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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

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A FOND FAREWELL TO CLARKE SLADE

Clarke Slade is leaving AFSA after 27 years of diligent, effective and professional service. Clarke was a founder of an AFSA-associated Educational Counseling Service in 1950. He joined the AFSA-associated Educational and Youth Concerns in 1958. Clarke was the first Director of the Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center when it was established under the joint auspices of AFSA and AAFSW in 1973. He is resigning because of the demands placed upon him by his consulting tasks in the State Department Medical Division.

The AFSA Governing Board unanimously passed a Resolution on March 29, 1977 stating:

"That his resignation be accepted with genuine regret and that the Governing Board of AFSA record its appreciation for the splendid contributions made by him for the well-being of many of its members, and wish him every success in his future undertakings."

AFSA made a wise decision in bringing aboard an educational consultant in 1950. AFSA made an even wiser decision in choosing Clarke Slade to fill this important responsibility. His experience as Headmaster of Indian River School in Florida, 17 years as Headmaster of his own Slade School in Olney, Maryland, and many years as a social case worker and educational consultant in Baltimore and Washington was ideal for the complex job of dealing with Foreign Service family problems. The continuity of this fine man's service has enabled families to consult Clarke throughout the vital formative years of their children on matters ranging from pre-school behavior problems to assistance in choosing the right university.

The Association grew, the Foreign Service environment changed radically overseas and in Washington, new values evolved; yet, Clarke Slade was always here, adapting to the times. He met the formidable challenge of helping us cope with our problems.

We will all miss the sensible and cheerful presence of Clarke!

AFSA NEEDS

Your membership renewal! The response to the AFSA Membership drive initiated some months ago has been most encouraging.

We are now approaching the season of renewals for the bulk of our membership. It is important that the recent membership gains not be neutralized by the failure of existing members to rejoin. We urge that AFSA members let us have their checks for their dues promptly upon receipt of billings. This will save your organization money and help us to maintain our growth.

Your cooperation is urgently requested.

25 YEARS AGO IN THE JOURNAL

No observant foreign statesman on a friendly visit to us can fail to be deeply impressed, as he first enters the Department of State, by the Thing which challenges him at the entrance. He can hardly mistake its message. Its most immediate aspect is that of a mass of bombing planes and berserk eagles swooping to obliterate him. Artillery is trained on him, and he prepares involuntarily to stick up his hands. This friendly foreign statesman, we suppose, concludes that this Thing, strategically placed at the main entrance to our foreign office, was designed to support such tactics of intimidation as were elements of Mussolini's and Hitler's foreign policies. What we show him first, as he enters, is our armed might in a posture of aggression.

We might point out to him that, of course, the meaning of the Thing really is peaceful. Those hurtling bombers and hysterical eagles, in the act of pouncing on him, are really in posture of defense. One can make out, beneath the stormy darkness with which they have overspread the sky, scenes of purely civic activity—preachers and politicians haranguing the multitudes, old men seeking comfort at an iron stove (while helmeted storm-troopers look down upon them), a sinister figure apparently dispensing drugs, school children being taught to cheer for God knows what, and a newsboy calling his "Wuxtry!" trying to make himself heard above the bombers' roar. Looking at this crowded nether scene, however, the visitor might think that the mission of the bombers was to seize *Lebensraum* for the agitated mob which represents the American people.

The might of the United States is feared and distrusted in many quarters. Our professions of peaceful intent are doubted. Anyone who thinks this Thing, in its uniquely dominating location, does not misrepresent us and do us harm should imagine what impression he would receive from it if he found it spread over the entrance to the foreign office in Moscow. Or perhaps he should try to look at it with the eyes of, say, Prime Minister Nehru of India when he visited us some time back.

It is not pertinent in this context to point out that those bombers look more obsolete every year; but it is pertinent to note that this Thing is not art. It lacks even that.

We therefore propose to our authorities that the Thing be erased, eradicated, expunged, deleted, and destroyed—or, at the very least, decently veiled. Administrative difficulties, we understand, would stand in the way. Let us, we say, face those difficulties with stout hearts, recalling how much the Voice of America costs us each year and the administrative difficulties that it, too, involves. — *Foreign Service Journal*, July, 1952, Editorial, "The Thing."

(Members using the 21st Street entrance to the Department may have noted the recent refurbishment and unveiling of "The Thing.")

Foreign Service Compensation

WILLIAM C. VEALE

What kind of compensation system is best for today's Foreign Service is a question which cuts across many other issues, including a judgment about what kind of perspective the Foreign Service ought to bring to bear on American foreign policy. But, no matter what answers are given to these issues, one thing is clear: inflation and

dollar devaluations of recent years have seriously eroded the economic position of most Foreign Service families.

I remember being advised by senior FSOs before I joined that I would never get rich in the Foreign Service, but at least I could expect to live comfortably. Today, as I look around at the salaries earned by my contemporaries who stayed in the military or joined the Civil Service, not to mention those who became staffers on the Hill or entered private business, I am left with a feeling that somebody has simply forgotten about taking care of the Foreign Service. Living comfortably in the Foreign Service is hardly how I would describe my own financial

Mr. Veale graduated from Georgetown University with both a BSFS ('64) and MSFS ('71). He served with the Army from 1964-1969. Since entering the Foreign Service in 1971 he has served with ACDA and in Strasbourg.



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condition or that of most of my colleagues. Regrettably, what I do not see is anyone trying to do something to improve matters.

What I do see, however, is a gross lack of pay comparability with the other major federal personnel systems, the military and the Civil Service, particularly in the junior and lower middle grades. What I do see is that Foreign Service families are routinely faced with a formidable array of extraordinary expenses not at all adequately covered; in contrast, equivalent Civil Service employees at higher salaries do not have to contend with these expenses, and the military is better protected by its more extensive fringe benefits and privileges. What I do see is a significant attrition problem and the prospect of serious retention problems among junior officers. And what I do see is that these problems are made worse by, practically speaking, a rigid career promotion pattern that contrasts sharply with the more flexible use of the GS scale in other Federal agencies. Indeed, the operation of the Foreign Service promotion system in recent years leaves the impression that rather than a conscious personnel system, we have had market forces of supply and demand working to favor promotions in those functional areas where salaries on the outside were highest. But, what concerns me most in what I see is a failure to grapple directly with those who push egalitarian arguments and to establish clearly the need for a separate Foreign Service to exist, not as a self-proclaimed elite, but as a necessary functional elite. Instead, a kind of siege mentality seems to have prevailed.

An article in the Department's October 1975 *Newsletter*

sheds some light on FS-GS pay comparability aspects of the problem. In what was apparently an improvement at the time, Congress passed legislation in 1962 which linked the Foreign Service pay system to the Civil Service's GS scale at two points, FSO-8 to GS-7 and FSO-4 to GS-13. The salaries of other classes in the FS scale were then established by a process of "fixing appropriate percentage relationships" to the GS scale. The chief benefit from this system in recent years has been to insure that each October FS pay went up with the GS scale, albeit at linkage relationships established in 1962. The Department had recognized by 1973, and the Civil Service Commission and the Office of Management and Budget by 1974, that FSOs and FSRs in Classes 2,5,6, and 7 had responsibilities that were fully comparable to GS Grades 16, 12, 11 and 9 respectively. At the same time, however, other CSC and OMB findings implied that many Foreign Service Staff personnel were being overpaid in relation to the GS scale, and consequently internal FSS linkages to the FSO/FSR scale were not valid. CSC and OMB, acting as the President's agent, refused to make a recommendation to the President to adjust upward FSO/R-2, -5, -6, and -7 salaries until the Department took steps to correct the alleged overpayment of FFS personnel. The reason cited was that upward adjustments of these FSO/R salaries would, because of the internal linkage, also increase the salary of some FSS personnel (in actuality only FSS-3s and -4s would be increased). The *Newsletter* article ended by noting that the Department hoped to resolve these two problems by July or August 1976. What followed for FSS

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personnel was the September 17, 1976 action to lower expectations for promotions. For FSOs and FSRs, no action has been taken that I am aware of to equate their salaries to their GS equivalents. (Perhaps there is reason to be thankful.)

The pay comparability issue has been addressed earlier by the Junior Foreign Service Officers Club and by AFSA. An AFSA Management Reform Bulletin in 1971 pointed out a striking discrepancy in the monetary value of early FS promotions compared with the Civil Service. Seeking to apply Civil Service salary principles more equitably to the Foreign Service, AFSA proposed that FS salaries reflect that the FSO scale involves only seven promotions, versus ten for the GS scale, between basically the same starting and ending salaries. Had this been accomplished, FSO-5 pay would have been equated to the GS-13 level. Six years later FSO-5 salary is still below that for GS-12. Another AFSA bulletin in August 1972 noted that changes in the Foreign Service career pattern since 1962 had caused FS salary levels to fall substantially behind Civil Service levels. AFSA found, for example, that the difference in lifetime earnings between an FSO and a Civil Service management intern was around a quarter of a million—in 1972 dollars!

Drawing comparisons with the Civil Service, however, is not enough. In many respects, the Foreign Service personnel and assignment system has more in common with the military than it does with the Civil Service. Today an FSO-8 starts at \$11,523 (\$500 less than a starting Metrobus driver in 1975), his GS-7 counterpart gets the same, and a Second Lieutenant \$10,939 (including

tax-free family quarters and subsistence allowances). After four years he may reach FSO-6 at \$16,096, a thousand dollars less than the GS-11 rate reached a year earlier by his Civil Service counterpart, and a good deal less than the \$18,739 received by his military counterpart, a Captain. After about seven years he is promoted to FSO-5 at \$19,601 versus \$21,270 for his Major equivalent, and \$20,442 for a GS-12. However, the GS-7 management intern after eight years will in all probability be a GS-14 at \$28,725. What makes this really interesting is to recall that nearly half the Foreign Service is in Washington without any allowances (except for those on temporary duty) and that overseas, the Civil Service is numerically larger than the Foreign Service, and draws the same kinds of allowances but at higher salaries. Also, it is worth remembering that free medical and dental care, PX and Commissary privileges add about 20 per cent to disposable income for military families. In Washington, for example, a Major's real income would then start at about \$25,500, versus an FSO-5's \$19,601.

Much attention has been focused on the Foreign Service promotion system in recent years, perhaps because getting promoted was the only way to alleviate the financial plight caused by the present system of Foreign Service compensation. So now we are moving to a new system of FSO promotions, essentially more protracted, but regularized. Less time will be spent in the junior grades, an improvement, but in effect there will be only six classes of commissioned officers. Inflation has greatly eroded the monetary value of promotions in the lower and middle grades under the present salary scale, not to



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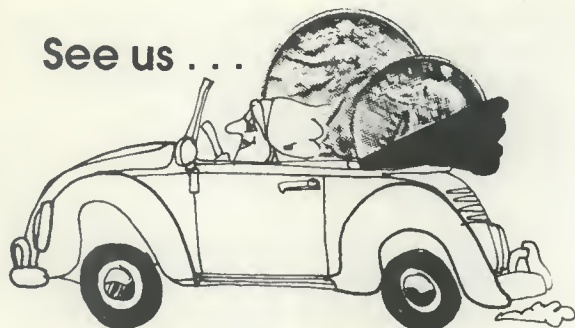
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mention the reduced value of step increases. With the prospect of much longer periods between promotions, it seems to me that the time has come for an all-out effort to clear up inequities and make significant improvements in Foreign Service compensation. In so doing, I would argue against—with one exception—a major emphasis on additional allowances and benefits, and concentrate principally on improvements in salary. But to be successful, I believe it will be necessary ultimately to make the Foreign Service personnel system fully independent of the Civil Service Commission.

What needs to be done specifically?

- The inclusion of the Foreign Service in the Federal Salary Reform Act of 1962 should be repealed and the FS/GS scale linkages should be abandoned.

- Significant increases (20-25 percent) should be made in lower and middle grade FS salaries to make them more consistent with professional qualifications and with compensation extended to other professionals in the US Government.

- A tax-free quarters allowance like that of the military should be established for the Foreign Service in the US. (This is the one exception I referred to earlier.)

- But most importantly, new legislation should be enacted which reconstitutes the Board of the Foreign Service as a body empowered to set broad personnel policy for the Foreign Service, including the periodic setting of pay scales in a manner consistent with the caliber of people needed in a Foreign Service of the United States.

For the immediate future, a realistic goal would be to correct the lack of FS/GS comparability recognized since 1973 in FSO classes 2, 5, 6, and 7. This requires recognition that the underpayment of FSOs and alleged overpayment of FSSs are two separate problems which should be dealt with independently on their own merits. Correcting the FSO problem would not prejudice the present position of the FSS-3s and FSS-4s who are linked to the FSO scale, since their case can be best dealt with in the context of the Department's reclassification study due for completion in 1978.

What has been done so far?

I have written a letter to my Congressman detailing the financial plight of the younger officers in the Foreign Service today, and including the outlines of the above proposals. Copies of the letter were made available to others on the Hill, including the Fascell and McGovern subcommittees, and to key persons in the Department and AFSA. Also, a petition containing the signatures of 100 FSO-5s in the Department and asking for a status report on the Department's efforts to equate FSO-5 salary with the GS-12 level has been delivered to Deputy Under Secretary Richard Moose. In a completely separate action, the wife of a fellow FSO-5 has written a letter to President Carter detailing the kinds of exceptional expenses Foreign Service families continually face at salary levels less than their Civil Service counterparts. Her letter, too, has been distributed on the Hill, in the Department and to AFSA.

What can you do to help?

Make the time today to write your Congressman about what needs to be done to reform Foreign Service compensation. After all, it's only you in the Foreign Service who know what's wrong with it, and it's only you who can act to make it different.



The Carter Administration insists that its foreign policy will express American moral values. Nothing is eaten as hot as it is cooked in American politics, an adage proved again as the candidate of 1976 became 1977's President. Nonetheless, in this transformation, the themes of morality in American government generally, and of commitment to democratic values and support for human rights in foreign policy, in particular, were among those preserved almost unchanged. The President reaffirmed them before Congress, in his Inauguration Address, and in numerous statements since. In the Address his passages and promises on these themes, especially foreign policy, stand out for their eloquence against generally unmemorable language, and for clarity and completeness of commitment in a speech where almost all other pledges were cautious and conditioned.

In this the President's idealism appears to have been responding to a public feeling well in evidence before he announced his candidacy. The immediate sources of this feeling have been familiar and thoroughly analyzed over the last few years: Vietnam and Watergate. The persistent if intermittent tendency of the American public to call for morality, idealism, and democratic values in public life is also a familiar fact of history currently somewhat overlooked. Foreign Service officers answering Department of State mail and conducting its public relations have never, however, been allowed to forget this tendency.

Congress clearly sensed the resurgent American feeling on morality and democratic values in foreign policy as early as 1973. A number of Congressional bodies such as Congressman Fraser's Subcommittee on International Organizations began digging away at the human rights situations in various countries. By this year this has produced from Fraser's investigations not only the current Korean scandals (which of course involve human rights as part of the full range of our relations with a particularly repressive totalitarian regime), but also restrictive provisions in legislation. These provisions apply both to assistance

"The undertaking to promote human rights is now an integral part of our foreign policy."

—Warren M. Christopher

DIPLOMACY WITHOUT A BRIEF: MORALITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN FOREIGN POLICY

JOHN L. WASHBURN

and arms sales and all indications are that they are likely to be intensified and broadened.

