against disciplinary measures or entering a record in individual personnel files.

Mollenhoff obviously thought the dissenters had been let off too easily. If he is using the resources of the FBI for a thorough check on them, all sorts of unexpected information could come to light, adding to their vulnerability.

On May 21 Mollenhoff called Assistant Secretary William Macomber for the list.

## Blue Air

Rogers got wind of it, called Mollenhoff the same day, and the air turned blue.

Hints of his high-level frustrations are revealed in a recent speech Mollenhoff made in Houston. He recommended that his successor, if any, be given Cabinet rank "so that there can be no question about the ombudsman's authority to obtain records and reports."

Mollenhoff does not hesitate to challenge Cabinet officials in his search for corruption, mismanagement, and impropriety. His tempestuous one-year White House stint had made him as popular in some parts of the bureaucracy as a skunk at a garden party.



## se for Blackmun's?

and do things for me for weeks; then I'll go morning, noon, and night and think that's the only thing."

She admits at this point she is "out of steam" about civic endeavors. She organized and presided over the Methodist Hospital auxiliary in Rochester; then taught remedial reading; then co-owned a dress shop, The Designing Women, with Mrs. C. F. Lake.

The two-year-old couture adventure has now been sold and Mrs. Blackmun is looking forward to being able to sew for herself for a change.

At one time she also designed and sewed for her three daughters, Nancy, 26; Sally, 22; and Susan, 20. She still makes clothes on occasion for "Susie," now Mrs. Roger Karl and a student at DePauw University in Greencastle, Ind.

But Nancy, an elementary school counselor outside Boston; and Sally, now Mrs. L. Richard Funk, an IBM secretary in Endicott, N.Y., design for themselves. They were taught the art of fine finishing by their mother, who admits she was a "bug" about teaching her girls the craft.

The three Blackmun daughters were here for their father's big moment, as were their husbands and 86-year-old grandmother, Mrs. C. M. Blackmun.

By rough count, about 75 friends from Minnesota were also here for the swearing-in. Susan guesses the number was

"half the population of Rochester," and Nancy called them "almost all the people we really love."

The diplomatic oldest daughter was careful to say "almost," for some close friends were left behind. And the thought of permanently leaving them all causes a wistful look to cross Mrs. Blackmun's pixie face.

"Of course, a lot of them come to Washington," she rationalized, "but it won't be the same."

### Wifely Pride

If any one characteristic of this multi-talented woman stands out, it must be her pride in her husband of nearly 29 years.

After his nomination, she said, friends frequently said they always thought he was Supreme Court material. So did she. She was confident he was the kind of man the Senate was seeking and, the night of his nomination, said she would "bank her life" there was "nothing that could be held against his record in any way. He's 100 percent clear."

Even the fact Nixon's two previous nominees were rejected did not make her nervous, although being in the survivor's seat challenges her innate tact.

"It is so difficult to choose somebody," she reasoned, "you can't check everything. Then something will be re-

vealed and it may be embarrassing to the President or the attorney general."

The folks back home also had confidence in their nominee, she added. "Everyone who ever knew him said they would march on Washington if anybody said anything bad," she recalled with the tiniest pride.

And while Rochester's support of her husband thrills her, being an instant celebrity does not.

Dorothy Blackmun is a rather private woman, unaccustomed to dealing with the recognition she has received since her husband's nomination and unanimous Senate approval.

"A woman in the airport in Rochester kept beaming at me. I just don't know how to handle it."

Although Mrs. Blackmun has already had luncheon with some of Washington's more famous women, she said she intends to maintain a low profile for a while, anticipating that in a city full of big names and famous faces, she will be able to sink back into anonymity.

Whatever she eventually decides to do, she intends to remain, "non-political and non-controversial."

But a woman with charm and abilities cannot slip into the swim in Washington without making some waves.

When that apartment is found, and the house finished, then, Washington, watch out.

## r Tailors in a Charles Town Trailer

using every trick we d were both put in with polio. My d of convulsions and left the hospital on

ld me I would never out crutches again." dn't go home to Ari went on to the track ed. There, with the

ington Park in Chicago and has been riding ever since.

"That's the racetrack," Donal smiles.

It was during his stay in the hospital in California that Donal had his first try at leather work. A nurse gave him a leather wallet to mend for therapy.

*Daily Hobby*

occupational break from the track.

Though a jockey's wife for six years, Raleigh doesn't like to go to the races because, she says, "the pressures are just too great."

"The jockey and his wife are always on stage and the public assumes things about us that just aren't true."

"I've never bet on a horse,

"Jockeys wives have to be a special breed. Many just don't make it. Most jockeys go through two or three wives and others have their children and live entirely separate from their husbands."

### Diet Hard

"One of the hardest things to contend with is the jockey who has to diet all the time," she says shaking her head in relief that Donal doesn't. "They go into the sweat box every day . . . many of them have to heave every day . . . there's never a time when they can sit down and eat a wife's meal."

Donal, as Raleigh explains, is up at least by 6 a.m. every morning to exercise horses. Before post time, he is locked in the jockey's room for one and half hours. He comes

home from the track and has to unwind.

Brown-haired Mrs. Bowcut has large eyes that scan across the living room of her spacious AirStream trailer. There is wall-to-wall carpeting, a complete kitchen, bath and airconditioning system, color TV and a pink push-button telephone.

"You just have to be 100 percent dedicated to the business. You never make any plans that can't be broken."

Raleigh likes it here, in West Virginia. She loves the shop and enjoys doing the leather work in tandem with Donal.

But if they have to move tomorrow, if Donal "isn't getting good mounts," she says she will pack up her tools and two little dogs and be ready: "That's the racetrack."





# Mollenhoff, Rogers Clashed Over State Dept. Critics' List

By Ken W. Clawson  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Outgoing White House investigator Clark Mollenhoff quarreled angrily with Secretary of State William P. Rogers over obtaining a list of 250 State Department employees who criticized President Nixon's action in Cambodia.

"I'm not going to say whether he shouted at me or I shouted at him," said Mollenhoff yesterday in a telephone interview from his summer home in Clarion, Iowa.

"My job requires you to be independent, to conduct investigations and to criticize from time to time. If I didn't, I would be a damn fool. People on all levels of government once in a while are going to disagree."

The confrontation took place after Mollenhoff officially requested on May 18 that State supply him with the names of 250 employees of the Department, the Agency for International Development, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency who signed a petition to Secretary Rogers opposing U.S. involvement in Cambodia.

State Department spokesman Carl E. Barch said yesterday that Mollenhoff asked Deputy Under Secretary for Administration William B. Macomber for the list and that Macomber refused. Mollenhoff then obtained the names anyway from an undisclosed source in the Department.

The confrontation with Rogers ensued within a day of Mollenhoff's request for the names. Rogers reportedly told Mollenhoff to stop interfering in the internal affairs of his department.

It was the second time in the last few months that Mollenhoff and Rogers have tangled over probes by the White House aide into the State Department. Early this year, Mollenhoff indicated he was investigating State's handling of relief to Biafra. Rogers objected, and the White House subsequently ended the investigation.

Mollenhoff said yesterday his confrontation with Rogers over the list of Cambodia petition signers had "nothing to do with my resignation" announcement May 30. He will become Washington bureau chief of the Des Moines Register and Tribune.

## Part of the Job

Mollenhoff, who is on two weeks vacation and will leave the administration to return to newspaper work in mid-July, said, "Traditionally, the ombudsman who does his job properly will be in an adversary position with a wide range of government officials and personnel. The role requires investigations."

But the White House yesterday said Mollenhoff had acted "on his own volition" in his quest for the names. Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler said Mollenhoff has not passed the list on to anyone at

the White House, but he added, "He may."

Ziegler and Mollenhoff denied that a dossier is being compiled on the petition signers. Mollenhoff said, "The business about compiling dossiers is bunk, but there was a list." He refused to elaborate, adding, "I don't talk about my investigations."

Mollenhoff indicated he was in close touch with the White House on the controversy. "Ziegler will tell you all about it at the White House briefing," he said.


## Data Fate Questioned

Ziegler was asked whether Mollenhoff will be taking secret FBI and tax information that he has acquired during his 10-month tenure as a White House aide when he leaves next month.

The press aide said he assumes "Mollenhoff will deal with the access he has had to government information in the same way members of past administrations have dealt with them." Ziegler said he would "strongly quarrel" with any indication that Mollenhoff was leaving the White House with extensive secret data he has compiled on the job.

Meanwhile, Ziegler said, Mollenhoff is "wrapping up his affairs" and is not starting any further probes in the administration.





**STUDENT DEMONSTRATION**—American military policeman is clubbed with a branch by South Vietnamese student during demonstration MP's jeep was burned by prot

# Shock Grips Red Massacre

By Laurence Stern

Washington Post Foreign Service

PHUTHANH, South Vietnam, June 15—Seared and broken bodies have all been taken away and candles, standing in soft drink cans, flickered in their memory today amidst the wreckage.

Otherwise this village is stirring out of its shock and there is a sense amongst the survivors, even in the wide-eyed stare of the children, that Phuthanh has become something of a landmark in the Vietnamese war.