The press has both stimulated and responded to American feeling on these issues. *Time* has done a cover story on torture around the world. The continuing attention to Korea has been expanded to other countries as shown by Robert Woodward's article on Iran on the front page of the *Washington Post*. Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists, and Freedom House, once largely heard by a relatively small and rarefied international human rights establishment, now find a ready market for their materials among journalists for major newspapers.

John Washburn is a graduate of Harvard and of Harvard Law School. A member of the D.C. Bar, he has worked as a volunteer legal aid attorney before joining the Department of State and since. He entered the Foreign Service in 1963 and served in Madras '64-'66, with IO in the Department '66-'69, in Tehran as petroleum affairs official '69-'73 and is now back in IO/ML working primarily on the non-aligned group of nations and coordinating instructions to posts on multilateral issues.

Here, too, the tide of a trend has just begun to flood.

As with some other questions such as African issues, and international economics, former Secretary Kissinger underwent significant education and alteration of views on international human rights and morality in foreign policy, while keeping to his basic concepts and world-view. The best short summation of his final position is probably his recent essay in *Time*. The substance of this and similar earlier Kissinger statements divides into fully described, extremely important *conceptual* premises of clear and permanent validity, and a half-stated *operational* assumption which is considerably more doubtful. The *conceptual* premises are: Peace is a supreme moral objective. The pursuit of peace is therefore an over-riding moral imperative. The difficult choices foreign policy presents in this pursuit and otherwise must be informed and guided by our highest moral values.

The *operational* assumption is that the pursuit of peace and the preservation of security necessarily frequently require close relations with totalitarian regimes, and silence, or at least discretion, over the disregard of human rights and basic freedoms by those regimes as well as by the Soviet Union and China.

The Carter Administration has shown itself no less aware than its predecessor that the much more vigorous support it genuinely intends to give to human rights in its foreign policy must contend with the ongoing issues of energy, international economics, and security. The conflict between these two sets of objectives is apparently bound up with the nature and style of the new President. Carter's concern for morality and human rights in foreign affairs is clearly genuine, with deep roots in his personal convictions. He has shown real courage in quickly and completely carrying through on his unpopular moral commitment to amnesty for Vietnam draft evaders. On the other side of the scales, it is also evident from some of his statements on foreign policy and his choice of principal foreign policy advisors that he can be careful and cautious, especially in foreign affairs.

Confirmation of the ambiguity

produced by these conflicting attitudes in the new Administration came in late February and early March. In testifying on reductions in military aid programs, for human rights reasons, Secretary Vance said that these reductions are not automatic. Rather, he said, "In each case we must balance a political concern for human rights against economic or security goals." Deputy Secretary Christopher and human-rights coordinator Patricia Derian similarly testified that "the undertaking to promote human rights is now an integral part of our foreign policy," and called for more effective alternatives to aid stoppages, such as special training for ambassadors and embassy personnel, "quiet diplomacy," and "friendly persuasion." UN Ambassador Andrew Young said shortly afterward that no country is exempt from the Carter administration's human rights campaign.

The net of this is that, if we in the Foreign Service go on as before, we are likely to have sudden and disruptive fluctuations and swings in the conduct of our relations with other countries. Sharp American reactions to egregious or well-publicized human rights violations will probably alternate with concern for the effect of these reactions on our national security and international economic interests. It is unlikely that the elements of this alternation will be resolved by the difficult series of integrated policy decisions such a resolution would require. Eventually we may have an overall strategy for advancing international human rights through multilateral means such as the UN and the Helsinki Accords. The Accords will also continue to provide at least a partial guide for handling issues of human rights and political freedom in bilateral relations with Eastern European countries. The existence of the Helsinki standards has supported the directness and rapidity with which the US statements on Sakharov and the Czechoslovak dissidents were made, and the skill and boldness of our embassies in Eastern Europe in regularly and forcefully raising these issues with their hosts.

However, American diplomats otherwise are likely to have little systematic and overall guidance for handling these issues in bilateral re-

lations. Conceptually and politically, such guidance is extremely difficult to create because it must reduce commitments of principle to specific operational directives. In its place, however, we can establish in our diplomacy, and push our superiors to adopt, a consistency of style and expressed attitude which will deny other countries grounds for being surprised by sudden American statements and actions on their human rights problems.

In support of this consistency, we should soon and regularly urge certain attitudes and actions on the Seventh Floor and the White House. There is no need for this Administration to confirm the emerging American tradition of an early presidential visit to China as a rite of legitimization second only to the Inauguration itself, particularly now that China is fast losing its Maoist mystique in a routine power struggle. A new President's necessary urge to establish his identity in meetings with the leaders of the other superpowers can be as effectively gratified in Geneva or Helsinki as in a White House newly rededicated to the cause of freedom, particularly after the first meeting. The Administration's commitment to human rights and political freedom should be explained in all high-level contact with foreign officials in first meetings and referred to as often as necessary to establish this commitment as a constant, prominent, high-priority theme in American conduct of foreign affairs.

Establishing this consistency in bilateral working relations is going to give immediate and continuing difficulty to American diplomats, even in relations with clearly repressive totalitarian regimes. As the article by Messrs. Brady, Rand and Sletzinger in the April *FSJ* makes clear, there are powerful intra-professional reasons to avoid placing too much stress on human rights concerns. The complexity and painfulness of giving consistent expression to these concerns, while simultaneously pursuing other American interests and objectives in bilateral relations, are intense. The regimes in question include those with whom we have troubled but historic ties such as some in Latin America, oil states like Iran, China, nations in acute need of humanitarian assistance such as

Mali, as well as the special situation presented by East European Communist countries already discussed. Furthermore, the US will be pursuing human rights problems in some of these countries, not only bilaterally, but also at the United Nations. Our actions there will inevitably further complicate our bilateral relations with those countries.

The following suggestions are designed to sketch a consistent approach to these problems, place those working on a country in a reasonably strong position when the spotlight falls on that country's human rights deficiencies, and to provide some upward pressure on our leaders to do their part as well. They are tailored primarily for ambassadors accredited to totalitarian countries with actual or potential violations of human rights and political freedom, but also are offered in the hope that they will be suggestive and helpful to those in the Department supporting or instructing ambassadors in such countries.

- No one dealing with such a country should delude himself about the nature of its government. It is no longer acceptable—whether consciously or unconsciously—to "prefer not to know." Monitoring and reporting on the status of human rights in such a country should be a high priority for all elements to the Mission, both for the reasons covered in this article and in the service of other objectives traditional in our profession. For example, one cannot gauge a totalitarian regime's stability and its succession problems unless he knows the manner and extent of the repression it imposes. This means that embassies will have to risk wider contacts with opposition groups. Ambassadors should give their Assistant Secretary the information needed to report adequately to Congress. (The contrast in recent testimony and reports to Congress on Argentina and Iran is instructive.)

- We should work to see that State visits to Washington reflect the President's Inaugural statement of our "clear preference for those societies which share with us an abiding respect for individual human rights," with special consideration for those leaders who have their countries (Spain, Por-

tugal, Greece) well advanced in transition to democracy. If a party secretary, king, dictator, generalissimo, or Maximum Leader doesn't qualify, we ought to try to arrange for him and the President to have their meetings in third countries, or in the US outside of Washington, such as in New York during sessions of the UN General Assembly. Better yet, get him to send his Prime Minister, Crown Prince, or trusted advisor on an official visit instead.

- Ambassadors should stay away as much as possible from ceremonies for the local leader, especially those designed to show his foreign support. Travel or diplomatic illnesses can provide excuses to send the DCM. Many of these ceremonies take place on fixed dates so that advance planning can provide tactful absences. Missions should avoid having pictures taken of the Ambassador with the leader, especially in circumstances that imply a warm personal relationship between the two of them.

- On the other hand, Embassies should make it a point to have the Ambassador and mission officers participate in ceremonies and events that have cultural or historical meaning to the people of the host country as a whole. Speeches on these and other occasions should be directed to the historical, cultural, and other ties between them and the United States and the American people. The PAO should get out materials on these themes and on human rights policy and progress in the US.

- Ambassadors should discuss American attitudes on human rights regularly with the Foreign Minister and other senior officials and see that their subordinates do so regularly in their contacts. There is no need to be strained about it, or to do it abruptly. The subject may be raised about as often and in the same tone and style as discussions of other major issues in bilateral relations. These discussions can help assure that the right people in the host government understand Congressional attitudes and legislative provisions on human rights in other countries.

- We should never obsequiously join host government officials in deploring—even in private discussions—official statements, news-

paper articles, and demonstrations in the US displeasing to the host government. These are exercises of American rights of freedom of expression and assembly. Replies initially to protests of these events should be explanations of those rights and their context in Ameri-

“There should be no mistake: The undertaking to promote human rights is now an integral part of our foreign policy. We know that domestic support for our policies will falter if they do not reflect traditional American values. But I want it to be clear that this is not a policy of convenience, adopted because of its popularity at home. A commitment to human rights protects the domestic vitality of these values, keeping clear our image of ourselves and encouraging us to make the democratic system work. It helps us to maintain leadership of the free societies that share similar values. And it serves as a pole of attraction to other states and peoples.”

—Warren Christopher

can society and politics. Repeated such protests should be politely but firmly rejected and notice given that further repetitions will be so unwelcome as to damage the effectiveness of the relations of the two countries in serving the interests of

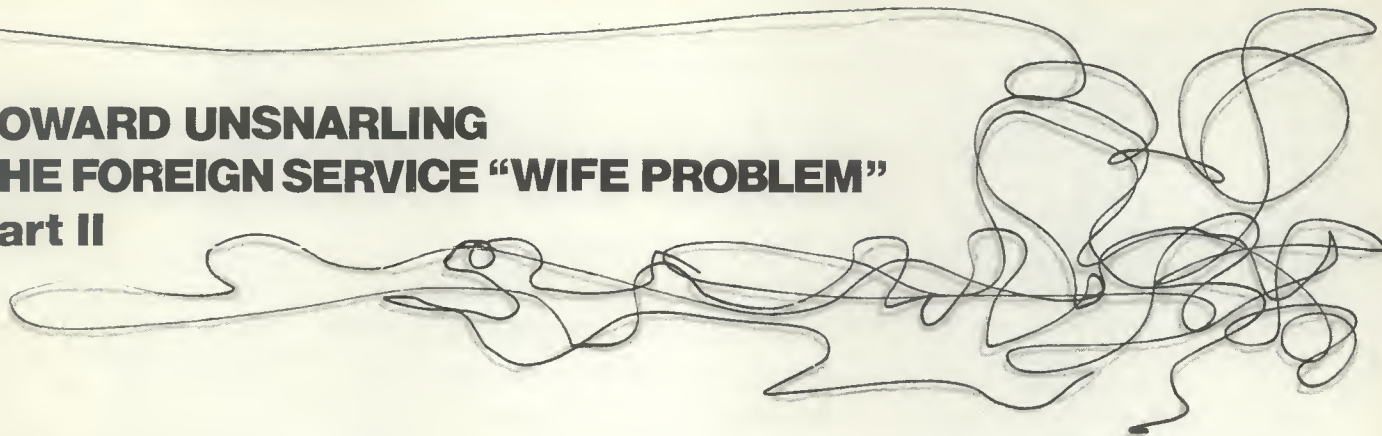
both.

- Skillful use of an Embassy's consular powers to protect American citizens can provide concrete demonstration of our concern for political and legal protection for human rights before the eyes of the host country's people, while minimizing claims of interference in domestic affairs. The host country probably has on the books extensive procedural safeguards for the rights of defendants in trials which it does not apply in practice. Whenever an American is to be tried, the Embassy can insist vigorously on those safeguards, and send someone from the consular section to the trial to see that they are accorded or to prepare protests if they are not. We will have to grit our teeth often while doing this. Americans arrested abroad are no more attractive on the average than the usual run of defendants in American courts and it will be tempting to let some of them take their lumps. On the other hand, consistency will give us some support in other kinds of particularly infuriating cases. For example, there will be the youth, fairly sentenced to the long term imposed by local law for possessing a large amount of hash, whose influential family (just as the host government as at last agreed to full cooperation with the US in a narcotics control program) brings almost irresistible political pressure to bear on the Department. It will help in holding fast in this type of case to be able to point out that consistency and credibility on human rights and equal justice on which steady relations depend are as much at stake in this kind of case as they are when an American defendant is denied the letter of local due process.

- In reporting, we should make clear where possible what local genuine popular attitudes toward our concepts of human rights are. These concepts derive from an image of a somewhat adversary relation between the individual, and his society and state, in which the individual needs special protection. Although all countries are probably being driven toward some version of the Western forms of government which include this idea, many governments cling to, or are trying to modernize without losing, traditional collective or familiar con-

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TOWARD UNSNARLING THE FOREIGN SERVICE "WIFE PROBLEM" Part II



MARGARET SULLIVAN

The Foreign Service is more than just a career. By its nature, it is a way of life: a family affair. More than most employers in our society, it impinges deeply, directly, unavoidably upon the lives of its employees' families. Conversely, the wellbeing—physical and mental—of these families, particularly the wives, bears directly on the effective functioning of the Service. Yet these wives/families are *of* and not *in* it. And therein lies a tangled and growing problem.

In an attempt to unsnarl this, last month we examined a complicated cat's cradle of variables in the ambiguous relationships. They provide dilemmas for wives and for the Service. For wives: those who want to be private persons overseas find it is virtually impossible; those willing to continue public roles find that old satisfactions, recognitions and rewards have been removed and nothing external has replaced them. The present ambiguities set up an identity crisis which often turns wives into dependent non-persons. For the Service: both action and continued non-action raise delicate questions of what constitutes improper intrusion into private lives and proper assumption of responsibility for lives dependent on it. Some aspects

of these dilemmas are functions of Foreign Service life; others are functions of tensions stemming from economic realities and broader rapid social change.

These complexities seem to produce repeated patterns of knotty areas which in themselves become strands in the "wife problem" web. It is not possible to assess their relative importance: this wife emphasizes one, that wife focuses on another; some wives shrug them all off; others cry wee, wee, wee, all the way home. Each area, aside from representing specific problems which could usefully be addressed, is a code word for masses of feelings and tensions. They are "representation," "jobs," "schools," "support systems," "community," "communications." They are all serious, even when stated in "frivolous" terms. None should be minimized and none can be meaningfully dealt with in isolation.

Representation

In talking of representation, wives do not really mean parties and their like or dislike of the frenetic existence that constant going to and giving them can produce. While for some wives this pace assures them of their reality, their status and their usefulness, for others it is just another sometimes interesting fact of life. When wives raise representation as a problem, the issues are questions of fairness, equality and respect, of the Department's exploitation of wives and of payment for services rendered. They reason that since representation involves Embassy "work," beyond the negative

choice *not* to participate, the positive choice *to* participate should mean something. There is a strong feeling that for wives who continue filling representational responsibilities, particularly in the case of the "senior wives" whose participation consumes large portions of their normally private time and requires professional skill, there should be some form of compensation. "After all, if we all refused to do it, they would hire someone. Why not us?" These wives do not see that their access to health services and commissaries, which is available to them as conditions of their husbands' employment, either constitutes payment or obligates them to any reciprocal services to the Department. It is not, of course, the Department which is saying or even suggesting that it should. This argument is used by wives who are threatened by a change in the system that takes away the validity of what they have done with their lives although they may not think of it that way. Some of them see themselves involved in a legitimate exchange of services. This argument is also put forward by those husbands—employees—who think of wives only in traditional ways and are trying to intimidate them into keeping "their place."