It was here that North Vietnamese sapper battalion T-89 came at 2 a.m. Thursday led by local Vietcong cadre

and killed an estimated 100 civilians with the precision of a deadly corps de ballet.

Already the incident at Phuthanh is being described as the Communist version of the American massacre at Mylai and the television crews and reporters have begun pouring in. The government loudspeaker trucks are reminding the villagers, as if they didn't already know, of the enormity of what happened.

"Get a picture of that baby crying," said the short, hard-muscled American marine. "I want to get all the pictures I can because I am sick and tired of

everyone atrocities."

He had in Phuthanh rines lost was killed.

The village south of Da Nang, Vietnam's It has been decades of way between in the area movement.

See PH

## Move Planned Before End of July

# Cambodia May Get Thai Aid

By T. D. Allman

Special to The Washington Post

BANGKOK, June 15—Despite so far unsuccessful efforts to win firm U. S. financial and international aid, Thailand has not yet decided to send troops to Laos.

selves to full-scale military involvement in a third South-east Asian country. Thai troops already are fighting in South Vietnam and, although the Thai government does not officially acknowledge it, in Laos.

which Thai Foreign Minister Thant Khoman later called disappointing, condemned all foreign intervention in Cambodia. Sambaur, according to sources close to the Thai government, embarrassed his hosts by making public an across



## Ombudsman?

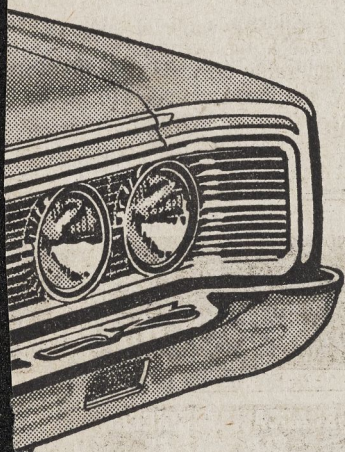
For some reason which has not been explained the White House has been using the word "ombudsman" in referring to the staff position held by Clark R. Mollenhoff, a journalist-lawyer who soon will be returning to newspaper work in Washington. Mr. Mollenhoff was employed by President Nixon as a special counsel in the White House; one of his tasks was to detect scandal in the government before it came to light. But lately Mr. Mollenhoff has been describing the job he is leaving as "ombudsman," and a White House press secretary said that in his "role as ombudsman" Mr. Mollenhoff had sought the names of State Department employees who had signed a petition objecting to the war in Indochina.

An ombudsman, as we understand the term, is an official to whom the people can go for redress of their grievances against the government. He has a special status at arm's length from the executive as a representative of the people rather than the administration. Before the White House appoints a new man to Mr. Mollenhoff's job it should tell us its concept of an ombudsman.



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etter time to save.





# **Mollenhoff Probes 250 In State Dept.**

Post 6/15/75  
Associated Press

A dossier on 250 State Department employees who criticized President Nixon's action in Cambodia is being prepared by Clark Mollenhoff, a special counsel for the White House, it was learned yesterday.

The State Department declined comment on Mollenhoff's action, and Mollenhoff, who is leaving at the end of the month to return to the newspaper business, could not be reached for comment.

However, it was learned that Secretary of State William P. Rogers sharply criticized Mollenhoff in a private conversation for probing into the department's handling of employees who criticized the Cambodian operation.

The State Department officials declined to take disciplinary action against the dissident employees, and agreed that no mention of their action would be entered in personnel files.

In a story copyrighted by Knight Newspapers, Inc., Vera Glaser and Malvina Stephenson wrote yesterday that Mollenhoff soon will turn over his findings on the 250 employees to President Nixon. Their story said that tense relations between Mollenhoff and Rogers "may be a hitherto undisclosed factor in Mollenhoff's recent decision to leave the White House."

Mollenhoff and Rogers had clashed earlier on the question of aid to Biafra.



a lift in his troops who adva  
abodian army 10 miles south o

# Partner Germany

. Goshko

Foreign Service

The Free Democrats was perhaps the most significant effect of today's balloting. The party's falling stock at the state level is expected to cause deep divisions within its national leadership and could even lead to a breakup of the coalition that has given Brandt a governing majority in the federal parliament since last October.

Today's big winner was the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), which had ruled West Germany for 20 years before being ousted by the Social Democrat-Free Democrat coalition last fall.

In the recent campaign the Christian Democrats launched an all-out attack on Brandt's Eastern policy—a multi-faceted attempt to achieve reconciliation with Germany's old World War II enemies in Eastern Europe.

As a result, they appear to have made significant gains among conservative voters nervous that Brandt might be moving too fast or fearful that his Eastern policy will jeopardize German interests.

See GERMANY, A16, Col. 1



I organized a visit to Portugal by President Carter when I was the acting Deputy Chief of our Embassy there. Visits by American Presidents can be about as catastrophic as nuclear attacks, though not necessarily as fatal. The party of the President matters very little; neither does the country being visited. The local people are never accustomed to the way in which the imperial presidency behaves. Every minute is program, every speech scripted in advance, every political gesture choreographed. In this case, we survived, though without much sleep for the preceding month. I cannot say that I enjoyed it, but the President and his hosts seemed to, and my embassy was commended.



The most difficult (and rewarding)  
thing I have ever done was to write a  
book on a subject unrelated to my  
work, and then to get it published.  
It was on a subject (containing art, science, and magic).  
I started with a few short stories, had  
some refusals and minor successes, and  
then finished the book. It was, I  
suppose, tougher than getting a doctorate —  
certainly tougher than any ~~of~~ individual  
work project. I can't claim that it  
paid as well. It did open some doors.  
and it felt great.



# LOYALTY AND DISSENT

**F**oreign Service officer George Kenney's resignation has been hailed in the media as an act of courage and conscience and treated with respect even by Acting Secretary Eagleburger, whom Kenney criticized. Foreign Service officers don't often resign because they differ with official policy. The entire system of government is designed to find consensus. If anything, disputes tend to be over turf, roles, or resources, not principle.

After passing the Foreign Service exam and being admitted to the Service ahead of many thousand other applicants, very few want to chuck it all to make a point, wreck a career, and leave as a martyr. Very few FSOs resigned over our involvement in Central America despite revelations about Iran/Contra, human rights violations, and serious questions about the morality of our involvement.

However, the war in Southeast Asia did elicit significant internal dissent. I'd like to recall those events. This is the story of what happened to eight officers in my Foreign Service class, myself included, who, along with others who entered the Foreign Service in that era, were assigned to Vietnam.

We took the written exam in 1967, but we were only informed of having passed the full written and oral exam over a year later, in January 1969. At that time the State Department also informed us that it had curtailed the intake of new officers, and we might not be offered an appointment any time soon. At the time I took the exam I was a graduate student at Columbia University's School of International

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## THE FOREIGN SERVICE AND THE WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Affairs, and the uncertainty of a future appointment was a serious disappointment.

But one month later, I received an unusual letter, stating: "The Department of State is prepared to offer career appointments to a number of Foreign Service officer candidates who will serve their initial tour of duty with the Agency for International Development in

Vietnam. . . . Upon completion of this assignment, officers selected for the program will be phased into the Foreign Service . . . as rapidly as possible." Though the term was not used, in fact we were being solicited to join the "pacification program," designed to "win the hearts and minds" of the South Vietnamese people.

It appeared to me that this curious combination of 1) indicating that normal Foreign Service entries would not likely be available; and 2) a sudden offer of an assignment to Vietnam as perhaps the only way into the Service, was a subtle form of blackmail to assure that State was able to fill its quota of officers assigned to Vietnam. The State Department also had taken the unusual step of not holding the annual Foreign Service examination in 1968.

A number of colleagues accepted the Vietnam offer. A number of us, myself included, did not. Though painful, I did not agonize over the decision. I had spent all of 1968 in the anti-Vietnam War movement, actively supporting the peace candidacy of Senator Eugene McCarthy for president. Being a "McCarthy kid" meant more than just being against the war;

BY DANIEL A. STRASSER





1970 scene of the main street in downtown Phan Rang after a rain.

it was a manner of fundamentally expressing our faith in and desire to work within the democratic system and opposing the takeovers and hostage takings sweeping the university campuses.

It was inconceivable, therefore, for me to volunteer for Vietnam service in the pacification program. I declined the offer, writing: "I stated my opposition to this nation's involvement in Vietnam to the examining panel during my oral examination. Therefore, I cannot in good conscience voluntarily contribute to that involvement." The answer I received to this was straightforward: "Whether or not you accept the offer tendered you. . . is entirely up to you. You should be aware, however, that even if you were to enter the Service on terms which did not directly relate to Vietnam, you might wind up there anyway." Having completed this exchange, I mentally kissed the Foreign Service goodbye.

### Another chance

It was with great surprise, therefore, that I received a letter that June offering me a regular Foreign Service appointment. Five of the class entering that August had accepted the first offer of Vietnam service. Though not a total surprise, it was a shock when I and two others who had rejected that offer were assigned to CORDS (Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support—not only a mouthful, but also a misnomer)—the pacification program in Vietnam. The three of us sent a joint memorandum to the then-Director General John Burns. While accepting the worldwide availability provision, we stated that we considered our assignment to CORDS/Vietnam "inconsistent with the circumstances under which we entered the Service," given that we had turned down the previous offer of Vietnam and had clearly stated our desire not to be assigned there.