Wives who think about the representation issue are making a number of specific suggestions worthy of serious consideration, and have been making them both verbally and in print for some time. These usually involve analysis of specific post requirements. Are these parties necessary? Must the Foreign Service continue being a

Margaret Sullivan writes, "My husband has been in the Service for nearly 21 years. We have shared five posts. He was the first third secretary one post had ever seen and most recently was DCM at a small African post until we came home last summer. I have done whatever came along, including mothering four children, and am a writer and a painter. I am working on a book that is an outgrowth of our most recent tour (an anthropological study of crafts)."

Congressional Tourist Agency? The suggestions also conceive active choice which would give women alternatives and at the same time meet whatever needs an Embassy has. Ways could be established in which other wives might be used in representational capacities—for pay—if the senior wives did not want to be involved or if senior officers were single. Whatever is designed should apply across the board and not be selectively instituted as in the case of a female political Ambassador who has reportedly been allowed to take a housekeeper to post at government expense to do what the previous Ambassador's wife did for free. Establishing a paid system for wives would involve acts of Congress, no doubt, and would therefore be difficult to implement unless well documented and justified—particularly at a time when charges of family padded pay rolls are ricocheting around the Hill. Paying wives would also, in a way, be coming full circle, but would instead be “two for the price of two.” It is not without its hazards, would not solve everyone's problems and would, no doubt, create new ones.

Beyond the practical question of payment, these women seem to be raising the more encompassing issue of relationship and its nature. They are saying that since money is a symbol of worth in our culture both of labor and use of time, speak with money. In so doing, the Department would be acknowledging its need of wives and their worth and, instead of placing wives in a dependent position, it would be recognizing them as respected colleagues.

In addition to what wives see as their own exploitation, however, another question is being raised about the value of representation as it now exists. It is suggested that the Department should reassess some of its basic assumptions about entertaining and the nature of representation. Few question the value of the personal relationships established through at least some forms of entertainment. There is little question, either, that women and children whose daily lives frequently take them further afield in the local community than their husbands constitute a unique representational resource. Many won-

der, however, about the usefulness of and the values projected by some of the more lavish entertaining. Until the Department clarifies its own needs in this area, it is difficult to establish viable, realistic parameters within which wives can make “private,” “public” role choices. Among the questions to be answered are: What are the real needs on a *post by post, culture to culture* basis? What is genuine American representation? Since entertaining is to do honor, what constitutes this in the host country? Do all cultures appreciate “folksiness” and informality? Is there a valid place for receptions? Where do wives and families fit in? Wives should be involved with the Service in answering these questions. Their practical, professional experience gives them unique insight.

Jobs

Jobs, too, are both a literal problem and a code word. In daily terms, an increasing number of wives have career aspirations which they do not intend or wish to give up just because their husbands have joined the Foreign Service. Increasingly families are dependent on the financial security which a second income provides. A look at the rush for the job market on the part of returning wives shows how urgent many feel this financial crunch to be.

Foreign Service wives who want paid work face a recurring set of stumbling blocks. One is mobility, particularly if the timing is wrong or if the job is dependent on place. Getting accurate information about job opportunities at a specific post is another. At some posts, it is frequently not possible to work. Jobs may not be available and if they are, local regulations and local feelings against “hiring foreign” may preclude them. This seems to be increasingly true even in the one area many wives have traditionally counted on (and which counted on them), teaching in international schools. Specific information on work regulations is available to wives only as it has been accumulated in the files of the Family Workshop at the Foreign Service Institute. The collection is a good beginning but it does not cover every post nor is it uniform in its content. It is the product of comments submitted by wives at some

posts and does not represent any systematic survey of work opportunities and regulations. Many wives do not even realize where such limited information is available. Leaving aside the question of how current they are, some post reports include fairly accurate information, others deal with work opportunities for dependents only cursorily.

As well as making paid employment difficult, changing patterns in many places are radically cutting down the opportunities for wives to use skills in volunteer capacities. Lady Bountiful's donated time is not so wanted as it was before—only her money. Which leaves many wives with unused skills and time on their hands.

A further stumbling block is the thorny question of Embassy approval for paid jobs outside the office. Many officers called on to grant it—and not just curmudgeons who disapprove of working women—have reservations about wives of Embassy personnel working outside the Embassy. They cite considerations of legal status, political problems and conflict of interest. While some of these are, in specific posts and with certain officers, a way of avoiding the issue, in other places at other times they are genuine concerns. What seems like an innocuous job as a restaurant bookkeeper, for instance, may throw a wife into a position where both she and her husband become pawns in the restaurant owner's attempt to involve the Embassy in his power play against the host government. In many other places, it may just be an interesting, well-paying job. Post policies against working for pay no doubt stemmed in part from a sense of *noblesse oblige*. While many of these policies have now been changed, they sometimes also reflected a realistic appraisal that payment raised the question of taxes which in turn raised the issue of diplomatic status and perhaps provided a government looking for it with yet another way of hassling the American government. And saying so officially could often be less than politic. That these may be extreme examples to highlight one aspect of the problem should mean neither that their reality can be pooh-poohed by wives wanting to work nor that they void the issue as far as the

Department is concerned. Much more needs to be known about what really would happen in post X if Mrs. American Embassy goes on the local job market. Clarification of work agreements needs to be sought. A bill presently before Congress redefining aspects of diplomatic and consular status may make some changes by reciprocal agreement possible. This in some places raises the possibility of being told "no," while if wives just go ahead and work, illegally, no one is going to say anything. Working diplomatic wives also need to be prepared to face the chance that their incomes may perhaps be tax-exempt neither under local law nor under American law and that they might, in their working capacities, face the possibility of arrest or suit, from which they are now exempt, either incidentally or as a part of a deliberate hassle. It will probably not be a case of having cake and eating it.

While US government jobs might seem to be an alternative, many wives report that it is often difficult to be locally hired and that even if a job becomes available, the time required to get a clearance often prohibits getting it. Other agencies whose wives frequently have regular part-time work in the Embassy seem to have solved this problem. The fact that one sub-group of wives does not have an employment problem often adds to friction within a post. Some women go so far as to say that the Foreign Service should guarantee jobs for those who are qualified and want them on the dubious ground that it is at the convenience of the Service that they have been yanked out of a situation where they can be employed. Others make a more defensible case on post morale grounds. Another popular, more viable idea is that the Foreign Service should institute a "Hire Wife" policy just as it has one that employees must "fly American."

Beyond the sheer question of availability of jobs, the question of wives working in the Embassy is not institutionally simple, however. Some of the organized employee groups already see wives as a threat to their "professionalism." Both male and female employees—married and single—understandably resent the thought that they might be passed over for a

specific job in favor of a working couple. Some wives have been denied temporary jobs at post because it was seen as inserting an element of conflict of interest into the husband's position. "It's for your husband's protection." While this is a valid question to consider on occasion, it also points out that many of the commonly held "sexist" attitudes about women appear in Foreign Service males just as they do in the rest of the society. Some Foreign Service wives, like their sisters elsewhere, view the world only through feminist-colored glasses. In what is a very difficult situation, both wives and the Department must live with complications from the residue of feelings and perceptions on both sides about working wives. This residue means that sometimes the Department sees problems where they do not exist and some wives permit legitimate resentments at past obstructions to unduly color their views of present actions. Since clarifying the job situation is difficult enough without this, let's hope for good sense and good will.

In part because the job question is so integrally a part of the women's liberation movement, wives particularly concerned in this area of Foreign Service life are more vocal and militantly organized than others. They are putting into practice their conviction that women must take their own lives into their own hands. Groups promoting women's objectives have already produced some interesting results. The Women's Action Organization's Research Committee on Spouses has taken a survey of officers assigned to Washington which shows that, for 23 percent of those surveyed, the spouse's job would affect the officer's attitude about a next overseas assignment. This seems not only to be a matter of finances, as tangible as a \$10,000-\$20,000 (or more) cut in family income may be. It also represents a matter of principle and a concern that their spouses be happy and fulfilled in their own terms.

Primarily to inform the government of the resource wives constitute, the Research Committee also formed a Skills Bank funded only by its small listing fee. So far, over 900 resumes (one wife in eight) document a remarkable fund of

professional expertise among wives interested in working. In some cases, Cynthia Chard, its unpaid director, has put searching multinational companies together with qualified wives. Judging the continuing response, it would appear that the Skills Bank meets a need and should be seriously considered for funding by the Department. Used in connection with a "Hire Wife" policy, it offers money-saving possibilities to the Service by spotting women already in a given geographical area who could be contracted as needed for short term employment. Why cannot a fully qualified social scientist wife already living in post A be hired to go to nearby post B to do a program feasibility study which AID would contract out anyway? Transportation costs would be less and in some cases, at least, the wife's already established experience in the geographical/cultural region might make her recommendations more relevant and insightful than those of some company brought in from Tyson's Corner with no previous experience in the area. Not only could the US Government save money in this way, it also would be coping creatively with an internal morale problem. It is an idea which needs considerable exploration.

The long range problem of jobs for wives (and husbands of women employees) is serious because it involves a marriage choice. Does the wife remain married and give up the job? Does she try to carry it around? Do she and her husband alternate leaves of absence? Does she stick with her job? In which case, does the husband leave the Service or do they live separately, meeting at Biarritz for Christmas, or do they get divorced? In an increasingly mobile society, this series of questions is not limited to Foreign Service wives; it is common to all serious career women who also are married. World-wide mobility just complicates things.

The long range problem of jobs for wives is a serious one for the Department as well. If promising employees leave the Service or do not enter it because their wives cannot continue their own careers, it becomes a factor to be reckoned with in the Department's personnel policies and problems. Jobs for women who want or need but cannot find them also constitute a

morale factor which is not to be taken lightly. In its own interest, then, does the Foreign Service become an employment agency for employees' spouses? If not, what steps should be taken to ameliorate what is an increasingly pressing problem? This issue may well be to the Foreign Service of the late '70s and early '80s what the schooling allowance issue was to the Service of the '50s and home leave was to the '30s.

Beyond this mass of practical considerations, "jobs" is a code word for women's concern for their own self-determination. In demanding that the Service address the job problem—and some women are demanding—what many wives are asking is to be completely private persons and self-defining family units within an institutional structure which is flexible enough to permit varied life-styles including two-career marriages. If the institution cannot be totally flexible, as it is possible that it cannot be, they feel it should recognize women's and families' needs for and rights to sufficient information to make meaningfully informed life choices for themselves. They want to know what they are in for and to decide how to handle it by themselves. These wives do not want to go along on the husband's ride and find that this forces on them things they did not choose. These women feel that such institutional change is not only good for them, it is, in the long run, good for the Service, in no small measure because it will make the Foreign Service more representative of American life and values and therefore more truly representational.

Schools

If the first question asked of one Foreign Service wife or husband by another is "Where have you been?" or "Where are you going?", the second is "What about the schools?" It is, in part, a practical question about a continual problem. More fundamentally, however, it voices a nearly universal concern over the range of effects of Foreign Service life on children and on families.

"I'm pushing Ed to ask to stay in Washington for one more year so we can get Becky through high school."

"Oh, the school in D—is a good

one. When we arrived there though, it went only to the 9th grade. Be glad you aren't assigned to B—. They have a dreadful drug problem."

"Carla had such a bad time when we put her back in school here. She started out in German schools and couldn't read English."

"It's breaking us but we enrolled Jim in P—this year so that he won't be disrupted when we go overseas next summer. It's important that they have the junior and senior

"In having chosen the Foreign Service as good for themselves, many parents seem burdened with the fear that it is not good for their children, that they are sacrificing the children's good to the parents' desires."

years in one place, don't you think?"

"The International School in M—is lousy. But we have to send the kids there. If we send them anywhere else, the Embassy doesn't pay. A friend put her children in the Montessori school, but we don't feel that we can afford it."

"I'm not worried about this year. In D—there is an 8th grade which is right for Jamie. It's the next year. There isn't a 9th grade. I guess he'll have to go home, but we don't have relatives that can have him for holidays if he goes back to boarding school and the allowance doesn't really even cover Stateside tuition and one round trip. Ten months is too long to go without seeing a 14 year-old."

"I couldn't believe the kindergarten in O—!! The kids never played. All they did was sit in chairs and copy letters."

"How could you bring yourselves to send Kim away so young? I couldn't do it."

"We were worried when Heather went into Junior High this fall. It's the first time she's been in American schools. But she seems to be at the top of the class in spite

of her crazy education. And nobody else knows any African history."

"University of Nebraska? A correspondence high school? I never heard of anything but the Calvert School. Is it any good? I couldn't teach my own children. What did yours do for friends?"

"Madge, it is such a relief. This is the first year in eight I haven't had to start figuring out in October where we would be the next September and who needed to go where to school!"

These comments represent only a fraction of the concerns which schooling, particularly, and Foreign Service life in general generate. The "unreality" of life, the lack of normal odd-job opportunities, the lack of independence, the accessibility of cheap drugs and well-stocked liquor cabinets, the absence of some normal social controls and the presence of some abnormal ones, could all be added to the nearly endless list.

While most Foreign Service wives realize that the State Department's commitment to schools and schooling runs deep, they also know that many practical problems still remain. Among the vast variety, two which readily come to mind relate to allowances. The basis on which away-from-post education allowances are figured needs re-examination. As they presently stand, many families must choose between ten-month separations and being substantially out of pocket. Several children and a single mid-level salary often mean that there is no choice. Whether or not the Department should decide which school at a particular post students will attend is a recurring issue. It probes both at the reasoning behind the allowances (to make up for inability to attend public schools which would be free) and at the right of parents to make such basic decisions for their children rather than having the decisions made for them.

At a deeper level, however, what is being raised is a pervasive anxiety over whether or not this nomadic existence is good for children. "We chose it. They didn't." Are my children being cheated out of a "normal American childhood?" One of our society's prime parental responsibilities is not to educate *per se*, but to see to it that

one's child receives "the right kind" of education. "We were very selfish," a wife commented recently of a decision to take teen-age daughters to a remote post. "But it worked out all right. There was a good Belgian school that they both could go to." Being a parent—and particularly being a mother—in our society is a "heavy trip" these days. Everyone is quick to lay blame for children's troubles on Dad and Mom. In having chosen the Foreign Service as good for themselves, many parents seem burdened with the fear that it is not good for their children, that they are sacrificing the children's good to the parents' desires.

There is certainly ample evidence that growing up in the Foreign Service is not good for all children. Each Foreign Service family sees around it—or has within it—the basket cases and the walking wounded—the disturbed children. These young people are real. We all know them. Some of their problems come from rootlessness, alienation, emotional neglect, garbled cultural identities. Conventional wisdom cites Fathers whose minds never leave the office; Mothers involved with coffees, teas, bridge, charity bazaars, work; an institutional structure which stresses job before family; social adjustments that are like curtains—as soon as they are hung, it is time to move and begin again. Some of these distressed children would have been this way if they had grown up in Podunk. Some of them are casualties of the Foreign Service. Some of them are casualties of bad parenting. Some of them are in difficulties in spite of loving care. That there seem to be so many constitutes a continuing painful worry and should be a focus of continuing action. How many there are, no one knows. If there are statistics, obtaining them, even for realistic planning purposes, is complicated by recent privacy acts. The many Foreign Service young who grow up bright, well-adjusted, more broadened individuals because of their world-wide upbringings are somehow not so visible. But *they* should be the models, the rewards, the comfort. And the encouragement to offer help to the others—parents and children alike.

With all these practical and deeper problems, then, having to

choose between sending the children away to school or not going because they cannot or taking them anyway—and feeling anxious and guilty no matter how the choice is made—is still a bigger, more recurrent problem for the families of the Foreign Service than the question of jobs for wives. The implications for children, parents and the Service are as complicated as "the wife problem" and are at least as deserving of serious study. For our present purpose, however, it is sufficient to be aware of the scope of the problems.

Community and Communications

Unlike "representation," "jobs" and "schools," which are more individually definable, "support-systems," "community" and "communications," the three other recurring knotty themes, are so interlocking as to be more meaningfully examined together. Community and communications are support-systems. Support-systems and communications, conversely, are aspects of community.

By support-systems, what is usually meant, it seems, are those social services available to women and families within the Stateside civic structure which do not necessarily exist overseas. Schools, family counseling and mental health services, employment agencies, the YWCA, or teen-age job programs might be examples of these. Some such social services exist in a few cities outside the United States in forms which make them useful to American government personnel and their dependents. In other cases, they exist but only in forms which are appropriate for local needs, not those of transient foreigners who do not speak the language. And in some places they do not exist at all. Traditionally, US government personnel and their families are enjoined from using local psychiatric services when they are abroad.

Additionally, in talking of support systems, wives mean those systems which are an outgrowth of the specialized nature of the Foreign Service. The GSO, education allowances and, where they exist, Medical Units, commissaries and RandR leave policies are examples of such established sys-

tems. In general, it is fair to say that wives speaking of their need of support-systems mean institutions and services which they feel are well beyond their power to create, sustain or fund, or which they feel they should not have to. If they were home, their tax money would help provide some and they would have no need of others. To the Department and to some old-timers, some of this talk sounds perhaps like an advanced case of the "gimmies." Is it?

The Department is already well into the support-system business. Some of these supports are extremely effective. The Office of Overseas Schools is a prime example. But others are in need of beefing up. The problem is, more aptly, a question of redesigning some existing systems to make them more useful, of expanding them and others and of looking for the places where a *real need* exists for establishing new ones. Finally, there are existing facilities which are inadequately used. The underlying approach which seems to be wanted is support-systems which, rather than increasing dependence, give wives the facilities and information they need to function as more responsible, independent private persons. In this sense, wives are not saying "gimme." They are saying "Since (if) we're in this together, you have the resources and the power. This is what we need from you so we can cope for ourselves more effectively."

One recurrent theme is a need for better family service. The Community Action program already underway in Jakarta is the kind of thing people have in mind. Instigated and partially funded by the Department and actively encouraged through the Embassy, Community Action has involved the entire American community in helping provide after-school activities and summer jobs. It affords a much needed alternate focus for teen-agers for whom drugs offer a street-corner simplicity and involves adults with teens in creative projects. Very few people, however, are aware that something of this order is already being tried. Those who do know of it hope that it is a prototype for a rapidly expanding worldwide program. But what can be devised to meet the needs of families assigned to very

small posts where the community does not offer as substantial a base?

Beyond incipient programs to help keep kids, and therefore families, out of trouble, what is available for families that find they need help? There is the Foreign Service Education and Counseling Center, sponsored by AFSA and AAFSW, which has existed for many years although recently it has been remodeled. It has given many people much needed help. But it is in Washington. Not everyone knows what it is or what it can do for them.

What is available to wives in the field who are depressed and lonely? Those who are reluctant to talk about deeply personal problems under the best of circumstances, who are afraid to talk to the Medical Unit—if there is one—for fear it will harm their husbands' jobs? Those who do not feel free to talk to the boss's wife, who hesitate to talk to a close friend outside the Embassy? Who are left, then, with only husbands to draw sustenance from—the same husbands who may be part of the problem?

What is available to the husband, who cannot ask for emotional help within the Embassy? Who cannot turn to a wife for everything, particularly if she is part of his problem? Who is frightened, threatened and alone?

What is available to young people who are angry and rebellious? If the local school does not have an effective guidance program—and many do not—where do parents and children turn for the outside help they need? There is nothing so desperate as feeling "I know I need help but I am far away from home and have *no one* I can talk to."

These situations are, I suspect, all too common in the Foreign Service. At the end of the line, where the crunch is, Washington—home—is sometimes very far away. Some posts are fortunate in their Doctors or Nurses. Not every post, of course, even has a Medical Unit. Others or—as luck will often have it—even the same post, may be blessed with a particularly skillful resident missionary priest or preacher. Sometimes a senior officer will have a special gift for openness and understanding. The luck of the draw may provide a sensitive, sometimes trained, wife

with a listening ear. But much too much of it is now chance.

This area, more than many, offers the opportunity to kill a number of birds with one stone. There are Foreign Service wives with counseling and social welfare training and others actively seeking such training because they see the need. They would like to use it professionally in the Foreign Service context. A way of plugging these wives into the system might usefully be found. Could counseling services in large posts and on a roving regional basis for small ones be opened using these women? It might be better—although bureaucratically much more complicated—if such services could be of but not in the Medical Division. Not as a reflection on MED, but because people who need such facilities often need something which they feel is not in direct communication with the incestuous Department.

"If only I had known!" is the cry of many wives. Getting adequate "hard" information about an upcoming post—job opportunities for the wife, real poop on the schools—for intelligent family decision making is not easy. There are post reports, of course, and a valiant effort is made to keep them current. However, many stagger between making the post sound like something out of Pollyanna so people will go willingly and the Black Hole so the differential is not lost. If the people who write them have not themselves explored the positive possibilities of the post, the report is sometimes unnecessarily negative. Work opportunity, schooling and cultural introduction sections are often skimpy. There is a growing post file at FSI with as much information as the Family Workshop has been able to collect on an ad hoc basis. This could usefully be expanded. But not many people know it is there, which is not because its organizers have not tried to tell others about it. And it is only in Washington, which limits its usefulness. Schooling information is available in bits and pieces all over town—if you know where to find it. The most effective method of finding out about a post is still asking a friend who knows a friend. Letters to the husband's predecessor's wife, the husband's boss's wife or the Administrative Officer are helpful if there is time,

if the assignment is public and if the wife knows to write them. (The ailing custom of courtesy letters to the boss's wife, like calling, had a purpose and filled a two-way need.) But what if a family requires information to make an intelligent decision to accept or reject an assignment? If they are overseas—where more than two-thirds of the families are—getting a post report in time to use it constructively is not always possible. Washington-based information dispensers of all kinds seem unaware that there are still many posts which are at least three weeks away in terms of round-trip mail—assuming that the plane flies that week! Having decided or accepted the fact that one is going to a particular post, "soft" information which makes the cultural adjustments quicker and easier is equally hard come by. Have you ever tried the — public library, all 76 cockroach specked, mouldy cobweb entangled volumes of it?

However, in quite legitimately asking for more and better information, many wives do not take advantage of what is available to them. The Family Workshop at the Foreign Service Institute offers what must be one of the best training courses in cross-cultural living given anywhere. As such, it is an invaluable tool, not only for wives but for families. But a shockingly small number of State Department people attend it. In 1974, 100 and in 1975, only 85 Foreign Service dependents participated. It is equally shocking that only 30 wives availed themselves of Area training at FSI, yet that is the most efficient way that presently exists of preparing for the cultural aspects of a new post. Other wives report being turned down for hard language training because of lack of space, however. Many wives either do not know the Workshop exists, cannot attend because they cannot leave their children or jobs, or cannot afford the lost salary or cost of child care involved. Even if they know something about it, in their misconceptions some feel they do not need what it offers. "I meant to but kept putting it off and then when we got orders, there just wasn't time." "We heard it was good but never had time while we were home on leave." "Family Workshop? What's that?"

At post, orientation programs

are so variable in quality and usefulness and so irregularly given—and attended—as to be of questionable value. With exceptions, the best way to get oriented, if you are interested, is still to spot someone at the post who knows and likes the country and ask for information. Many people are perhaps losing out by default because they hesitate to ask. They first fall in with the group that “hates it here” or they are not really interested. Yet dysfunctional cross-cultural coping skills are at the base of some of many people’s dissatisfaction with life in the Foreign Service. Because of the serious need, the anti-terrorist course has been made mandatory for employees and strongly recommended for their dependents fifteen and over before they leave for post. It will be interesting to see what effect this has. Periodic mandatory courses in cross-cultural skills for the same group might usefully be considered. More happily settled families could be the result.

Where wives have seen the need and could do so, they have established some information giving support-systems on their own. In the days when the Service was smaller and a more closed corporation, wives started AAFSW to meet the needs of families returning to Washington. AAFSW maintains a housing information desk and a post schooling file (names of people recently back with phone numbers so you can call and ask for yourself) at a desk off the Foreign Service Lounge. Unfortunately, many people do not realize these services exist either. And because the files are contributed to voluntarily, their scope is not always adequate to the need. The Skills Bank, similarly, is a support system which has grown out of a need. But wives have neither the resources nor time to maintain such facilities voluntarily on the needed scale. They question whether it is their responsibility to do so. What is needed now is for a way to be developed in which existing systems can be expanded and incorporated into some encompassing cooperative effort between the State Department and wives.

Clearly wives—families—need access to much more information than is now available, particularly about job possibilities and work regulations. They need to know what information is already com-

plied and where to get it. They need to know more about the regulations which govern many aspects of their lives. And they need better orientation whether they want it or not. Which raises the question: What training, if any, can the Foreign Service require its dependents to take in the same way they are required to pass physicals, take shots or fly American? Families who come into the Foreign Service or to particular posts with realistic knowledge and expecta-

“If there is a sense of
common ground
among this diverse
group of Foreign Ser-
vice wives, it seems to
me that they are saying
that they want for
themselves and the
Foreign Service a flexi-
ble relationship which
permits and respects
within it a variety of
choices and life-styles.”

tions are better equipped to enjoy the advantages and take the disadvantages in their stride. Improved communications and more accurate information might help reduce the number of people who feel that something is being put over on them. The statement now sent to prospective FSOs that spouses cannot expect to find jobs everywhere is a step in the right direction. Is similar information made available to staff corps members as they are hired?

Inadequate communication is a serious problem, but even on a simple level, designing a system to improve it is not easy. At present, there is no way of communicating directly with wives. Whether or not there should be gets to the heart of the relationship question. Some information appears in the *Department of State Newsletter*, but many people do not read it. The *AAFSW Newsletter* carries many interesting, useful items but not all wives receive it. Administrative

notices which have to serve three people cannot wind up on a home bulletin board where they might be used. Husbands’ briefcases can be as big a circuit breaker in the communications system as anything. There is no way for wives to communicate with the Department.

Communications, how they function and how people feel about them and about what they communicate, can make or break a feeling of community. Community, in turn, is an essential ingredient in family support-systems. People need a feeling of “belonging.” The “old” Foreign Service recognized the importance of this and in a way “institutionalized” it by imposing reciprocal personal obligations. Some of our loss of “community” is the price we are paying for the development of the “wives are private persons” concept. Since private persons often do not do it, much more of the earlier wifely meeting and greeting, for instance, falls to increasingly harassed Administrative Sections. Which no doubt gets food into a refrigerator and sheets on a bed, or a family into a hotel room. But it can be very impersonal. It is the growing chain of being met and established and in turn meeting and establishing, knowing that others will “pass it along,” which helps build “community.” This kind of person-to-person establishing can not only knit the newcomers into the Embassy community, it can lead them into the local community as well. It is only when Americans speak only to Americans that community degenerates into ghetto.

Emerita Professor, Jessie Bernard (*The Future of Marriage*) of Penn State University points out that mobility, small families and the increasing move of women into the job market have destroyed the interpersonal networks women enjoyed years ago. She adds that women have been encouraged to depend on men—particularly mates—for emotional support but “men have not been reared or trained to supply the emotional support that women formerly got from each other.” (*Parade*, December 19, 1976). This basic societal problem certainly seems to be repeated and magnified in the Foreign Service. It will be interest-

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SPECIAL AFSA ELECTIONS SECTION

AFSA ELECTIONS COMMITTEE 1977
P.O. Box 40602, WASHINGTON, D.C., 20016

The Elections Committee announces that in accordance with AFSA Bylaws, and pursuant to the terms of the 1977 AFSA Election Call, the following members have been duly nominated and have accepted their candidacies for the positions indicated below in the 1977 AFSA election of Officers and Constituency Representatives on the AFSA Governing Board.

The order in which the names appear on this list and the candidates' campaign statements appear in the pages which follow were determined by the drawing of lots at a meeting of candidates on March 16, 1977. At the same meeting separate drawings were conducted to determine the order in which the candidates' names will appear on the election ballot.

The candidates' statements which follow are presented verbatim as submitted. Each candidate bears the responsibility for the content of his or her statement.

PRESIDENT

1 John D. Hemenway	Retired
2 Lars H. Hyde (Alliance)	State S/P
3 David Noack	State OC/PE
4 Michael A. G. Michaud (Fresh Start)	State PM/ISP
5 Ellis O. (Ollie) Jones	State NEA/P

VICE PRESIDENT

1 Paul Von Ward (Alliance)	State CU/OPP
2 John N. Gunning (Fresh Start)	AID/TA/PPU
3 John J. Harter	State USIA

SECOND VICE PRESIDENT

1 M. James Wilkinson (Fresh Start)	State EUR/SOV
2 Barnabas Mosley	AID/SER/ENG R
3 Thomas L. O'Connor (Alliance)	AID ASIA/DP

SECRETARY

1 John F. Scott (Fresh Start)	State PM/ISO
2 Frank Cummins (Alliance)	USIA IBS/PN

TREASURER

1 JulieAnn McGrath (Fresh Start)	State IO/IEC
2 Michael E. C. Ely (Alliance)	State S/P

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

1 Joseph N. McBride (Alliance)	FSI/Econ.
2 George G. B. Griffin (Fresh Start)	INR/RNA/SOA
3 Kenneth N. Rogers (Alliance)	S/IG/IS
4 Alta F. Fowler (Alliance)	SCA/SCS
5 James R. Vandivier (Fresh Start)	OC/P
6 William S. Tilney (Fresh Start)	SCA/EX

AID REPRESENTATIVE

1 James R. Meenan	AFR/DR
2 Nancy J. Fox (Alliance)	FFP

USIA REPRESENTATIVE

1 Janet E. Ruben (Fresh Start)	ARA/USOAS
2 Peter C. Wolcott (Alliance)	ICS/DP

RETIRED REPRESENTATIVES

1 Robert G. Cleveland
2 Eugene M. Braderman
3 C. Arnold Freshman

It is each AFSA member's responsibility to see to it that his or her proper address and constituency (STATE, AID, USIA, or RETIRED) are on record with AFSA. Ballots will be mailed on or about May 16, 1977, and marked Ballots must be returned by 1:00 P.M. July 11, 1977. If you have

not received your Ballot by June 10, 1977, notify the Chairman of the AFSA Elections Committee IMMEDIATELY in writing at P.O. Box 40602, Washington, D.C. 20016.

RE-ELECT JOHN HEMENWAY AS AFSA PRESIDENT HONEST—FEARLESS—DEDICATED

Before you vote for any "slate" or individual candidate not personally known to you, **REMEMBER:**

John Hemenway "told it like it is," from the first day he became the elected AFSA President on July 15, 1975.

Key members of the "Alliance" Slate are now defendants in a district court case, to be tried by a jury. The lawsuit has already produced compelling evidence that they violated your rights as an AFSA member, by revoking the authority of the elected President to communicate his actions and views to AFSA members, by publishing inaccurate, misleading, and malicious comments regarding the President in virtually every issue of the Journal following his election, by effectively disenfranchising overseas AFSA chapters from participation in important AFSA issues, by denying John Hemenway's supporters a fair opportunity to express their views, and by misrepresenting those views—among other things. Because of the success the suit has had to date, the same members of the "Alliance" Slate have attempted to block discovery by renewing a motion to dismiss the case which the Judge has already once denied.