However, the department was said to be under severe pressure from the White House to demonstrate its loyalty to the policies in Vietnam and to come up with "bodies"

to serve in the pacification program. Thus our fate was sealed; the DG refused to change our Vietnam assignments. In the end, however, I was the only one of the three actually to serve in the pacification program. One resigned rather than go to Vietnam. The other was allowed, as a modest concession, to serve in a regular embassy position in Saigon. His Saigon apartment would later become a favorite gathering place for those of us who were assigned to the "boonies."

My dedication to the Foreign Service as a career did not permit me to resign over my Vietnam assignment; I took my commitment to worldwide availability seriously. Although I would go to a war that I considered folly, I would not commit a dishonorable act and would try to be a force for good. I seriously believed that the American system of government was the best and that people of liberal temperament could not abandon government service to the hardliners and opportunists. I would do what I could from the inside.

### In training

Determined not to be faulted on my performance, I completed 47 weeks of language training and became (I was told) one of the department's 10 best linguists in Vietnamese. The following March, a personal letter from the director general said, "I want you to know that I am gratified by the way you accepted this difficult assignment and by the efforts you are making to prepare yourself for the tour in Vietnam." Though still bitter, I appreciated the consideration.

Washington during that year was a strange place to be studying Vietnamese. The city was full of protests. I did not hide my own opposition to the war among my 150 fellow students at the Vietnam Training Center (VTC), located in the garage area of a Rosslyn apartment building. After seeing all my military colleagues with lapel pins in their suits symbolizing one thing or another, I went to a jeweler and had him design a gold peace-symbol lapel pin, which I wore every day to VTC. I was determined that everyone would know where I was coming from. I felt a need to preserve my identity and self-respect.

I was certainly not alone in my skepticism over the indoctrination we were receiving. Most of our group jokingly code-named the pacification program "Operation Prop-up." In February 1970, 10 of us formed a Vietnam Study Group, "to discuss all aspects of the Vietnam problem, provide a forum for ideas . . ." The study group became a significant forum for discussion of the issues surrounding our upcoming assignment. We developed 11 different themes for discussion. We read books; met with Tran Van Dinh, an exiled writer and former South Vietnamese diplomat; and—at my initiative—met with Averell Harriman at his Georgetown home shortly after he resigned from the Paris peace talks. It was only some years later that I learned from the *New York*



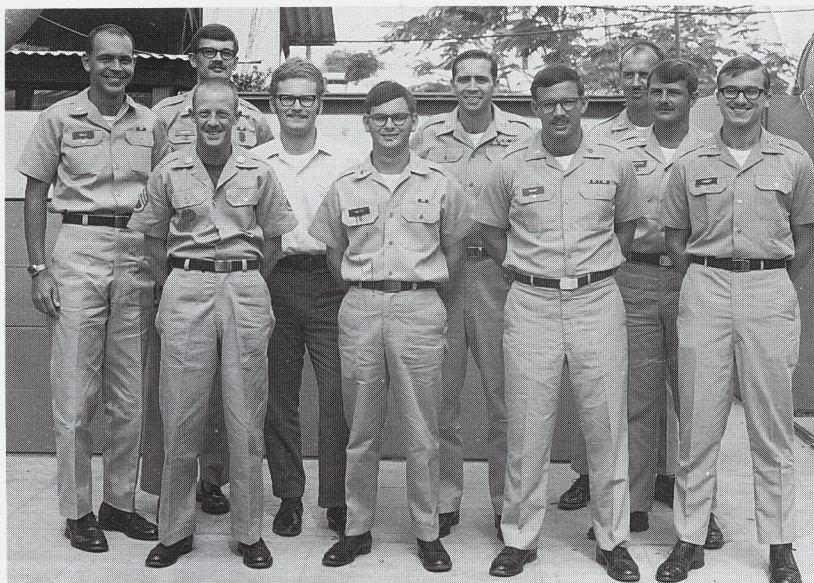
*Times* that our meeting with Harriman had been monitored by the FBI on orders of the White House because we were among those President Nixon suspected of leaking secrets to the press. This seemed quite humorous, since none of us knew any secrets whatsoever.

### A letter of protest

The April 30 invasion of Cambodia was the real watershed for many of us. On May 4, the Kent State shootings took place, and on May 9, 100,000 people demonstrated in Washington. The day before, however, 250 foreign affairs personnel, including 50 Foreign Service officers, sent a letter of protest to Secretary of State William P. Rogers. The core of this protest included those officers in the study group. The letter said: "Our sense of responsibility to you, to the department and to ourselves, precludes our remaining silent on these critical issues. As the advice you offer the president reflects your judgment and conscience, we, in the same spirit, offer our views to you. In our opinion, the expansion of military activity should be reversed. We fear that this expansion threatens the prospect for an early peace and heightens the serious problem of divisiveness at home. For these reasons, we question the recent military decision. We urge you to seek reconsideration of the apparent direction of American policy in Southeast Asia." The letter was immediately leaked to the *New York Times*.

On May 11, the FSOs who had signed the letter received a stern written order to report to the department's Map Room to hear Undersecretary for Political Affairs U. Alexis Johnson. The order said ominously: "This is mandatory." Johnson, accompanied by William B. Macomber, deputy undersecretary for management, expressed disappointment and told us that, as public servants, we did not have the right to express public dissent against presidential policy. Several officers viewed the letter as a "cry of conscience." When Johnson questioned our loyalty, he was reminded that most of us were in training to go to Vietnam and risk our lives to defend U.S. policy there. I believe it came as a shock to those department officers to discover that a bunch of junior officers who were the department's newest recruits in the Vietnam effort were in revolt over Cambodia. No resignations were demanded, but it was made clear that there was no place in the career service for those who could not support the president.

Backing the department's criticism, an article in the September 1969 *Foreign Service Journal* stated that officers had the right and the duty to dissent on policy up to the point of decision-making. However, the article continued, "It is not the role of the Foreign Service . . . to undercut the political decisions which have been made." The Cambodia invasion policy was made totally in secret with no opportunity to express dissent in advance. The invasion itself was an outrage, an extraordinary event that required, in our minds,



**Diplomat among warriors: Strasser (in mufti), in 1970, as Deputy District Senior Adviser of Thanh Hai District, South Vietnam, with fellow District Advisory Team members. Some of the junior officers who served in the CORDS civil/military pacification program in Vietnam expressed opposition to the war.**

an extraordinary response. The subsequent death of some 2 million Cambodians, a consequence of U.S. policy in Cambodia, strengthened my sense that we were fundamentally right to express our protest at the time in the way we did.

The situation was complicated by the publicly circulating information that Secretary Rogers had opposed the invasion, as had Secretaries of Defense Melvin Laird and Interior Walter Hickel, who made his feelings public and was forced to resign. All had been blindsided by a secret Nixon/Kissinger policy; Rogers had told a House subcommittee one week before the invasion that no ground troops would be sent into Cambodia. In a sense, though, if we had failed to be loyal to the president, we had been loyal to and backed up the secretary of state.

### Department backbone

One amazing aspect of the letter is that, though its text was made public, the names of its signatories never were. The White House reportedly was furious and asked the department to turn over the names. In a remarkable demonstration of backbone in defense of the Foreign Service, the department and AFSA protected these employees. According to an account by U. Alexis Johnson in the September 1984 *Foreign Service Journal*, President Nixon took the petition very personally and called up the under secretary at 1:30 a.m.: "I want you to make sure that all those sons of bitches are fired first thing in the morning," the president demanded. When this proved not feasible, Johnson continues, "he wanted all the names by that evening. I had no enthusiasm for that idea either, because I was sure the officers' careers would be ruined. . . . [Secretary] Rogers agreed to take my list and lock it in his own safe. . . . I promised the president that I would keep an eye on all of them to make sure none was promoted or posted to Southeast Asia. Then I had a meeting with those





Vietnamese provincial troops prepare for an operation.

[officers]. . . I stressed the loyalty that we all owe the president, unless we choose to resign." Johnson adds, "I never had to intervene to halt their promotions and after Nixon left office their careers resumed at a normal pace. But Nixon never forgot. For a year afterward he regularly asked me for written and oral reports on what was happening to them." In June, AFSA sought and received assurances from Macomber that no formal or informal disciplinary action would be taken against the signers, including notations in files.

### Service satisfaction

During my two years of service in Vietnam I was satisfied with my role there and later felt a melancholy satisfaction that I had gone to that country and remained in the Foreign Service. Based on nearly fluent Vietnamese, I quickly graduated from being a district-level pacification adviser, a job in which I visited three or four hamlets a day and helped complete village water systems, to becoming the POLAD (Political Advisor) to II Corps, the U.S. Command in one of South Vietnam's four military regions. For about six months, I worked for John Paul Vann trying to report fairly and honestly on political events, which mostly revealed the corruption and undemocratic attitudes among our South Vietnamese allies. One of my most significant contributions was a report, based on my travels through the II Corps provinces, of how President Thieu had manipulated his power in the hinterland to engineer the one-man 1971 election—the beginning of the end of his legitimacy based on a claim that Vietnam was a democracy.

In July 1971, after nine months in Vietnam, I learned of Secretary Kissinger's visit to Vietnam. I hopped on a plane from Nha Trang to Saigon and handed a letter to one of Kissinger's aides just as the secretary's party was leaving the embassy to depart Saigon.

In this letter, I called the Vietnamization policy a failure and said that U.S. policy had served more to undermine Vietnamese will and ability to resist communism than to shore it up. I wrote, "we have spawned attitudes of both hopelessness and dependence and done almost irreparable

harm to the moral fabric of this country. We have transformed Vietnam into a society without will or spirit, a nation of scroungers from top to bottom." I continued, "Vietnamization will fail," and I proposed a peace settlement plan. I fully expected the letter to have serious personal repercussions for me. Strangely, I never heard the slightest response and can only assume the letter was never even given to Kissinger.

During this period, I won a small battle that gave me a great deal of satisfaction. Before leaving Washington for Vietnam in 1970, I had filed what today would be called a grievance. It happened that those of us in Vietnamese training for the previous year who had volunteered to go to Vietnam had received *per diem* during the entire year of training. Those of us, myself included, who had been "drafted" once we got to Washington, did not

receive this subsidy. Technically one group was entitled to the extra pay, which I compared to a mercenary payment.

What I did not realize was that my "grievance" had provoked an internal dispute in the department of epic proportions. In November, I received a status report on my grievance from Frederick Z. Brown of Personnel: "On your special problem I am optimistic. . . . The matter will be settled one way or another in three weeks. . . . Please don't spend your *per diem* before you see it reflected in your bank account. I can only promise, at this point, that we are trying like hell." But it was May of the following year before I received a notice to come to Saigon for a meeting with Brown, "a pleasant one for you and much in your interest to attend." When I got to the meeting, Brown had checks for six of us who were present, but he gave me mine first and said, "Strasser is the only one here who really deserves the money." Again, as in the case of the Cambodian letter, I came out of that experience with a renewed sense of confidence in the department and its ability, when provoked, to defend and do justice for its people.

### Fighting from within

Certainly, one could question whether the anti-Cambodia invasion protest letter was as appropriate or as noble as a resignation. In fact, four of Kissinger's closest NSC aides resigned over the invasion. I believe that having been directly involved in White House policy-making over the war, and having been cut out of the secret decision which they opposed, it was untenable for them to continue. Those of us who signed the protest letter were prepared to continue, but we were willing to risk dismissal for our near insubordination. The fact that we were not dismissed speaks quite a bit to the tenor of those times.

I personally believe that if you can express your opposition from within and stay on to fight another battle down the road, you can be more useful inside than outside the system. A Foreign Service employee has many opportunities to be a voice of conscience. There are almost daily battles over questions of honesty and proper judgement. As wrong policies often are an accumulation of incorrect decisions, it



# THE ULTIMATE DISSENT

BY STEPHEN G. HALL

When George Kenney resigned from the Foreign Service in August, he gained publicity and made a powerful statement of opposition to U.S. policy on Yugoslavia. Dissent during the Vietnam era was quite different. Because American lives were at stake, the war prompted opposition throughout the country. The resignation of a Foreign Service officer would have had little impact on U.S. policy amid the sea of protest already sweeping the country. Therefore, despite the large number of FSO's who opposed the administration's policies during the Vietnam era, very few chose to resign, feeling, as Daniel Strasser did, that they could best address their opposition by remaining in the system to work for change. For the ones who did leave, their departure was more a result of their personal convictions than an effort to make a statement of protest.

Anthony Lake, an aide to Kissinger on the National Security Council who was deeply involved with U.S. policy toward Vietnam, was one who resigned at this time. According to press accounts, after being kept in the dark about Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia, Lake, along with other Kissinger aides, resigned to protest the administration's decision.

Donald McHenry, who later became ambassador to the UN under Carter, also left the Foreign Service in disagreement with Nixon's policies toward Vietnam. After he went on leave in 1971, McHenry's hopes for change in policy rested with Senator Eugene McCarthy. He eventually resigned in 1973 after Nixon's landslide victory.

Charles Williams Maynes, until recently the editor of *Foreign Policy*, also resigned from the Foreign

Service during that period. Maynes believed Vietnam was overshadowing critical domestic issues. He recalls watching smoke from the riots outside the window of the Foreign Service Institute where he was studying Russian. It was there that he asked himself, "Why is the nation so preoccupied with matters abroad when there are so many problems being neglected back home?" Shortly after the invasion of Cambodia, Maynes asked to take leave from the Foreign Service for a year to work for Senator Fred Harris, where he felt he could make a difference in civil rights legislation. The State Department refused his request, which Maynes attributes mainly to pressure from Kissinger to clamp down on possible dissent within the Foreign Service. Acknowledging his opposition to U.S. policy in Vietnam and his desire to contribute to the domestic needs of the country, Maynes resigned from the Foreign Service.

The Foreign Service is a prestigious and secure career that most officers do not wish to risk losing. To a limited extent, the dissent channel has provided an outlet for officers wishing to voice opposition to policy while remaining loyal to the State Department. Although many FSOs question the seriousness with which the service has been regarded by policy-makers in recent years, the Foreign Service—and American public servants generally—does not have a tradition of resignation in protest. In this era of broad national consensus on—and widespread indifference to—foreign policy, the rush of principled resignations over Vietnam seems all the more a historical anomaly. ■

**Steven G. Hall is an intern at the Foreign Service Journal.**

is important that those motivated by idealism, principle, and morality not quit. It is equally important that members of the service speak up to express their concerns and be willing to accept the consequences of being unpopular with department management. Before resigning, the dissent channel/Open Forum mechanism should be used to the fullest.

State had a harder and harder time forcing young men and women to go to Vietnam against their will. A year after I was assigned, the department ceased forced assignments there. Those of us who went to Vietnam were later treated very well by a grateful bureaucracy. I was awarded my first-choice assignment to Rio de Janeiro. However, I was called back to Vietnam as a "ceasefire observer" after the January 1973 peace treaty. By that time, for all practical purposes, the war was over. When Saigon fell in April 1975, the American

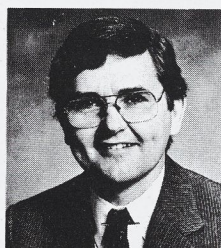
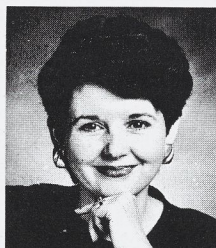
people had mentally disengaged. Walking in Georgetown the evening Saigon fell, despite the TV images of helicopters taking people off of embassy rooftops and my own shock, I had the strange feeling that the American people did not realize that the United States, for the first time, had just lost a war.

I do not want to exaggerate our role in opposing U.S. policy in Southeast Asia. Frankly, though there certainly was more internal resistance than what I have recounted here, there was not nearly enough. The fact that the war dragged on for seven years after the American people had given a mandate to end it was a travesty on our system of democracy. ■

**Daniel Strasser is an FSO in the Bureau of International Narcotics Matters.**



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7 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>8</sub>	7.26	8 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>8</sub>	7.96	9 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>8</sub>	8.69

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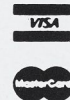
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

J - Under Secretary Johnson  
S - For the Secretary

~~1.5~~ In order to speed this up and avoid leakage to the press, we have cleared it with signers by telephone rather than circulating copies. Names are therefore typed in rather than personally signed.

We thought it appropriate that Ambassador Johnson, as the senior Foreign Service Officer, bring this to the attention of the Secretary.



Washington, D. C.

May 13, 1970

The Honorable William P. Rogers  
Secretary of State  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

We want you to know that we regret the fact that a copy (apparently unsigned) of our letter to you on the Cambodian situation was leaked to the press. We further regret the treatment given by the press to the letter. We signed it precisely because we are dedicated employees who thought that we would best serve you by expressing ourselves in such a way as to have maximum impact within the Department. We hope our action will be interpreted in this light.

No complete record exists of those who signed the letter, but this viewpoint is shared by the great majority of those signers with whom we have spoken.

Sincerely yours,

Norman Alexander  
Bruce A. Beardsley  
Janina Bonczek  
W. Douglas Frank  
David K. Edminster  
Stephen W. Faber  
Robert C. Felder  
Alan H. Flanigan  
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Luis G. Stelzner  
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Guy Wiggins  
James Wilson



William S. White

# Foggy-Bottom Term Justified By Peace Guerrillas at State

now, for example, there is a readily available "open forum" through which younger officers are invited and even urged to forward their ideas to the Secretary.

The difficulty, of course, is that no kind of "open forum" has for a long time been enough for the "peace" guerrillas. They take the view so often taken by the more strident student protesters that they must not only be "listened to" but that what they say must instantly become the public policy.

John Kennedy felt the beginning pressures of this new philosophy. Lyndon Johnson felt them as they greatly heightened. Richard Nixon now feels them at the very crest of their arrogance.