John Hemenway refused to sign the 1977 Promotion Precepts in the name of the AFSA membership, because they obviously violated all standards of fairness and career principles. Lars Hyde—supported by Kenneth Rogers, Frank Cummins, and other members of the so-called "Alliance" Slate—then illegally signed the precepts "for AFSA." If you liked the 1977 promotion list—and what it means for your career—you will love the "Alliance" Slate.

Vague and self-serving statements about the recent "Crisis in AFSA" and "obstruction" by the AFSA President were initiated by the same leaders of the "Alliance" Slate to divert attention from their own sell-out of AFSA interests. John Hemenway, as the elected AFSA President, was seeking to promote the interests of the men and women of the Foreign Service and their profession. Seen through the eyes of the "Alliance," he was obstructing their sell-out.

John Hemenway sought, as AFSA President, to fulfill his campaign pledge to create a two-tiered organization, to restore AFSA to its lost prestige as a professional association, while strengthening its capacity to help members win tangible benefits in bread and butter issues. Key members of the "Alliance" Slate opposed his efforts. They were more interested in nullifying the Hemenway election, knowing that a truly democratic organization would threaten their ability to wheel and deal.

Members of the "Alliance" Slate represent themselves as forces of experience and continuity—but not one of them has ever won an AFSA election. Some of them were illegally appointed to their positions on the present Board.

John Hemenway exposed Management's Cover-Up of the Moscow Microwaves that threatened the health of AFSA members. Key members of the "Alliance" Slate supported the Blaney do-nothing "Extraordinary Dangers Committee"—which proved itself incompetent to recognize and protect the real interests of AFSA members serving overseas.

John Hemenway reversed the deteriorating AFSA fiscal position, against vigorous opposition from members of the



"Alliance" Slate. The elected President defeated a move to sell the AFSA building to create a paper gain that would cover the increasing AFSA deficit—which would also require the AFSA staff to move into rented facilities some distance from the Department of State. Hemenway also opposed moves to raise AFSA dues.

John Hemenway exposed the improper diversion of funds (in excess of \$65,000) from the AFSA Scholarship Fund to meet AFSA "operating" expenses. Members of the "Alliance" Slate favored cover-up of this misappropriation of funds.

John Hemenway sought to implement his campaign pledge of 1975 to "follow the path of corruption in the Department of State, wherever that path led—even if it led to the door of Congressman Wayne Hays." That is exactly where the path led—but members of the "Alliance" Slate sought to keep that door closed (but open to them), while covering up the path to it.

WHAT YOU SHOULD DO IN THE 1977 AFSA ELECTION

Re-elect John Hemenway as AFSA President. And vote for other individuals you may personally know as independent supporters of an honest and open AFSA dedicated to the true interests of the membership. Hemenway will immediately seek to implement his long-standing pledge to make constitutional reform a central AFSA goal.

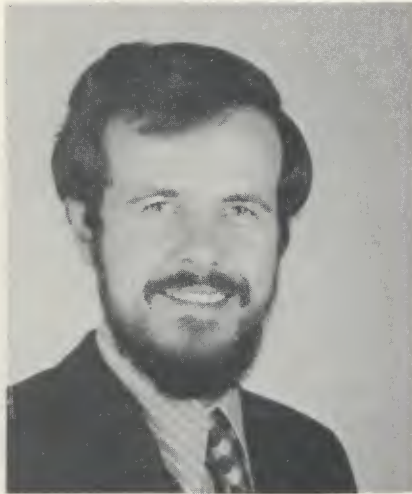
Support comprehensive reform necessary if AFSA is to regain a capacity to serve the membership!

AFSA can sink ever deeper into a quagmire of mediocrity, dragged down by the narrow self-interests of a small group of individuals, or it can move forward toward a new day of vigorous leadership on behalf of all members.

The varied interests of the membership are not likely to be served by those who run in packs—or "slates."

RE-ELECT HEMENWAY WHO HAS PROVEN HE PUTS AFSA MEMBER-INTEREST AHEAD OF HIS OWN.

THE ALLIANCE



LARS HYDLE PRESIDENT

AFSA made a fresh start last November 17, when Hemenway's recall by 94% of members voting took effect. Since then, membership has risen; our credibility with Management, the public and the Congress has been restored; we have seized the initiative on both employee and professional issues. Many of the architects of AFSA's revival are ALLIANCE candidates; all of us have had some connection with the Governing Board and its committees during the past two years.

The other slate is similar to ours in its diversity of background (although they lack an AID representative candidate) and perhaps in its specific views and general approach to AFSA issues. The difference, as Mr. Michaud pointed out last month, is that they are "unscarred by the events of the past two years" and not connected with the present Board.

Indeed, before their nomination few of them were ever seen at Board meetings. Only two served on committees, where so much of AFSA's work is accomplished. None served as Keyperson. One did not even join the Association until a few days before being nominated. Hunkered down even after the bogeyman was chased away, they risked no scars.

Nor did they learn much about the workings of the Association, Executive Order 11636, or the grievance legislation and other elements of the Foreign Service Act. Thus their election, whatever else it might mean, would guarantee that at least the first several months of their two-year term would be spent in learning the ropes and getting their act together.

The ALLIANCE knows the ropes and has its act together. Last month we told you of our individual activities on behalf of the Association and the Foreign Service. This month we present our program, to which each of us is committed. It appears throughout our individual statements, as indicated below in the table of contents. We've tried to be specific. Our personal views are in boxes.

1. Top Priority for Employee Relations

The Association's most important role is to represent the Employee interests and views of active-duty Foreign Service people. We continue to believe in our traditional role as professional representative of the active and the retired Foreign Service, but the loss at USIA of membership, influence, and even the right to meet publicly, which has followed our loss of exclusive recognition there, proves that our status as elected exclusive employee representative is a precondition for our effectiveness on both employee and professional issues. Therefore, we must seek to represent all the Foreign Service, including those, particularly in the staff corps, who feel that AFSA is not sensitive to their interests.

2. Our Methods

As exclusive employee representative, we can use normal management-AFSA channels to accomplish many of our objectives. But we are ready to escalate when necessary on specific issues.

---We will appoint a Committee on Congressional Relations, composed of AFSA members with Hill experience, to further expand our contacts and improve our tactics with the Congress.

---We have incorporated, established a constitution for, and appointed the Council of, the AFSA Legal Defense Fund, to defend our interests in court if necessary.

---And we will not hesitate to attack management publicly if they deserve it and it will help our cause, although we will avoid Hemenwayesque fulminations because they are both ineffective and self-damaging.

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The ALLIANCE Program

<u>Page</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Issues</u>
19	President	Lars H. Hydle	Top Priority for employee relations; Our Methods
23	Vice President	Paul von Ward	Our Professional Role; Organization & Management; Presidential Appointments; Professionalism & Policy Issues; Role of Retired Members.
28	Second Vice President	Thomas L. O'Connor	Legislated Employee Relations; Affiliation with Another Union; Amendments to Grievance Legislation; Diplomatic Privileges & Immunities; Members' Interests; Anti-Terrorism; Moscow Microwaves; Better Life for FS Families; Pay Comparability
30	Secretary	Frank Cummins	Role of the Secretary; Better Communications; Strengthening the Chapters; Increasing Membership; Revising the Bylaws.
32	Treasurer	Michael E.C.Ely	Balanced Budget; Indexation of Dues; Program Budget; The Club & The Building; Scholarship Fund.
33	State Representative	Joseph Neal McBride	State Standing Committee
34	State Representatives	(Kenneth N. Rogers (Alta Fowler	Fight Political Appointments; Promotion Precepts and Umbrella Agreement; Framework Agreements; Reclassification; Communicators & Secretaries; Skill Code Changes; Preserve Career Counselors; Membership; Better Second Careers.
36	AID Representative	Nancy Fox	AID Matters
37	USIA Representative	Peter Wolcott	Reorganization; Increase Membership & Beat AFGE.

DAVID (DAVE) NOACK—INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

As I stated in the April FSJ, I feel the real issue in this election is the need to make AFSA AN EFFECTIVE PROFESSIONAL BARGAINING AGENT, and at the same time, PRESERVING THE PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION!!

I believe AFSA can best accomplish this reform through the following changes outlined below:

REFERENDUM ISSUES

1. A BY-LAWS CHANGE TO CREATE A DUAL ORGANIZATION; BOTH A BARGAINING AGENT AND PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION.

This should incorporate a dual system of dues dependent on whether or not AFSA is certified as the members' exclusive representative on labor relations issues.

2. AFFILIATION WITH A PUBLIC SECTOR UNION THAT WOULD PROVIDE LABOR RELATIONS EXPERTISE WHILE ALLOWING AFSA TO REMAIN AUTONOMOUS.

This is necessary to develop the bargaining agent aspect of the Association. AFSCME (see my statement in the April FSJ) with its 150 member full-time professional staff headquartered in Washington, could provide this expertise. The AFSCME staff includes experts in research, economics and statistics, law and communications. AFSCME also maintains a full-time legislative lobbying group which has an excellent record of success. Preliminary discussions with AFSCME indicate this resource might be obtained on a two year trial basis at little or not cost.

3. DUES LEVEL

The level of AFSA dues is a complex issue. AFSA has operated with the same dues structure since before accepting its role under E.O. 11636, and AFSA is now in severe financial trouble. I would propose a moderate dues increase to meet the immediate financial crisis and, at a future date, if AFSA proves more effective, a second increase to bring AFSA dues in line with similar organizations.

ISSUES FOR-AFSA BOARD

1. More frequent and informative communication with the membership to include the use of referenda.
2. Increase the use of volunteers which should include special interest groups, i.e., September 17, COA, Thursday Luncheon Group, 2000+, WAO, etc.
3. Make more effective use of overseas chapters in developing AFSA positions.
4. Improve the administrative office procedures to facilitate AFSA Government Board operation, insure timely answers to correspondence and provide comprehensive accessible files.

DAVID (DAVE) NOACK
INDEPENDENT AND CONCERNED CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

MICHAEL A. G. MICHAUD
FRESH START CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

Fresh Start Slate

President—Michael Michaud
Vice President—John Gunning
2nd Vice President—James Wilkinson
Secretary—John Scott
Treasurer—Julie Ann McGrath

State Rep—James Vandivier
State Rep—George Griffin
State Rep—William Tilney
USIA Rep—Janet Ruben

AFSA needs a fresh start—a new leadership composed of people who can work together, who are dedicated to making AFSA work. And we must make it work, or AFSA will be replaced as bargaining agent by a union indifferent to Foreign Service concerns.

The new leadership must represent the full diversity of AFSA's constituencies. It must have the confidence of the members and must be responsive to their needs. And it must make AFSA a more credible bargaining agent and a more serious professional association than it is now.

The other slate in this election is the Continuity slate—a perpetuation of the present Board and its lack of vigorous leadership. By contrast, the Fresh Start slate offers candidates who can revive AFSA. We work together well. And we share perceptions of what is most needed to make AFSA an effective organization.

AFSA's primary tasks include:

- Reverse the outrageous treatment of the staff corps, particularly communicators and secretaries, on promotions and career development. The present Board has done virtually nothing to help these most abused members of the Foreign Service. It is time to end second-class citizenship once and for all.
- See that junior threshold promotion boards never again leave almost half of the promotion opportunities unused.
- Draw more effectively on the talents and energies of existing interest groups within the Foreign Service, such as 2,000 Plus, September 17, JFSOC, Consular Officers Association, WAO, and the Thursday Lunch Group.
- Press for a larger number of women in responsible Foreign Service positions.
- Be more aggressive in helping Foreign Service personnel from minority backgrounds. This might begin with a special AFSA working group which could recommend an action program to the Board.
- Respond more promptly and vigorously when individual members bring their problems to AFSA. We might start by giving the Members' Interests Committee a specific mandate to take up such cases as top priority.

- Invite more retired members to work on AFSA's professional committees, on Congressional testimony,

and on the heavy load of written materials AFSA must prepare. Retirees are a large and relatively untapped pool of experience, professional skills, and contacts.

- Consider the pros and cons of affiliation with a large professional union which has the resources to do more thorough staff work and bargain more effectively on bread and butter issues. We would not accept any compromise of AFSA's independence, and would conduct a plebiscite of the membership before moving in this direction.

- Be more aggressive in testifying on ambassadorial and senior agency nominations, opposing the worst ones and supporting the best; oppose political appointments which block assignment and promotion opportunities for professionals.

- Protect the career status and opportunities of USIA Foreign Service personnel during any organizational change, and support the consolidation of information and cultural functions into one government entity.

- Act strongly to improve AID management's treatment of its Foreign Service personnel, and to assure career status for them.

- Eliminate linkages of Civil Service and Foreign Service ranks, which penalize some Foreign Service career people. We must not allow management to continue the GS-izing of the Foreign Service.

- Expand AFSA's professional activities and programs, such as conferences and symposia on professional issues, and seek more substantive dialogue in the *Foreign Service Journal*.

- Consider drastic measures to improve AFSA's financial condition.

- Improve AFSA's contacts and liaison with Congress.

Michael Michaud is an FSO-4 who has served in the political, economic, consular, and information functions, in NEA, INR, EA, PM, USIS and in three posts overseas. He served on the AFSA Board in 1967 and led the Tehran chapter of AFSA in 1968-69. He was on the Steering Group of the Open Forum Panel and received a Meritorious Honor Award for his work as Founding Editor of Open Forum Magazine. His wife was a Passport Examiner in the Passport Office from 1974 to 1976.