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PRESIDENT Nixon is learning the bitter and almost unbelievable lesson that, to this columnist's direct and personal knowledge, so often caused his two immediate predecessors to curse softly in the nighttime.

This is that if only he could beat the antiwar, anti-President guerrilla band within his own State Department he just might have some improved chance to defeat the Communist guerrilla invaders of South Vietnam and Cambodia.

In private, John F. Kennedy turned to the saltiest language of the Boston Irish when he spoke of "that place"—meaning the Department of State. Lyndon B. Johnson had recourse to words that will never be found in any dictionary, even by today's standards.

In brief, for many, many years the State Department's career service has turned out not only many good and patriotic and in-

tensely loyal officers. It has also turned out more than a fair number of petulant types who sincerely believe they know more than any Secretary of State or any President. Such types persistently undercut Mr. Kennedy as to Vietnam. Such types even more savagely undercut Mr. Johnson as to Vietnam. Such types are now even more determinedly undermining Mr. Nixon as to the most recent permutation of Vietnam, which is Cambodia.

THERE IS NO doubt that a considerable number of junior career officers are feeding out anti-Cambodian policy propaganda whenever and wherever they can—and sometimes even in public. To its intense embarrassment, the State Department has had to acknowledge as much.

Alexis Johnson, the Under Secretary of State, has been forced to put to 50 such characters who wrote a let-

ter of "protest" to Secretary William Rogers the following self-evident proposition: While everybody has a right to his own opinion, and to express it within the shop, no member of the foreign service of the United States has any conceivable right to obstruct national policy once it has been made and no right either to repudiate the President of the United States.

In the first place, the foreign service officer is protected by an entrenchment similar to that of a full professor. Neither can be fired short of the most outrageous conduct and without the expenditure by his superior of time he simply cannot afford in order to make out the required case.

In the second place, any Secretary of State naturally does not want only yes-men and, in consequence, encourages no-men and devil's advocacy—up to the point when the President has finally decided an issue. Right

Would you believe "petulant, arrogant peace guerrillas"?

THE EVENING STAR

Washington, D. C., Saturday, May 23, 1970

## Undiplomatic Dissent

Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs U. Alexis Johnson has administered a mild slap on the collective wrists of 50 junior Foreign Service officers who recently signed a much-publicized letter to Secretary of State Rogers criticizing President Nixon's Cambodian policy. And well he should have.

Predictably, there has been a certain amount of huffing and puffing about the First Amendment, the right to dissent and cries of conscience. That is well and good. But there are other principles involved.

One of those is an old-fashioned concept called loyalty. No one ever has questioned the right of a diplomat or any other government employe to hold private views contrary to those of the government he serves. Many have disagreed profoundly in the past; many more will in the future.

But it always has been accepted that public servants should not join in public dissent against national policy once that policy has been set. Having been hired to execute the policy of the President and his secretary of state, diplomats and others have been expected to give that policy loyal support in their official deeds and public utterances. The alternative—and it is an honorable one—is to resign. A principle not worth that sacrifice is hardly worth converting into a public issue.

Without the observance of this concept of loyalty, no government can function effectively. In the event that any of the 50 undiplomatic dissenters one day should become an ambassador, he hardly could demand of his staff the same disciplined support which he as a junior officer had denied the President of the United States.



# Nixon Urges World Treaty For Sharing Seabed Riches

(Continued)

agency" to aid needy nations.

Coastal nations, however, would retain permanent "international trusteeship" of their "continental margins"—the richest parts of the seabed in oil, natural gas and other minerals. In this area, they would get an extra, negotiated share of the revenues and "could impose additional taxes if this were deemed desirable," the President said.

The extent of their "share" might obviously determine the eventual worth of the Nixon plan to non-coastal nations.

Obviously, said an administration spokesman, "there must be a reason for coastal nations to agree to such a treaty. If they're going to give up something, they must also keep something."

Even with this reservation, the President's proposal seemed to be the most generous gesture yet made by any major nation to try to answer the question of who will both exploit and protect the world's seabeds.

"The U.S. petroleum industry will be furious," predicted a key member of a high-level Commission on Marine Science, Engineering and Resources—created by Congress—which made a largely similar proposal to the President on Jan. 11.

Oil men have sought complete United States control over its continental slopes, in some places extending hundreds of miles beyond land. A 1958 international convention gives nations exclusive exploitation only of their continental shelves.

According to one estimate made for the marine science commission, the oil and gas in areas beyond 200 meters—the average limit of the continental shelves—is potentially worth "billions" of dollars.

"Immediate expectations should not be too great," the same commission member cautioned. "There are great difficulties. But without any question the potential is huge."

In detail, the President proposed:

• Continued national control over most of the immediate continental shelf beyond each coastline, but renunciation of national claims beyond the 200-meter depth.

On an average, this would mean everything beyond 50 miles, but it would vary widely. The United States has broad continental slopes off New England and Alaska. Britain and Argentina likewise have slopes extending several hundred miles.

• Trusteeship zones for coastal nations in their continental margins, despite their renunciation of "all national claims." Such zones would include both the continental slope and the continental rise

—the area where the slopes level off to meet the deep seabed; it is often rich in mineral sediments. Most of the ocean's known resources are in the shelves, slopes and rises.

• "Agreed international machinery" to authorize and regulate exploration and use of resources beyond the above margins.

• "An international regime" to collect royalties from both the margins and deeper areas, "establish general rules," protect the ocean from pollution, protect business investment and "provide for peaceful and compulsory settlement of disputes."

The President also firmly backed a proposed new law of the sea treaty—now under

negotiation—which would set a 12-mile limit for territorial waters, though allowing transit through international straits. The United States recognizes only a three-mile limit. It agreed to the new limit to help win Soviet agreement to a ban against nuclear weapons—but not against anti-submarine detection devices—on the sea floor.

Canada has already acted unilaterally to assert jurisdiction over the entire Northwest Passage, for fear of environmental contamination by oil tankers and spills. Most of this area is continental shelf but some is slope, which would come under the President's new proposal.

Agreement on such a proposal is urgent, John R. Stevenson, State Department legal adviser, told a news conference. Oil firms are working on systems "to operate in virtually any depth of water," he reported.

They know how it is in the homeland

The Washington Daily News, Friday, May 22, 1970

## Youths tell of 'prison under terror'

By VIRGINIA PREWETT



IT is a truism that the people of the United States have a long and painful route to travel until we clearly see our role in today's turbulent world. The over-30 generation has a way of thinking that "the youth" will somehow work it all out. How complicated a situation we have presented them for the solving is illus-

trated by an incident involving the U.S. national image, Cuba and Cuban youth.

Last Monday four young Cuban exiles, outraged by the demonstration of Castroites around the former U.S. embassy in Havana, chained themselves to the railings of the empty Cuban embassy building on 16th-st nw. This was not an act of violence. No windows were broken or filthy language used.

The young Cubans staged a political gesture to show the world that not all Cubans hate the United States. They meant to demonstrate that there is another side to the coin of Castro's avowed offensive against this country's institutions.

### ONE-SIDED PUBLICITY

Pictures of the Havana crowd demonstrating against the U.S. were published thruout the United States and the world. Nothing at all appeared showing the young anti-Castro Cubans in Washington, in effect demonstrating for the United States.

Unable to pay fines for disturbing the peace, the four remained in a Washington jail for 48 hours. Now out on bail, they have been ar-

raigned on the much more serious charge of demonstrating within 500 feet of an embassy. This could entail six months in jail and a heavy fine.

The bitter irony of the situation is obvious. These are significant youth, just as surely as are the North American young people who go to Cuba to be indoctrinated on how to destroy our constitutional system. The difference is that the four young Cubans, Enrique Garcis, Ramon Ginorys, Emilio Mont and Jorge Rodriguez, have lived under communism.

At random I asked Ramon Ginorys, age 22, why he had risked his life to escape from Cuba. He was raised under communism from the age of 8 years and escaped only about six months ago. He answered:

"When I was in military service four years ago, I was sent for anti-aircraft training to the Cabana, at Havana." This is a fortress-prison. "One day I saw seven bodies of people just executed lying in a ditch. They were all bloody and the stench of the ditch from other bodies that had lain there was terrible. Then I watched and learned — that Castro executes about 300 people a month without trial. I know this.

"Castro keeps power only thru terror," he said. "Eighty per cent of the military, unit by unit, are always plotting what to do if a break comes. Young people are more than 80 per cent against Castro. You serve one year of rough military duty and two years working in the fields at seven dollars a month.

"The way people live in Cuba isn't life," he said. "It's prison under terror."

Youth speaks.



# ARA-PAF Press Clips

WASHINGTON, D. C., THURSDAY, MAY 21, 1970 VOL. XIX NO. 37

Thursday, May 21, 1970

## Castro Acknowledges Sugar Crop Is Lagging

MIAMI, May 20 (AP)—Fidel Castro has admitted that he might not reach the record 10 million-ton sugar crop on which he has repeatedly staked the honor of his revolution.

Castro made the admission in a speech at a Havana welcome rally last night for the return of 11 Cuban fishermen who were kidnaped by U.S.-based exiles and later released. The broadcast was monitored in Miami.