OLLIE JONES, AFSA PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE

- Q:** Isn't the American Foreign Service Association primarily a professional association for State Department Foreign Service officers?
- JONES:** The organization has tended in the past, at least in the public shadow it casts, to have this reputation. This has probably kept down the number of members we have been able to recruit from among other professional Foreign Service groups—USIA and AID, secretaries and communicators, for example. It certainly has not helped the organization in its efforts to become a credible employee representative *vis-à-vis* management.
- Q:** What do you intend to do about it?
- JONES:** I think we can do a number of things. For example, we might alter the editorial content of the *Foreign Service Journal* to give more coverage to employee-management relations issues, for example, analytical reporting in personnel planning projects, reports of jobs available, material on the practical aspects of settling in the United States for people returning from overseas, reporting on Congressional actions and projects which might affect Foreign Service personnel and the like. There may be other steps we can take also.
- Q:** Does this mean AFSA should abandon the interests of the traditional Foreign Service?
- JONES:** No. There are nearly 1800 retired member Foreign Service officers who are extremely interested in such things as increasing ambassadorial opportunities for career officers of all agencies. I think that they and their colleague members from the active Foreign Service deserve to use the AFSA forum also. As a practical matter, however, they also have other channels which other membership groups may not have to pursue their interests. I do think, however, that the President ought to be asked to include in his new Ambassadorial selection panel a representative from AFSA, perhaps chosen from among our interested retired membership.
- Q:** What do you propose to do about the organization of the Board of AFSA to equalize representation and make it responsive to membership interests?
- JONES:** Of course, the current and past difficulties have weakened the Board and the financial position of the organization and have disheartened and decimated the membership. I would like to see a more collegial board, less ingrown and dependent on one another, with chairmanship of the Board rotating among the officers, both to spread the workload and to spread the responsibility. I would like to see some method devised for referendum to the membership of Board vacancy appointees. We must find ways of increasing the level and quality of communication between Board and the whole membership. This is the single most important failure of the current and past Boards. What this means, as a practical matter, is more effort on the part of all Board members and laymen. There is no magic solution.
- Q:** Why are you an independent, not running on a "slate?"
- JONES:** I'll answer that with a question. Why should a "slate" be more effective than independently elected board members, who are not beholden to each other in any way? I just think we do better in getting fresh thinking if people can be elected who will come to the organization without previous commitments on the issues.
- Q:** What will you do if you lose?
- JONES:** One way of looking at "losing" is to consider how much work one has thereby avoided. But, having learned what the problems are, it would seem only proper to offer my services to the incoming "winners" for what they may be worth. That of course is what we wish all members would do—only in this way can we make the organization work.
- Q:** What about the "cone" system?
- JONES:** Personnel Management, on this as in other respects, likes to put everybody in little boxes. It's the American Government way. Boxes are easier to deal with than personalities. This is a hard problem: To make management face the hard issues and do their job. People and personalities are what our labor intensive industry is all about. Simple categorical solutions of personnel problems should elicit automatic, vigorous, vocal, skeptical reaction from AFSA. That is a principal function as an employee organization.
- Q:** Can we have a "union" and a "professional" organization under our umbrella?
- JONES:** Why not? Lawyers do it. Doctors do it. Railroad men do it. Musicians do it. We can do it, too.
- Q:** But can any "union" crank up the rusty, creaky personnel machinery of State, USIA, and AID?
- JONES:** We need to try. It will be a Herculean effort, but he cleaned the stables, and so can we, working together. But we had better get started. The new Administration will soon be becoming the old one. Our question to our membership should be: "What have we done for you lately?" Our question to Management should be "What have you done for us lately?"
- Ollie Jones will be happy to continue this conversation in writing or orally—5306 Reno Rd., N.W., Washington, D.C., tel: 202-966-4339 or his new office: D/HA, Room 7802, ext. 22741.*

THE ALLIANCE



PAUL VON WARD VICE PRESIDENT

(continued from p. 19)

Our Professional Role

Just as our employee representation is the precondition to our effectiveness on more traditional professional issues, so our professionalism strengthens our employee role:

--our ties with non-governmental organizations which share our interest in effective foreign policy and policy-making enhance our credibility and our clout with management, the White House, and the Congress;

--our views on issues outside the parameters of Executive Order 11636 have more influence than if we were just another special interest group, because we are known to be concerned about the effective overall performance of the government's foreign relations mission.

--even AFSCME would not be wooing us if they saw us as just another small union. They believe we can offer them a touch of professionalism.

Organization and Management

That is why the ALLIANCE is concerned about the way the government's foreign affairs functions are organized and managed. The principal resources of the foreign affairs agencies are people and ideas; we must not be "managed" like machines. The new administration came to office with a strong commitment to "reorganization" but few specific ideas on its application to foreign affairs. Our own management can't seem to shake off the blinders of its own bureaucratic past. And AFSA cannot protect the broader interests of its Membership and the Foreign Service by simply pecking away within the confines of E.O. 11636.

The broad-based Organization and Management Committee, established by the present Governing Board, has proposed that the President appoint a task force, chaired by the Vice President and including representatives of the executive branch and AFSA nominated professionals, to review previous reorganization proposals and make recommendations by August

1. We believe this approach would assure widespread support for such proposals among all who must cooperate to implement them. Meanwhile we have been concentrating on the most imminent reorganization issue -- that of public diplomacy, involving USIA, PA, and CU. The ALLIANCE is not adopting a "Great State Department chauvinist" point of view in dealing with this issue, but supports the consensus-building efforts of the USIA Standing Committee within the AFSA committee structure.

To develop public support for AFSA's view that reorganization be well planned and involve the career services, the Association in recent months

has established an extensive network of contacts that reaches into all the relevant committees of Congress.

Presidential Appointments

The quality of Presidential foreign affairs appointments is of concern to us all. As professionals we believe the conduct of foreign policy must be in competent hands; as employees, our promotion and assignment prospects are affected by the numbers of non-career appointees and the secretaries and staff aides they bring in with them, and our working conditions and morale are affected by the performance of the principal officer in our mission or bureau.

The AFSA Committee on Presidential Appointments has raised public consciousness about the merit and career principles in such appointments. The Carter Administration has adopted our idea for the Presidential Advisory Board on Ambassadorial Appointments, though it has perverted its purpose by stacking it with Carter campaign stalwarts. The ALLIANCE will continue to press for the designation of former ambassadors to that advisory board; oppose unqualified nominees before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and seek to cooperate with other groups who share our concern for the quality of such appointments.

Professionalism and Policy Issues

While we normally avoid taking Association positions on substantive foreign policy issues, we believe that AFSA should encourage broader discussion of such issues in various fora:

--We will support the strengthening of the professional quality of the Foreign Service Journal;

--We have supported the appointment of an AFSA activist to the AFSA-Carnegie Endowment Face-to-Face Program, and hope to work closely with her to strengthen our relationship with Carnegie, and focus a portion of Carnegie's attention and resources to institutional foreign affairs issues;

--We will resume the Luncheon Series at the Foreign Service Club;

--We will work with the leadership of the Open Forum Panel on public policy issues, and on the further improvement of the Dissent Channel.

--We will pursue our relationship with the newly established New Directions, the foreign affairs sibling of Common Cause, and seek similar relationships with other public-spirited foreign policy groups.

--We will continue to sponsor the Awards ceremony for the Herter, Rivkin, and Harriman Awards for creativity and dissent and hold the ceremony, as we did this year, in the Dean Acheson Auditorium so everyone can attend without buying luncheon.

--We will pursue suggestions that have been made to develop an explicit professional code of ethics for foreign affairs personnel.

The Role of Retired Members

The ALLIANCE believes that our retired membership has contributed much to the Association. It remained steady at close to 1800 during the recent leadership crisis, the elected Retired Representatives were among the few to remain at their positions during that period: Ambassador Olcott Deming has chaired the Committee on Presidential Appointments, while Glenn Wolfe has served with distinction on the Finance Committee. Five retired members -- Executive Director Allan Moreland, Counselor Wilbur Chase, Accountant John Tierney, Bookkeeper/Maitre d' Harvey Cash, and Membership Coordinator C.B. Sanner, have served the Association with low salaries and high dedication. We also recognize the continuing contribution retired members can make to the Service itself -- for example, to the work of the Foreign

Service Grievance Board. We hope that AFSA's professional and service activities -- such as the annual Foreign Service Day -- continue to attract our retired colleagues.

(please turn to p. 28)

JOHN N. GUNNING
FRESH START CANDIDATE FOR VICE PRESIDENT

Fresh Start Slate

President—Michael Michaud
Vice President—John Gunning
2nd Vice President—James Wilkinson
Secretary—John Scott

FRESH START wants to make AFSA work, to be an effective, responsible, and responsive organization. Our current, tired organization needs rejuvenation to represent effectively our membership:

- We need a dedicated and *active* leadership. AFSA cannot aggressively represent the foreign service without committed workers willing to think through issues *ahead of time*. We must act with proposals rather than simply react to management fiat or crisis situations.

- We need membership participation in AFSA's work. Organizations always have difficulty convincing their members to give up lunch hours and evenings to work on even the most vital problems. However, there are two types of lethargy: the inactivity of the satisfied, and the passiveness of those who feel it's not worth the effort.

The foreign service is anything but listless. A number of constituency groups have sprung up in recent years to address real grievances because they felt that this was the only significant way to achieve their aims. AFSA in the last few years has not been seen as a useful vehicle; the latest group in fact was organized only in the past six months.

Our FRESH START slate was organized consciously to represent as many as possible of the various constituencies in the foreign service community. We firmly believe that there can be diversity within a unified foreign service, and that the collective voices of groups within the foreign service are just as important to a healthy AFSA as a vigorous AFSA must be for an effective foreign service.

We are proud that FRESH START is endorsed by 2000+ and hope for the support of other groups which decide to endorse candidates. We particularly like September 17's initiative in urging its members to join AFSA. However, our slate, if elected, will work to see that never again must a constituency do so only on the negative grounds that since AFSA is the bargaining agent "it's the only game in town." FRESH START will collaborate with all the interest groups which make up our foreign service.

AFSA professes to be both a professional and an employee representative organization. We must prove that we can be both by offering constructive solutions to management when we see problems or inefficiencies which can be improved or better managed, but solutions which will work with the willing help of foreign service employees—not at their expense.

There will always be confrontation with management; no employee organization can represent its membership without challenging such "easy" resolutions of difficult situations as endangering employee health in the name of "détente," or deferring to a political chief of mission whether or not justified. However, there can be constructive dialogue as well—with the foreign service and management gaining from the interaction.

The FRESH START Slate looks forward to a period of *stability, credibility and responsiveness* on the part of

Treasurer—JulieAnn McGrath
State Rep—James Vandivier
State Rep—George Griffin
State Rep—William Tilney
USIA Rep—Janet Ruben

AFSA after a hectic period which we must put firmly behind us. Our group has a wealth of professional experience in the foreign service and intimate ties to you, our constituencies. We must get on with the job of handling the backlog of problems—so many of which have been neglected or treated in desultory fashion.

Mike Michaud in his statement lists a number of issues with which FRESH START will deal. Some problems obviously must head the agenda:

- equitable and professional treatment of the staff corps;
- fair and unbiased treatment for *all* employees;
- full assessment of political appointees' qualifications;
- reorganization of the foreign affairs agencies.

President Carter has made rationalization of the federal government his leading pledge. AFSA must see to it that foreign affairs reorganization will actually strengthen our capabilities to assist the Secretary and the President to formulate and carry out US foreign policy; employees as well as the Government must be treated fairly in the process. AFSA has taken a thoughtful and reasonable position on the needs for reorganization of the information and cultural programs, suggesting alternatives either within the Department or as an autonomous agency. Similar proposals for the Department and for AID are badly needed and already overdue.

AFSA for too long has attempted to do a major job with very limited resources. This must be changed so the Association can do well in representing the foreign service. There are several ways of beginning. One is recommended by the DACOR candidates in their excellent platform; the Association must systematically tap the rich human resources available in our retired member constituency. We also must convince eligible employees and retirees that they should support AFSA with their active participation and their dues.

AFSA should reach out in developing its professional role to the broader foreign affairs constituencies of Hill staff members and the many domestic personnel who deal fulltime with international affairs. In its employee representative role AFSA should reach out for professional support to help the Association strengthen its voice in representing and protecting the foreign service. We recognize the need for professionalism in the foreign service. We need it in employee representation as well.

I urge you to support the entire FRESH START slate.

John Gunning, an FRS-3, is Chief of the Program and Project Analysis Division in the Program Office of the Technical Assistance Bureau, AID's research and development arm. He is a career officer in the program/economic field who has served in Thailand (1967-71) and Kenya (1972-74). He joined AID in 1962 and has been in the foreign service since 1967 after serving as a Junior Management Intern, an administrative assistant and on a country desk in the Far East Bureau. His academic training was in political science (Antioch and Yale) with a leavening of international economics gained in a training assignment at Johns Hopkins' School of Advanced International Studies during 1971-72.

John J. Harter for First Vice President

PLATFORM

If elected First Vice President, I would press Foreign Service PROFESSIONALISM as the keynote and theme of all AFSA activity—for example, through the following specific objectives:

P PROFESSIONALISM—A new AFSA Committee to Strengthen Professional Diplomacy—comprising our most distinguished members—should mobilize Executive Branch, Congressional, and public support for a first class diplomatic service in our rapidly changing world.

R RIGHTS—While supporting President Carter's wish to further human rights around the world, AFSA should emphasize that the rights of Foreign Service professionals also need protection, as envisaged in the Bayh Bill, which passed the Senate four times from 1971 to 1975.

O ORGANIZATION—The AFSA By-Laws, organization, committee structure, and keyman network should be reviewed and revitalized to facilitate a constructive AFSA role in the pending reorganizations of the foreign affairs community.

F FINANCIAL SOLVENCY—The new Treasurer should restore sound financial management to AFSA's expenditures and receipts—and explore the possibility of recovering the large amounts of AFSA funds improperly disbursed to AFSA officers in recent years.

E EMPLOYEE-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS—Executive Order 11636—which de-professionalized AFSA and discriminates against effective Foreign Service unionization—should be supplanted by legislation that would safeguard union leaders against reprisals and remove PERSONNEL from control over this vital area.

S SELECTION-OUT OF SELECTION-OUT—"Involuntary retirement" of outstanding officers in their prime—and "voluntary retirement" of others dodging the opprobrium of Selection-Out—cast a pall over the Foreign Service that should no longer be tolerated.

S SALARIES AND ALLOWANCES—Congress should review the stipends and emoluments of all foreign affairs community employees, in light of pending reorganizations, inflation, and recent increases in federal executive salaries, and devise a new and equitable system for all.

I INITIATIVES AND REFERENDA—All members should be invited to initiate new policies and programs to promote their professional interests and to present their views on pending AFSA proposals through open meetings, forum discussions, letters, and referenda.

O OPEN FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL—The Governing Board should establish a liberal policy for the Editorial Board to implement, without interference, looking toward signed editorials, letters, and articles reflecting the diverse views of the membership in each issue.

N NEW LEGISLATION—Congress should apply Zero Base Budgeting Theory to foreign affairs, by testing through public hearings not only the need for requested funds but also whether the Foreign Service Act of 1946 and the National Security Act of 1947 meet today's requirements.

A ACTIVE PARTICIPATION—All AFSA members, in all constituencies—especially the losing candidates in the current election campaign and our retired colleagues—should have specific opportunities to participate actively in AFSA affairs.

L LIAISON WITH CONGRESS—All AFSA members should be urged to keep their Senators and Congressmen and their staffs apprised of the evolving needs of the Foreign Service, through individual letters and discussions.

I INFORMAL SUGGESTIONS—The world-wide AFSA network of keymen and members should feed new ideas regarding the structure and operations of the foreign affairs community, directly or through AFSA headquarters, to senior officials for action.

S SERVICES OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE CLUB—The Foreign Service Club should contribute to—rather than drain from—the AFSA budget by entering into the consciousness of members through the highest possible quality, economy, and efficiency of services.

M MEMBERSHIP DRIVE—A concerted campaign to achieve the above objectives should accompany an expansion of our membership, particularly with respect to those who dropped out in recent years and our colleagues who never before considered it worthwhile to join.

John J. Harter for First Vice President

REJECT PREFABRICATED SLATES: VOTE ONLY FOR INDIVIDUAL CANDIDATES WHO WILL REPRESENT YOUR PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS.

BACKGROUND

1973 - Present ECONOMICS WRITER/EDITOR, U.S.I.A. (reimbursable detail), specializing in international trade and North-South issues.

1971 - 1975 ADVOCATE FOR FOREIGN SERVICE REFORM. Testified three times (October, 1971; May, 1973; February, 1975) before Senate Foreign Relations Committee to urge further hearings on inequities and inefficiencies of existing Foreign Service personnel practices, looking toward remedial legislation.

1970 - 1972 SENIOR ECONOMIST (Trade Specialist) in State's Latin America Bureau and Coordinator of Executive Branch efforts to implement trade policy recommendations of the 1969 Rockefeller Mission to Latin America.

1966 - 1970 DELEGATION MEMBER -- and occasional U.S. Representative -- at GATT, UNCTAD, UNDP, and other international conferences and meetings in Geneva concerned with U. S. commercial policy and trade related problems of developing countries.

1965 - 1966 BULGARIAN LANGUAGE TRAINEE, F.S.I.

1963 - 1965 FINANCIAL REPORTING OFFICER, Bangkok.