The Cuban premier said his enemies had speculated that he was seeking an incident such as the fishermen kidnappings or recent exile guerrilla landings on which to blame sugar difficulties.

But he told cheering thousands in front of the former U.S. Embassy: "If the goal is not reached, we will have two things, a moral defeat without

a doubt, and we will have to find among ourselves the blame and study with courage the causes."

Castro blamed rains, equipment trouble at mills, low yield and other factors for falling behind schedule in the harvest of his country's dollar-producing crop.

Castro's timetable called for 8 million tons by May 7. Havana Radio reported recently that the harvest still was short of 7.5 million. Last year's harvest was less than 5 million tons.

Castro said Cuba was "warning" the "puppets of imperialism" who allow their soil to be "used as bases against Cuba that we will seek every means to pass from the defensive to the offensive." This was apparently a reference to Central American and Caribbean nations where Cuban exiles are active.

### THE EVENING STAR

Washington, D. C., Wednesday, May 20, 1970

## Foreign Service Aides Warned on Criticism

By GEORGE SHERMAN  
Star Staff Writer

Fifty Foreign Service officers who signed a letter to Secretary of State William P. Rogers criticizing the Cambodian venture have received a top-level warning against publicly embarrassing President Nixon.

Early last week the career officers, most of them in their early 20s with professional ranks equal to first or second lieutenant in the military, were called to a meeting with U. Alexis Johnson, undersecretary of state for political affairs.

Johnson is third-ranking official in the State Department and the highest professional Foreign

Service officer in the ruling hierarchy.

The hour-long meeting was also attended by the chief personnel officer of the department, Deputy Undersecretary for Administration William B. Macomber Jr., in Macomber's office.

The 50 Foreign Service officers were among 250 employees of the foreign-aid establishment and State Department who addressed a letter to Rogers a week after Nixon's April 30 broadcast on Cambodia expressing "concern and apprehension over the enlargement of hostilities in Southeast Asia."

(Continued)

THE SUN, BALTIMORE,  
MAY 21, 1970

## Oligarchy Is Behind Balaguer

By ROBERT A. BRLANDSON  
(Sun Staff Correspondent)

Santo Domingo, May 20—If Joaquin Balaguer, who just won re-election as president of the Dominican Republic, is to institute his promised social and economic reforms, he will have to buck the oligarchy, which really rules this country.

The 63-year-old bachelor president who lives with his octogenarian mother, is definitely a man of the "establishment." He rose—despite his personal honesty and austerity—through the ranks of the Trujillo reign and his support lies in the military, business and other conservative elements.

Mr. Balaguer has accepted persecution of the opposition as a means to retain and consolidate

(Continued)

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Mon., May 18, 1970

## Brazil Buys Mirages Despite U.S. Offer

SAO PAULO, Brazil, May 18 (AP) — The Brazilian air force has bought 16 Mirage III high-altitude jet interceptor-fighters in France, ignoring a last-minute offer from the United States.

The Air Ministry in Brasilia said the contract was signed Friday in Paris. The jets will be delivered in 1972. Peru is the only other South American nation that has Mirage IIIs.

The contract was signed on the eve of a surprise statement from the Department of State in Washington approving the sale of 16 subsonic Skyhawk jets to Argentina and belatedly announcing that 50 Skyhawks and supersonic F-5 Freedom Fighters had been cleared for sale to Brazil, Chile and Colombia.

THE NEW YORK TIMES,  
THURSDAY, MAY 21, 1970

## TRADE BARS STIR PRESSURE IN U.S. Congress May Well Curtail Imports, Kennedy Says

By H. ERICH HEINEMANN  
Special to The New York Times

HOT SPRINGS, Va., May 20 —Secretary of the Treasury David M. Kennedy bluntly warned Japan and the nations of the European Common Market today that, if they do not lower their barriers to increased world trade, Congress might well take action to restrict imports into the United States.

At a news conference, prior to speaking here at the closing session of the American Bankers Association's monetary conference in the Homestead Hotel, the showy-haired former Chicago banker said, "If something is not done the pressures in the country are building, and they are building fast and very sincerely, for some kind of restrictive action."

Mr. Kennedy singled out European barriers to American agricultural exports for particular criticism. "We're taking a look in a number of cases," he said, "on dumping and countervailing duties, specifically, and in a few cases that will let the world know we're not sitting back and letting those things happen anymore."

### Additional Topics

Mr. Kennedy also commented that:

Arthur F. Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, was "not speaking for the Ad-

(Continued)



## Foreign Service Aides Warned on Criticism (Continued)

The letter asked the secretary to "seek reconsideration of the apparent direction of United States policy in Southeast Asia."

### Warned On Dissent

Sources close to the meeting stress that Johnson, who did most of the talking, did not call the 50 in for a "dressing down" or a "formal reprimand." But they were sternly reminded that, as public servants with responsibilities, they should not engage in public dissent against presidential policy.

Later, Macomber called in another 50 of the letter's signers, clerks and staff personnel in the department to deliver the same message. The remaining 150 of the signers were handled separately in the Agency for International Development outside the direct State Department chain of command.

According to informants, who say the White House was distressed by the publicity given this "revolt" in the State Department, the dissenting career officers were told they should have used "channels" to get their views to Rogers.

These channels include the "Open Forum" specifically set up to allow younger officers to propose and discuss ideas which go directly to the secretary's office on the 7th floor.

### Labelled "Naive"

The 50 young men and women are described as young and naive persons who thought they were signing a private petition to Rogers—who that week had been identified with opposition to Nixon's move into Cambodia. They told Johnson that they had intended the letter as a "cry of conscience."

Many of the young men are scheduled to take up junior assignments in Vietnam, both in the embassy proper and in the pacification field program.

None has chosen to carry his dissent to the point of resigning, the sources say.

The weight of feeling in the ruling hierarchy is that no further action should be taken against them. At the moment there is no intention of listing the protest in the individual files kept on each Foreign Service officer, which are key to promotion within the ranks.

### Issues Delicate

But the obvious fear in State is threat to discipline by "un-

channelled protest." Johnson and Macomber, sources say, walked a thin tightrope between assuring dissenters that their rights to protest under the First Amendment of the Constitution are protected and their responsibilities as public servants to keep that protest within the house.

The sources stress that at no juncture did Johnson or Macomber demand resignations. But no one denies that implicit in the meeting was the warning that if Foreign Service officers feel they cannot loyally support the policy of the elected President and his secretary of state, which they were hired to execute, then they have no place in the career service.

Coincidentally, the ruling board of the American Foreign Service Association, the main organization of career officers, addressed a letter to President Nixon 10 days ago indirectly making many of the same points.

The board felt, the letter said, that channels of dissent must be kept open in the State Department, but that officers had the duty to support a decision once it was taken by the President and his secretary of state.

### Oligarchy is Behind

Balaguer (Continued) power and the specter of renewed persecution is rising.

The newspaper *El Caribe* published today a dramatic series of photographs of a boxer, Miguel Rodriguez, disguised in white priest's robes, battling his way to asylum yesterday in the Mexican embassy. In the last picture he lies unconscious, apparently after being knocked from the top of the gate by the policeman on guard.

Eventually Mexican officials admitted the fighter and five other persons including three journalists, as "guests" until their situation could be clarified.

They said they had received written threats that they would be "eliminated" within three days of President Balaguer's victory. They said the threats came from the "democratic re-election command" which they alleged is comprised of members of the police secret service and military intelligence.

The latest applicants raise to 12 the number of Dominicans who have sought Mexican asylum in the last two weeks on grounds of persecution by Balaguer authorities. The first 6 went to Mexico last week on safe conduct passes.

The opposition to President Balaguer is disunited and apparently confused. Whether it can be welded into a force sufficient to launch a serious attempt at overthrow remains to be seen.

THE KANSAS CITY STAR  
Wednesday, May 6, 1970

## ARGENTINA HAS A CLERGY SPLIT

Priest Movement Adheres  
to Socialism Against  
Hierarchy

MANY CONFLICTS NOTED  
Conservative Bishops Are  
Facing Crises in  
Parishes

Buenos Aires (AP)—The progressive movement within the Roman Catholic church of Argentina has formally adhered to socialism and to "revolutionary process," at a time when the church's hierarchy seems to be taking a more conservative stand.

The Priests for the Third World movement, which claims 400 members of Argentina's 4,000 priests, held a national meeting at Santa Fe and issued a communique saying:

"We state our formal rejection of the present capitalist system and of its logical consequence, economic and cultural imperialism.

"We also adhere to the revolutionary process, which encourages the appearance of a new man.

"We have made our choice of Latin-American socialism, which must necessarily imply the socialization of the means of production."

Earlier the conference of Argentine bishops elected a new president, the archbishop of Paraná, Adolfo Tortolo, regarded as one of the most conservative members of the hierarchy.

and much depends on the president's actions when he resumes office Friday, after having taken leave to campaign.

In the total of 1,159,841 votes, Mr. Balaguer obtained 607,717 through his Reform party and another 47,988 through its National Youth movement. This gave him a majority of 140,481 over the combined total of his four opponents, but it was much smaller than the 265,317 vote cushion he had for his first term in 1966.