1962 - 1963 GRADUATE STUDENT (M.P.A. in Economics, 1963), Harvard University (economic development and East-West Trade).

1960 - 1961 AFSA GOVERNING BOARD MEMBER.

1959 - 1962 INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION SPECIALIST, State, working on economic, social, and technical assistance operations of the United Nations system.

1957 - 1959 ECONOMIC OFFICER, GENERAL SERVICES OFFICER, ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER (rotating assignments), Santiago, Chile.

1954 - 1957 CONSULAR OFFICER, Fort Elizabeth, South Africa (Acting Principal Officer for approximately one year).

1953 - 1954 LIBRARIAN, D. C. Public Library.

1948 - 1953 TEACHING ASSISTANT, University of Southern California (ancient and medieval history, American diplomatic history, and international relations).

1945 - 1953 STUDENT, University of Southern California (B.A., Cum Laude, 1948; M.L.S., 1953).

1944 - 1945 ARMY AIR FORCE (Musician and Pre-Cadet Trainee).

MISCELLANEOUS: FSO-3, married, four children, excellent health.

The Committee to Strengthen Professional Diplomacy

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
John J. Harter

11593 Erbers Court
Reston, Va. 22091
March 23, 1977

The Honorable
John Sparkman,
Chairman,
Committee on Foreign Relations,
U. S. Senate,
Washington, D. C. 20510.

Dear Mr. Chairman:

It has come to my attention that members of the American Foreign Service Association (AFSA) Board of Directors have submitted a statement on the proposed reorganization of the United States Information Agency to your Committee for its consideration.

This statement was intensely controversial at the time it was presented to the Murby Commission in 1975. Its author, P. Allen Harris, lacked any significant experience or familiarity with the issues it discussed, and relatively few AFSA members today would consider it useful.

The Committee may be interested in the attached copy of a letter I sent Congressman Zablocki at about the same time dealing with similar matters.

I believe an increasing number of AFSA members consider the Foreign Service Act of 1946 and the National Security Act of 1947 to be inadequate statutory bases for the structure and operations of the foreign affairs community in today's rapidly changing world. Many would welcome comprehensive and in-depth public hearings by your Committee to explore whether or not new legislation is needed in this area.

Sincerely,
John J. Harter
John J. Harter

CC - Mr. Moore
Ambassador Rinehart

**M. JAMES WILKINSON
FRESH START CANDIDATE FOR SECOND VICE
PRESIDENT**

Fresh Start Slate

President—Michael Michaud
Vice President—John Gunning
2nd Vice President—James Wilkinson
Secretary—John Scott
Treasurer—Julie Ann McGrath
State Rep.—James Vandivier
State Rep.—George Griffin
State Rep.—William Tilney
USIA Rep.—Janet Ruben



Vote In New Leadership

My Fresh Start slate colleagues and I believe AFSA has to move quickly to reestablish its credibility and forge membership unity. Open, responsive and balanced leadership is needed to pull together the various interests within the Foreign Service. AFSA will not be effective until it regains membership confidence and begins to operate on the basis of comprehensive, understandable programs enjoying broad support throughout State, USIA, and AID.

The most urgent problems are widely recognized—dead-ending of State secretaries and communicators; pay scales and promotions for younger officers; protection of USIA employees in the face of reorganization; and assurance of career status for AID FS personnel. But, tough talk alone is not good enough. A coherent, vigorous effort from a united Board is necessary to put the Association on a sound footing for pursuit of negotiating goals with management as well as for strengthening of professional programs.

Priority tasks to move in this direction and away from the disjointed approaches of AFSA's recent past include:

- Responsiveness to individuals. AFSA should give high priority to the provision of information and assistance to individual members who seek its help.
- Affirmative action. Establishment of a committee on minority group and women's interests is long overdue.
- Congressional liaison. A Board member should be made responsible for supervising systematic, continuous contact with key congressmen and committees.

- Consultation with employee groups. AFSA should be out in front, seeking out such groups as 2000+, DACOR, WAO and September 17 for input into Board positions.

- Explicit goals. The membership needs clearer statements of Board goals, plans and negotiating packages, backed by periodic reports on progress.

- Organization. A number of management and procedural matters need airing with membership and a close look at potential improvements: finances, assignment of responsibility for negotiations, election bylaws, and possible association with a large professional union.

- Communication. Greater attention should be given to the *Journal's* AFSA News section, bulletin boards and "red tops" so the membership receives a continuous picture of developments on key issues.

Jim Wilkinson, an FSO-3, is currently Deputy Director for Exchanges in the Office of Soviet Union Affairs of the European Bureau. He is a career political officer with a varied background in functional assignments, including service as Administrative Officer at Embassy Moscow (1974-76), Special Assistant for the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs at the Bangkok Regional Office (1971/2) and Branch Public Affairs Officer, USIS, Songkhla, Thailand (1967-69).

Since entering the Foreign Service in 1962, he has also served as Visa Officer in Munich, Political Officer in Bangkok, Central Complement in Canberra and on the Thai Desk in the Department.

In Moscow, he was Chairman of the Anglo-American School Board for a year. During his Bangkok tour he reorganized and led an active AFSA Chapter. He is married and has two children.



"I think to be perfectly frank, that the State Department is probably the Department that needs progress more than any other. And I am determined that this will be done."

— President Jimmie Carter, February 24, 1977.

In the April edition of the *FSJ* I briefly discussed some of the issues to which I believe AFSA should direct its attention. Further I made a commitment to elaborate upon what AFSA should do to insure that the Task Force appointed by Secretary Vance does a meaningful job as well as discuss a plan that could change the image of the Department within six months. The purpose of the Task Force is primarily to obtain a truly representative foreign service officer group and to accelerate obtaining same. The greatest shortcoming of most reform efforts in the past has been the lack of commitment on the part of leadership as well as the lack of follow-up. In this regard AFSA should establish its own committee to actively review and monitor the Task Force's program and its implementation.

I believe for immediate results the Department could utilize the Intergovernmental Assignment Program and bring any number of minorities and women professionals from state and local government as well as from colleges or universities into existing vacant positions. I believe we all agree that the talent is available. The reasoning behind this suggestion is my strong conviction that it is necessary to condition the institutional make-up of the Department to the fact that minorities and women are going to hold an increasing number of professional jobs.

For the long range approach there are basically two methods and I suggest using both. The first is in-house upgrading. I hate to think of the number of times a secretary has typed a letter or memorandum requesting a new body when with little or no training she or he could adequately perform the job. James Meenan, the candidate for the AID Representative, has come close to the problem in his statement in the April issue. Briefly, what is needed is meaningful career development program for every individual employee. Anyone in a dead end job is a

little or no producer. I like the example of the engineer who took a six week course in effective report writing, and practically doubled his value to the Agency. In short, I believe a Department-wide upward mobility program is needed. We know who's down.

The other area where the Task Force can be very effective is in recruitment. Affirm means to assert positively. Having recently been involved with recruitment in AID I can say without reservation that there was no Affirmative Action in the recruitment program in which I was involved. The Task Force can surely request Personnel Management to "assert positively."

I could discuss many more issues but I believe thus far provides an adequate indication of my basic philosophy. Regardless of the issue, I would like to believe that you will know that I will stand up for that which is fair, equitable and provides an equal opportunity for all. I believe that ninety percent of all the issues discussed by the other candidates deal primarily with equality. The desires and aspirations of the September 17 Association are basically a cry for equal treatment and an opportunity for advancement. Knowing the deplorable insensitivity of previous management I cannot be overly critical of the activities of AFSA over the past five years.

As I said in the April edition of the *FSJ* I believe with the commitment from the President and Secretary Vance now is the time for AFSA to take a more meaningful role in developing and designating plans and programs to achieve our desired objectives. As second vice-president, the AID officer, I believe with your support we can and will make substantial strides in making the Department of State the kind of Department of which we can all be proud. To this end I humbly ask for your support.

THE ALLIANCE



TOM O'CONNOR SECOND VICE PRESIDENT

(continued from p.23)

The ALLIANCE will push to strengthen the ability of Foreign Service employees to co-determine their personnel policies and working conditions.

Legislated Employee Relations

Executive Order 11636 enables employees to elect an exclusive employee representative -- a bargaining agent -- and to bargain over some personnel policies and working conditions. But it could be abolished at the whim of a President; it has an excessively in-house character, and there are too many areas not subject to negotiation and binding arbitration. We will seek amendments to the Foreign Service Act, with management's concurrence if possible and without it is necessary, to correct these defects.

Affiliation with Another Union

I and other incumbent Governing Board Members have already spoken at length with representatives of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) about their affiliation proposals. The ALLIANCE has no doctrinaire opposition to affiliation with AFSCME or another labor union, nor are we ideologically committed to it. We approach the question of affiliation with a cost-benefit calculator -- what is in it for the Association and the Foreign Service? and what would we have to give up? If elected we will actively investigate all such possibilities, report to the Membership, seek its views by referendum, and be bound by the result.

Amendments to Grievance Legislation

The incumbent Governing Board achieved legislated grievance procedures, a long-established AFSA goal. Now that the system has been in operation for a year, we believe the legislation should be amended to:

---eliminate the exemption from judicial review of the agency head's right to reject a Grievance Board recommendation for the reinstatement of an officer selected out before the legislation took effect;

---include separation for cause under these procedures; and

---create a presumption of public hearings if the grievant so requests, except and to the extent that the Grievance Board shall for good cause determine otherwise.

Diplomatic Privileges and Immunities

The United States Government must insist on equal and reciprocal treatment for our employees overseas, including those not on the diplomatic list. Its failure to do this reflects not only on its fairness as an employer, but its competence in bargaining and therefore in defending our substantive national interests. Until the government obtains fair treatment for the staff corps, it must compensate them for the financial effects of discrimination against them.

Members' Interests

With the interagency Members' Interests Committee doing most of the work, the Association should push for:

---fairer housing allowances overseas for single employees;

---payment of costs of transfer within the United States;

---defense of overseas allowances against taxation;

---full and fair distribution of representation allowances;

---post differentials for Ambassadors and Charges, enabling other senior people at hardship posts to receive the full post differential.

Anti-Terrorism

We believe that the U.S. Government should:

---stop saying that it will never make any concessions to free American Foreign Service people taken hostage by terrorist groups;

---review its overall anti-terrorism policy;

---devise sanctions, hopefully with other governments who share our views, against governments who are soft on terrorism;

---continue to refuse visas to terrorists and members of terrorist organizations.

Moscow Microwaves

Soviet microwave emissions against the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, sometimes are levels worse than Soviet safety standards and at a time when the long-range effects of such radiation are unknown and possibly hazardous, should be regarded by the United States Government as a hostile act. If we can't stop it, we should take appropriate countermeasures. Meanwhile, we insist that the study of health effects of this radiation go ahead, and we will institutionalize in regulations the previous Administration's promise to warn employees promptly of any living or working condition possibly hazardous to health.

Better Life for Foreign Service Families

The hardships of overseas life weigh especially heavily on Foreign Service spouses and dependents. They take a toll on personal and career development, mental health, and family incomes. We strongly support the AAFSW's Forum Report that calls for basic reform in the way the Government treats dependents.

Pay Comparability

The Board has established a Foreign Service Compensation Committee to make up for management's failure to look out for our pay system. The ALLIANCE seeks immediate improvement in the linkage of FS salaries to the GS scale and, in the longer term, to the development of an independent Foreign Service salary scale which takes into account the special responsibilities and hardships of overseas service.

Please turn to p.30.

A Personal Pledge:

I reaffirm the objectives in last month's statement, especially those concerning:

--support for the objectives of September 17;

--enactment of AFSA's career Foreign Service legislation for AID employees and permanent agency status for AID;

--equitable placement policies for all Foreign Service people.

JOHN F. SCOTT
FRESH START CANDIDATE FOR SECRETARY

President—Michael Michaud
Vice President—John Gunning
2nd Vice President—James Wilkinson
Secretary—John Scott
Treasurer—Julie Ann McGrath

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State Rep—Bill Tilney
USIA Rep—Janet Ruben

During the last month, those of us on the FRESH START Slate have become more intimately acquainted with a variety of issues which demand AFSA's attention, through our own interaction and statements on issues of importance to us as individuals, and as the result of meetings with several interest groups in the Foreign Service. These issues include an outrageously low promotion rate in the Staff Corps, "second class citizenship" for some cones in the Officer Corps, unjustified and artificial linkages between FS and GS pay despite substantial difference in job characteristics, a woeful lack of women and minority groups in the officer-level positions in the Service, and a general feeling that AFSA has not come through for its constituents. I can only conclude that this feeling is accurate.

What can Fresh Start do? We can begin by introducing a new chord of responsiveness into AFSA. We intend to listen to the various special interest groups in the Service. We intend to work with and through them to protect and advance their interests with management. But this alone is not enough. Each and every AFSA member should feel that AFSA is his or her organization; that the organization is there when it is needed, not just for organized groups, but for the individual as well. One possibility is for AFSA to provide a "duty officer" for State, AID, and USIA—a single point of contact for AFSA members who can respond to their individual problems.

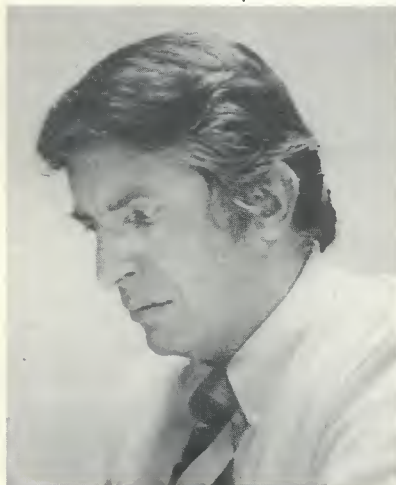
The candidates running on the Alliance Slate have gone to some lengths to point out the value of their experience on the job. I frankly question this. Experience is valuable only when it accompanies a proven record of success and accomplishment. I do not believe an examination of the record of the accomplishments of the

present Board provides much of a record of success. Indeed a consistent record of successes does not exist. The first statements of the Alliance candidates noted their experience, accomplishments and goals—somewhat heavier on goals than accomplishments. The question they did not answer was why, with all of their experience, have these goals not been acted upon before now? The Alliance has a good record for experience, but is short on delivery.

What does FRESH START plan to do to improve the record. We shall begin by rebuilding the AFSA image. One starting point must be to rapidly expand AFSA membership, which has dropped by nearly 1,000 in the last two years. AFSA must be a cohesive, unified whole before it can begin to accomplish its goals. Doing this will be an early priority. A second starting point, frankly, would be a resounding FRESH START victory at the polls. As your elected representatives, the AFSA Board must carry your message to Management. We must, and will, create a situation in which when AFSA talks, Management listens. Before we can do that however we need your support, both at the polls for the entire FRESH START slate and after the election. We look forward to serving your interests in the coming two years.

John Scott, an FSO-5, entered the Foreign Service in January 1974. He has served one tour overseas, in South Vietnam, and has been assigned to the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs since the evacuation of Saigon. A political officer, he has also done some consular work in Vietnam and in Manila after leaving South Vietnam. He also served as a member of the United States negotiating team during the base negotiations in the Philippines.

THE ALLIANCE



FRANK CUMMINS SECRETARY

(continued from p.28)

Role of the Secretary

Article V.5 of the AFSA Bylaws state "the Secretary shall supervise the Association's and the Board's correspondence, and meet its filing obligations, other than financial, under applicable law or regulations, and shall have such other powers and duties as the Board may delegate". One such duty is to correct the record when AFSA positions have been incorrectly represented or reported. The role of the Secretary is, broadly, to see to the effective internal functioning of the Association's lines of communication among the Governing Board, its Committees, and its Chapters overseas.