Monsignor Tortolo replaces the archbishop of Buenos Aires, Antonio Cardinal Caggiano, also a conservative, who is gradually giving up his religious functions because of his age, 82.

The archbishop of Corrientes, Francisco Vicentin, in March excommunicated a parish priest affiliated with the Third World movement, the Rev. Raul O. Marturet, and suspended four priests who supported him. The archbishop charged Father Marturet with having sued him before a lay court, when the priest requested judicial protection against alleged police harassment.

At Rosario last year, Archbishop Guillermo Bolatti faced a crisis when 30 of his parish priests resigned their posts, saying he lacked interest in social problems. Pope Paul VI sought to mediate a compromise, which hasn't been reached yet.

Besides these conflicts with their bishops, the Third World priests have had confrontations with the military government of President Juan Carlos Onganía, a traditionalist Roman Catholic. The dissident priests have supported labor and student strikes and demonstrations, disregarding government warnings that they were inspired by "subversive Communists."

In their Santa Fe communique the priests called for a "radical change in the mentality and behavior of many of our fellow Catholics, especially those who rule the church."

They demanded that the hierarchy support "clearly and completely" the recommendations voted at Medellín, Colombia, in August 1968 by the Latin-American bishops' conference. This conference adopted for Latin America the principles of the Second Vatican Council.

Recently one of the key moderate bishops of the country, the archbishop of Córdoba, Raul Primatesa, said that the "Medellín teachings are not mandatory" for the Argentine church.



N.Y. Times 5/27

DCP

### Reproof to War Critics

To the Editor:

Your issue of May 21 tells of some fifty Foreign Service Officers being officially reproved by Under Secretary of State U. Alexis Johnson for, in a personal role, signing a letter of objection to the Secretary of State on the Cambodian invasion.

Mr. Johnson's action is outrageous. It shows disregard for the rights of Americans who are also public employees. It discourages precisely the kind of informed reaction which the department itself needs if it is to avoid error. And it comes with formidably bad grace from Mr. Johnson.

For ten years Mr. Johnson has been a subsidiary architect of our Far Eastern policy. He has been a steady advocate of our military intervention there. He has been associated in supervision, planning or administration with nearly every other aspect of this disaster.

That he should still think himself able, without embarrassment, to reprove those who protest further error tells something about the official mind and more about Mr. Johnson.

JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH  
Cambridge, Mass., May 21, 1970



AMERICAN  
FOREIGN SERVICE  
ASSOCIATION

2101 E Street, Northwest



Washington, D. C. 20037 • 338-4045

June 17, 1970

THE NEW YORK TIMES, W

## Penalties Barred for Protesting Diplomatic Officials

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 16—

The State Department has assured Government officials who signed a letter last month to Secretary of State William P. Rogers protesting the incursion into Cambodia that no "formal or informal" punishment would be taken against them, the American Foreign Service Association said today.

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Secretary for Administration that no disciplinary action, formal or informal, will be taken against employees for signing the letter to the Secretary of State expressing displeasure with the decision to enter Cambodia."

It said that "these assurances specifically include notation in personnel files and promotions" and that the association "accepts these assurances in behalf of its members."

The Deputy Under Secretary for Administration is William

B. Macomber, who on behalf of the department refused last month to turn over the names of between 200 and 250 signers of the letter to a White House investigator, Clark Mollenhoff.

Secretary Rogers subsequently also refused to give the list to Mr. Mollenhoff, who first requested it on May 18, in what other officials described as a violent argument.

The White House press secretary, Ronald L. Ziegler, said yesterday that Mr. Mollenhoff, who has resigned from the

White House staff, had acted "on his own volition" in asking the State Department for the list.

The signers of the letter, dated May 8, included officials from the State Department, the Arms and Disarmament Agency and the Agency for International Development.

State Department officials involved in the incident said today that "from the outset" they enjoyed the "fullest solidarity" from Mr. Rogers and Mr. Macomber.

AFSA interprets these assurances as applying to A.I.D. as well as State and ACDA, since the A.I.D. Administrator reports to the Secretary of State.



## Tourist Boomlet Grows In Dominican Republic

SANTO DOMINGO, D.R. (AP) — They first spotted him plodding down the beginning of El Centro, Santo Domingo's best street. He was attired in sandals, knee socks, floppy shorts, a gray sportshirt, wore a funny Tyrolean hat and puffed a fat brier pipe. Even the traffic cop in the intersection peered out from under his white pith helmet and paused to stare.

A tourist:

With a reputation for being a Dodge City with a Spanish accent, Santo Domingo doesn't get many tourists and it's always an occasion when one shows up.

But the re-election of President Joaquin Balaguer, a 64-year-old bachelor who lives with his mother in a heavily guarded mansion, has given the government tourist office hopes for a modest boom.

### Increasing Since 1965

Since the 1965 civil war, when 23,000 U.S. Marines and paratroopers were landed here, the number of visitors to the sun-drenched Caribbean nation has been steadily increasing. But the figures hardly match those of traditional tourist spots like Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, or even Haiti, which shares the island of Hispaniola with the Dominican Republic. The Virgin Islands, for example, received more than a million tourists last year.

From a low of 16,937 in 1965, the number of tourists here increased to 74,163 in 1969, according to the National Tourist Office. About 90,000 visitors are predicted for 1970. Officials concede that figure may turn out lower because of a crash early this year of a Dominicana DC 9 jetliner flying to Puerto Rico in which 102 persons were killed. Another reason, they say, is foreign press reports of events

which preceded the May 16 election.

The recent events included a wave of politically connected killings on the left and right of the Dominican political spectrum; an average of one person was slain every day.

During that time, all public schools were closed to prevent student demonstrations and the University of Santo Domingo, a traditional hotbed of leftist agitation, was shut down by the government while the campus was ringed with tanks and troops. Lt. Col. Donald Crowley, air attache at the U.S. Embassy, was kidnaped by left-wing extremists, then ransomed for the release of 20 political prisoners to political asylum in Mexico.

### Many Carry Weapons

Because so many persons carry weapons, the country's electoral board issued an election day decree ordering that all guns be turned over at the door of polling places before voting.

Even after the election, soldiers and policemen with automatic weapons were patrolling the streets and congregating in large numbers at downtown intersections.

Despite the Dominican reputation for mayhem, the country and the capital city of Santo Domingo offer a lot for the tourist at reasonable prices.

Christopher Columbus' son Diego was a Spanish governor here. His palace still stands overlooking the Wide Ozama River. The limestone building has been restored by the government and filled with furnishings and art from that period. A small museum is next door.

The house is located in the "new city" section which is actually the old part of the city. It was here that the 1965 Civil War raged hottest. Bullet holes can be seen in the wooden shutters of Diego's house and in several oil paintings.

### Old Churches

Half a dozen old churches still stand from the Spanish colonial period. The Cathedral of Santa Maria La Menor is one of the first and oldest cathedrals in the Americas and contains what are said to be Christopher Columbus' remains in an elaborate

## Population Booming in Costa Rica

### 8.3% Growth Rate Is Second Highest

By DON BOHNING

Herald Latin America Editor

Costa Rica, its population mushrooming by 3.8 per cent a year, is the second most rapidly growing country in the world.

Only oil-rich Kuwait, an Arab sheikdom on the Persian Gulf, surpasses the tiny Central American country in annual population growth, according to the latest data sheet prepared by the Washington-based Population Reference Bureau.

Kuwait's population is growing at a phenomenal 8.3 per cent a year, but it is a growth attributed largely to abnormal circumstances.

KUWAIT, notes the research organization, has one of the world's lowest death rates and a very high birth rate, but it also has a net annual migration into the country of 4.2 per cent annually.

"Costa Rica," said the population study group, "is more representative of the world's fastest growing nations in that virtually all of its population gain comes from natural increase."

"Unlike Kuwait, Costa Rica does not have a booming oil industry to attract great numbers of immigrants.

iron and marble tomb.

There are miles of white beaches with warm aquamarine waters and excellent fishing. And constant sea breezes keep the temperature from getting too hot.

Santo Domingo itself has three modern, big hotels and about a dozen good restaurants including a little Italian place where excellent pizza can be found—uncommon in the Caribbean.

It's per capita gross national product is a modest \$410, above average for Central America."

KUWAIT'S per capita gross national product is \$3,490.

Costa Rica's problem is the hemisphere's problem — and developing countries around the world.

There just are not enough jobs, houses and services — nor the resources to provide them — for the poverty-stricken and growing population masses.

Nearly half of Costa Rica's present 1.8-million population is under 15 years of age, says the research group, compared with 30 per cent for the United States.

COSTA RICA, Latin America's most democratic society, is probably in a better position than most of the hemisphere to cope with its growth.

There, the economic imbalances which a mushrooming population only aggravates, are not as great to begin with.

The outlook for the hemisphere as a whole, however, is not optimistic.

As a region, Latin America is the world's fastest growing with a 2.9 per cent population increase annually. Of its present 283 million estimated population, 42 per cent are under 15 years of age.

THE BUREAU estimates that Latin America's population by 1985 will be 435 million — or more than half again what it is today.

What the bureau calls Middle America (Mexico, Panama and Central America) is the world's fastest growing subregion, with its present 67 million population growing at a rate of 3.4 per cent a year. Forty-six per cent of its people are under 15 years of age.

By 1985, estimates the bureau, Middle America will have 112 million people.

In all, 12 countries of the hemisphere have populations that are growing by 3 per cent or more a year.

They are Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela and Paraguay.

## JOURNAL OF COMMERCE

June 17, 1970

### Argentine Soda Plant

Special to Journal of Commerce

MENDOZA, Argentina, June 16—Officials of the Japanese firms Mitsui and Ishikawagima-Harima Heavy Industries announced plans recently, to build a solvay soda plant near this western Argentine city.



# Business Week

JUNE 13, 1970

## Argentine junta proclaims plans for democracy

It is hard to tell the good guys from the bad guys in Argentina's latest military shuffle.

The coup is unlikely to bring any sharp changes in Argentina's political and economic course. But instability could set back the country's successful efforts in recent years to curb inflation and strengthen the peso.

General Alejandro Lanusse, the army chief, joined with other military commanders to depose General Juan Carlos Onganía as president, ostensibly because he refused to set a timetable for restoring constitutional government.

The new junta says it will move toward representative democracy. Lanusse has a record as an advocate of constitutional rule. So, too, did Onganía—until he took power and cracked down on opponents with increasing harshness.

In recent months, Onganía had been working toward an accord with organized labor and was talking about a "corporative" system that would give various groups more influence in government.

## Questions hang over economy

The new regime appears immune to the kind of radical nationalism that the military junta in Peru is pursuing. If anything, it may be somewhat less nationalistic than Onganía.

Lanusse is pro-American and has traveled extensively in the U. S. Reportedly, he favors more U. S. private investment, which could reach \$1.5-billion by the end of the year. Dow Chemical and Kaiser are both making substantial investments in Argentina.

But the changing of the guard may undermine Argentina's strong economic performance of recent years—whether or not it results in more democracy.

For one thing, Onganía had assembled a brilliant team of technocrats and let them have their way in running the economy. It is unclear how many will stay on and how much influence they will have.

Then, too, the new regime may be tempted to pursue popular policies at the outset, regardless of economic effects, in order to consolidate its power. Argentine labor unions have been growing more restless and demanding huge wage boosts in order to get their share of rising prosperity.

If the new junta yields, it could rekindle inflation.

NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1970

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6



# Dissenting US Employees Worry Nixonites

By Vera Glaser

WASHINGTON — (CDN) — White House officials are worried about repeated flare-ups of dissent among federal employees.

A rash of incidents in Washington and several other U.S. cities has brought the Nixon Administration up short against a ticklish legal question:

How far may those on Uncle Sam's payroll go in opposing government policies?

"We have an odd problem," said presidential counselor Bryce Harlow, "as to whether the employees of the first administrative officer of the United States, who is the President, are to be at liberty to publicly challenge the policies he advocates."

## Angry Incidents

No one in Washington knows precisely how many angry incidents have occurred in the last 18 months, but there have been scores.

- More than 200 employees in the State Department and related agencies recently signed a letter opposing the President's decision to send troops into Cambodia.

- Employees in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare held a rally in their auditorium to protest the Indochina war. They lobbied congressmen and marched past the White House.

- A group of Justice De-

## OEO Chief Warns Staff Protestors

WASHINGTON—(CDN)—Federal employees should not publicly oppose policies set by the President and Congress, according to Donald Rumsfeld, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

If they want to voice dissent from Administration views, he said, they ought to quit their government jobs and "do it in a different vocation."

Asked about the organized protests against Administration policy, Rumsfeld replied:

"Under the Constitution the American people elect and select people to serve in the House and the Senate and the executive branch and that's their judgment.

"If civil service people in the executive branch of the Federal government don't agree with the judgment of the American people, they have every right to voice it and express it. But they ought to do it outside of government service."

partment lawyers "rebelled" last fall against Administration civil rights policies.

- The Peace Corps has recalled some volunteers who challenged administration policy abroad.

## 'Sabotage' Charged

Less dramatic, but of equal concern in some Administration quarters is the alleged "sabotage" of the President's policies by civil service bureaucrats in the course of their day-to-day duties.

Sen. Barry Goldwater

least two important principles:

- The right of a citizen to free speech, which is protected by the First Amendment to the Constitution.

- The right of a citizen to expect a reasonable amount of loyalty from his employees.

"We are not looking for ghosts or red-baiting, but we are disturbed," said Robert Hampton, chairman of the Civil Service Commission.

Although dissent has not reached what he termed

"chaotic proportions," he said his agency is keeping it "under continual study."

Almost 3,000,000 Federal employees are under civil service. This includes the Defense Department's civilian work force.

## Court Rulings

Court rulings protect and even encourage an employee's right to differ with his government. But there are limitations on how he may do it.

If he voices criticism to his superiors through channels, even though it may be some-

what inaccurate and personally abrasive to higher-ups, he is within his rights.

If, however, an employee publicly criticizes the agency for which he works, he calls into question his fitness to carry out his duties.

## S. F. Incidents

On "Moratorium Day," last Oct. 15, anti-war demonstrators asked federal employees to join them.

Some did, triggering a hail of questions to the civil Service Commission and to the General Services Admin-

istration, which lays down the rules for use of federal property.

Keeping an eye on the First Amendment, the two agencies have refined the rules governing protests by federal employees:

- "Demonstrating" must be done on an employee's own time and outside federal premises. Signing or circulating protest petitions must be done in off-duty periods and outside buildings.

- Peace buttons or arm-bands may be worn if they do not disrupt an agency's work.

- No one has a "right" to take leave to engage in protest.

☆☆

Section A. Page 19

July 26, 1970

S. F. Sunday Examiner  
& Chronicle

- Meetings on federal property may be held only for official purposes or if specifically approved by the agency head. The premises may not be used for lobbying.

In San Francisco, for example, the National Labor Relations Board turned down an employee request to use the agency's hearing room to draft a peace petition because it believed its purpose was to influence legislation.

(R-Ariz.) has attacked the "gnomes of Washington" for "thwarting the will of the people" who elected Nixon.

Many in the nonpartisan career civil service, according to Goldwater, are political enemies of the administration and behave accordingly.

The question of a federal employee's right to publicly differ with his government is touchy.

## 2 Key Questions

It brings into conflict at



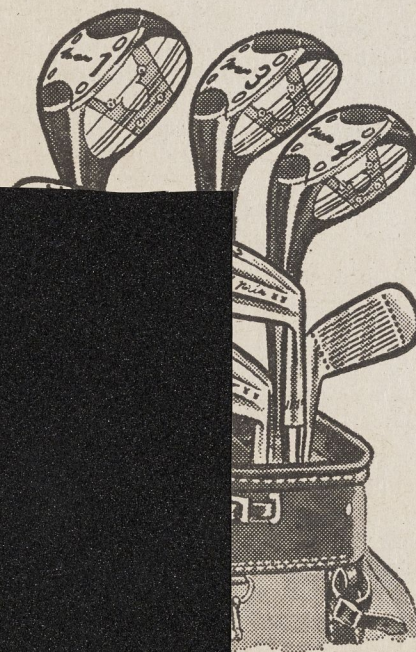
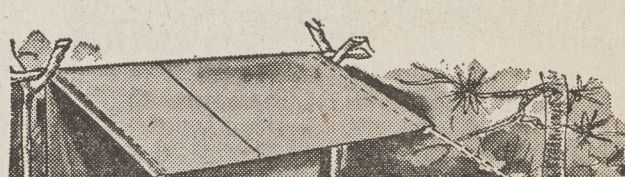
# The New Carswell: Shy Judge Becomes Feisty Campaigner

By Ben Funk

MIAMI — (AP) — Nattily dressed, quick with a smile and exuding confidence, G. Harrold Carswell moves along the campaign trail delivering rapid-fire, off-the-cuff speeches.

He hardly seems the same man who received dejectedly last April 8 the news that the U.S. Senate, after hearing him described by some critics as racist and lacking judicial

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N.Y. Times

5/27

DCP

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JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH  
Cambridge, Mass., May 21, 1970



Washington, D.C.  
May 8, 1970

The Honorable William P. Rogers  
Secretary of State  
Department of State  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

As officers and employees of the Department of State and the Agency for International Development, we wish to express to you our deepest concern and apprehension over the enlargement of hostilities in Southeast Asia suggested by American military involvement in Cambodia and the recent bombings in North Vietnam. As citizens, we share the misgivings of a large and responsible segment of American society.

Our sense of responsibility to you, to the Department and to ourselves precludes our remaining silent on these critical issues. As the advice which you offer the President reflects your judgment and conscience, we -- in the same spirit -- offer our views to you.

In our opinion the expansion of military activity should be reversed. We fear that this expansion threatens the prospects for an early peace and heightens the serious problem of divisiveness at home. For these reasons, we question the recent military decisions. We urge you to seek reconsideration of the apparent direction of American policy in Southeast Asia.

Sincerely yours,