Better Communication

Despite constraints imposed by our finances and the recall and election procedures, the incumbent AFSA Board, and particularly the AFSA News Committee, have tried to keep the Members informed during the past year. The ALLIANCE will improve communications among the Membership and with non-Member Foreign Service people:

---we will negotiate a revision of the AFSA-Department agreement on AFSA's use of telegraphic facilities, so that we can use telegrams to communicate with overseas chapters on all manner of AFSA business;

---we will resume the issuance of Redtops (suspended in recent months for financial reasons), using a less expensive method and experimenting with both magazine and single-formats and with broad or selected audiences;

---to help AFSA members and indeed all Foreign Service people to communicate more directly with one another, we will urge the Department to reissue, with appropriate safeguards, the Foreign Service List.

Strengthening Chapters

The incumbent Board issued in April 1976 an AFSA Chapter and Keyman Manual which advised overseas chapters in detail on Executive Order matters, grievance procedures, and internal AFSA business. We are updating the Manual. The Board also adopted a regulation on requirements for chapter status. The ALLIANCE knows well the importance of the Chapters and supports a further strengthening of their role:

---we have urged the Elections Committee to abandon its misconceived attempt to muzzle Chapter Representatives during the current election process;

---we will review the agreement on implementation of E.O. 11636 at overseas posts to strengthen the bargaining rights of the chapters on issues of local concern;

---we will seek the advice of Chapters more regularly, time permitting, and by cable if necessary, on personnel policy issues as well as internal AFSA business.

---we will review our policy on the role of AFSA members who are officials and confidential employees at post, to permit them to exercise AFSA Membership rights on worldwide issues, without influencing Chapter positions on local issues.

Increasing Membership

From September 1975, when our Membership figures became accurate under our revised billing procedures, until December 1976, when the FSJ informed members of Hemenway's recall, AFSA Membership declined by 965. That was also the period of the loss of bargaining rights at USIA, and the RIF which eroded our Membership base at AID. Since last December, Membership has risen by about 400; today State Membership is higher than in September 1975, and USIA and AID Membership have bottomed out and are rising again. Our Membership as a percentage of the people we represent is consistent with the average for the federal sector.

We will pursue further increases in membership through:

---politics such as those in our platform that command the support of all elements of the Foreign Service;

---a participatory, inclusive style of policy making;

---effective communication to non-Members through Redtops, telegrams, Chapter Representatives and Keypeople;

---comprehensive solicitation of new entrants into the bargaining units.

A PERSONAL STATEMENT

When appointed AFSA Secretary in October 1975, I was determined to "stay the course" and to work for the interest of all the Members of our Association. It was neither comfortable nor easy. The Hemenway period was fraught with conflict and frustration. But the dedication to AFSA and to the welfare of the Foreign Service did not flag. Tested then, along with my ALLIANCE colleagues, I'm even more confident now that together we can build a more effective, more responsive AFSA. We of the ALLIANCE have already begun with renewed vigor to address the many professional and employee concerns of the Membership. With your support and your commitment, we can and will translate the goals and priorities of the ALLIANCE platform into realities.

Revising the Bylaws

AFSA's Bylaws were last revised in 1973, and our experience since then suggests the need for a comprehensive review. We will appoint a broad-based Committee to Review the Bylaws with instructions to conduct such a review in consultation with Chapters and Members, and to draft amendments to submit to the Membership for approval. While not wishing to prejudge this process, the ALLIANCE believes that particular attention should be focused on the following issues:

---the election of Governing Board Members with a stronger mandate, perhaps through preferential ballot;

---the elimination of the possibility of constitutional confrontations between individual Officers and the Board, by clearly subordinating the former to the latter;

---the entrenchment of the primary responsibility of Members of a given foreign affairs agency to determine AFSA positions on issues not affecting other Members;

---the reassessment of the role of retired Members, particularly their participation in employee relations issues, and their right to run for Officer positions.

Please turn to page 32

**JULIEANN MCGRATH
FRESH START CANDIDATE FOR TREASURER**

Fresh Start Slate

President—Michael Michaud
Vice President—John Gunning
2nd Vice President—James Wilkinson
Secretary—John Scott
Treasurer—Julie Ann McGrath

State Rep—James Vandivier
State Rep—George Griffin
State Rep—William Tilney
USIA Rep—Janet Ruben

Last month I talked primarily about AFSA's financial condition. To summarize, AFSA's finances must improve to enable AFSA to be more responsive to its members. The best way of doing this is to increase income. A dues increase could be counterproductive but total dues income can be increased if AFSA offers the potential membership reason to join the organization. FRESH START, by being aware of members' needs and by working to promote them, can attract new members. At the same time that income is being increased, ways must be found to enable the Club to break even.

This month I would like to describe AFSA's role as I see it.

The Foreign Service is a conglomeration of rather unique people. We may not be quite as elite or special as some of us would like to think but we certainly are not average by anyone's definition. We are groups of professionals united by common experiences and work conditions that are uncommon in the American pattern. Each of us has a job that requires varying amounts and kinds of training and experience. Our jobs cover many functional areas but fit together to form what should be a smoothly functioning unit.

It is these professionals that AFSA serves. It is their needs and interests to which AFSA must respond.

The primary concern of AFSA should be a professional Foreign Service. Professionalism comes down to qualifications. AFSA has a strong responsibility to its members and to the Foreign Service to ensure that every job is filled by a fully qualified person. The qualifications, however, should be relevant; sex, race, creed, age, etc. may be relevant to a movie part—they are not relevant to the Foreign Service. Unfortunately, the record of the Foreign Service on this point is not good. I do not understand how a Service that claims to represent a nation which places a premium on the equality of all its citizens can accept such arbitrary distinctions as sex or race for assignments, promotions and training opportunities. For obvious reasons, I feel quite strongly about this and want to see the hypocrisy eliminated from the Foreign Service.

Qualifications can be developed, and training should be utilized to increase opportunities for upward mobility. Many Foreign Service people, especially communicators and secretaries, see limited career horizons and have the ability and desire to transfer into other areas. It disturbs me to see a military retiree hired to do a job that a

Foreign Service career person could do with a little training. As I said last month, I think people are the greatest resource of State, AID, and USIA. It is bad management to waste resources, even in such ways as not developing potential.

The Foreign Service has a responsibility to its professionals. It must recognize their contribution honestly and objectively and compensate them equitably. The Civil Service Commission (CSC) tends to look at Foreign Service jobs, see the elements that it is familiar with, and ignore or minimize the other aspects. In terms of defining job levels, the CSC does not give enough weight to the versatility required in the Foreign Service, the fireman-type aspect of having to be prepared for eventualities that may never occur, and the work conditions that can be highly irregular. This has implications for everyone in the Foreign Service, especially communicators and Junior Officers. AFSA must press harder to educate the Civil Service Commission.

Utilization of personnel resources also pertains to AFSA. The Board to be elected is a part-time Board composed of people with full-time jobs. Obviously they need help. There are two sources that AFSA should use more fully to the mutual benefit of all. One source is the special interest groups, 2000+, September 17, WAO, etc. They are in the best position to get the information to support their cases and naturally have the interest to keep them from being shunted aside. Full cooperation with AFSA, as exclusive bargaining agent, can maximize their effect.

The retired members are another group that AFSA may be overlooking. Their membership is concrete evidence of their loyalty to and continued interest in the Foreign Service. They are competent, highly experienced professionals who understand the problems and can be of great help to their successors. More of them may be willing to contribute their time and expertise to the promotion of a more professional Foreign Service.

Biography

JulieAnn McGrath entered the Foreign Service in 1964 and has served as Consular Officer, Public Affairs Officer, and Budget and Management Officer. She has been assigned to Bogota, Paramaribo, Budapest, Quito, and twice to the Department. Her present assignment in the Bureau of International Organization Affairs involves UN administrative matters.

THE ALLIANCE



MICHAEL E.C. ELY TREASURER

(continued from p.30)

Balanced Budget: No Cash Flow Loans

The AFSA General Fund has managed to get through the 1976 and the current fiscal year without resorting to short-term loans to compensate for the unevenness of our cash flow, or drawing down investments to pay operating costs. Our goal for the AFSA General Fund is to maintain a balanced budget and to avoid cash flow loans in the future.

Indexation of Dues

Our principal source of General Fund income is Membership dues. Since 1971, dues have not been raised, although AFSA has assumed major new responsibilities as the exclusive employee representative, and there has been a general cost inflation of around 40%. Everyone hopes that a general increase in Membership will improve our financial picture, but no prudent Treasurer would bank on it. And if either the present or a future expanded Membership should decide on more services, costs will surely rise. Therefore one should not rule out raising dues if necessary in order to support an increase in program services.

To avoid the loss of Members which could result from periodic major dues increases, the ALLIANCE supports the indexation of dues to income (rather than rank, as is now the case for active duty Foreign Service people), to gradually increase income from dues as Foreign Service salaries rise to keep pace with normal cost increases. Any new dues schedule to be submitted to the Membership for approval in a referendum must reflect a formula which

---is likely to produce the total amount needed, taking into account both ability to pay and services provided by AFSA;

---can be approved by a majority of Members voting in a referendum; and

---will not provoke resignations by individual Members.

One thing is certain: the needs of the Membership must be clearly served by any increase in dues.

Program Budget

The candidate from the other slate expressed the view that the Governing Board "should be distracted from more substantive matters as little as possible", and that she would seek "to minimize the time the Board must spend on financial matters". My approach will be to make sure that all Board Members are aware of the financial implications of their actions, as well as to increase the Members' awareness of financial matters. One way to do this is to move toward program budgeting, which

provides a useful way of explaining the income and costs of AFSA's various programs, and which can serve as a useful base for judging whether or not an increased level of spending is justified in terms of results.

The Club and the Building

The Club is often cited as an area in which AFSA can reduce expenses. The incumbent Board in early 1976 took administrative measures which reduced the Club's operating deficit, so that closing the Club would not save a significant amount of money unless one also sold the building. While our mortgage payments are significant, the interest rate is below 6%, and the choice location of the building suggests that it is increasing in market value. If AFSA is ever to have a building in the future, we will probably have to hang on to the one we have. And there are imponderables as well: the Club and the building offer one of AFSA's main attractions to Members not represented by AFSA as exclusive employee representative; its sale could trigger some decline in Membership.

This issue is one with which successive Treasurers and Boards have wrestled, and it is one with such wide implications for the Membership that it probably cannot be resolved by the Treasurer and Board alone. The ALLIANCE pledges to review the Club-Building issue and, if it becomes clear that the Club is a serious drain on the Association, we will report to the Membership with recommendations and options so that the Membership itself can advise whether the building should be sold.

The Scholarship Fund

Over the past 12 years the AFSA Scholarship Fund has grown from around \$50,000 to over \$600,000. During the past year the Governing Board established new flexible investment guidelines which, by permitting our investment counselors to react more rapidly to market conditions, have increased the yield on our investments. The Scholarship Fund now provides scholarships to Foreign Service children on the basis of both need and merit, and it is well supported by receipts from the annual Book Fair so capably run by the American Association of Foreign Service Women.

The ALLIANCE believes that it is time to proceed with a review of financial policy for the future of the Scholarship Fund -- how much capital endowment does the Fund need? and how much should be awarded annually on scholarships?

(please turn to p.33)

AN EVEN BETTER FSECC

In the past year the Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center has greatly expanded its efforts on behalf of Foreign Service children. In conjunction with the American Association of Foreign Service Women, AFSA has widened FSECC counseling facilities under a full-time, professional Counselor-Director. A greater range of educational information is now available to families concerned with elementary, high school and college age youngsters. Special attention is being paid to children with emotional, learning or physical problems, and grants are now available for such children. The ALLIANCE pledges full support to FSECC and will work closely with the AAFSW to seek new sources of funding for this important program.

ALLIANCE



JOSEPH N. MC BRIDE STATE REPRESENTATIVE

(continued from p. 32)

Here begins the ALLIANCE program on employee-management issues specific to our State constituency. It continues through Ken Rogers' and Alta Fowler's statements on p. 34. Wherever these program statements appear, all ALLIANCE candidates are committed to them.

State Standing Committee

The Governing Board has delegated to the State Standing Committee the primary responsibility for negotiating personnel policies and working conditions with the Department on behalf of our State constituency. The ALLIANCE will continue to:

---appoint representatives of all pay plans (not just FSOs) career levels and major interest groups (COA, Sept 17, JFSOC, 2000+ and WAO, etc.) as full members of the State Standing Committee;

---assign negotiating responsibility in the first instance to subcommittees headed by representatives of the groups most concerned, subject to the overview of the full committee to safeguard AFSA's hard-won position as exclusive bargaining representative;

---strengthen the Washington Keyperson network and the AFSA State Caucus for regular exchanges on personnel policies and working conditions with individual members and interest groups.

(please turn to p.34)

EQUAL TREATMENT

As a former FSR transubstantiated into a political officer, I feel deeply that we must insist on full administrative equality for all employees, regardless of pay plan. i.e. The same benefits should apply across the board to FSO and staff corps alike.

FAIR REPRESENTATION

Retired members have no place in voting on issues affecting the working conditions of present employees. The Bylaws must be modified to restrict retired representatives to voting on non-union issues.

LINKING UP WITH A REAL UNION

I am on the radical left in the ALLIANCE in that I wholeheartedly favor developing a relationship with a hard-ball union to help out as a "hired-gun" in negotiation with management and on the Hill. However, AFSA must always retain complete control and freedom to dissolve the arrangement if it doesn't pan out.

GEORGE G. B. GRIFFIN FRESH START CANDIDATE FOR STATE REPRESENTATIVE



Fresh Start Slate

President—Michael Michaud
1st V.P.—John Gunning
2nd V.P.—James Wilkinson
Secretary—John Scott
Treasurer—JulieAnn McGrath
State Rep—George Griffin
State Rep—William Tilney
State Rep—James Vandivier
USIA Rep—Janet Ruben

A careful look at the FRESH START slate and at the other candidates will show you why you should vote for FRESH START. We comprise a team of individuals with proven achievements, from a broad cross-section of the AFSA membership, who can work together effectively to represent your interests.

Candidates on the other slate have nothing to offer except a continuation of the same tired platitudes, with no record of successes. The other slate notes in its campaign appeals that it consists of a group of mostly appointed officers who have spent two years engaged in internecine warfare. Their record is less than satisfactory on the matters of professional interest to the AFSA membership.

What AFSA needs now is a fresh start to rebuild credibility and responsiveness to the needs of the membership.

If I am elected:

- I will work to attract more members to AFSA, especially from USIA and those who have dropped out over the past two years,
- with the other members of the FRESH START slate, I will endeavor to mold AFSA into an effective bargaining organization which can better cope with management,
- I will push the AFSA Board to cooperate more closely with staff corps advocacy groups and individuals, and
- I will seek closer cooperation with retired members, trying to bring their considerable talents to bear on the complex problems AFSA faces.

Our first task is to elect a new dynamic leadership which can work together to determine the needs of all sections of AFSA's membership, and which can then find ways to meet those needs. In my view, only the FRESH START slate offers that opportunity.

Biographic Information

George Griffin, an FSO-4, is presently Chief of the South Asia Division of INR. He entered the Foreign Service in 1959, and has been assigned abroad to Naples, Colombo, Calcutta, Islamabad and Lahore. In the Department, he has worked in the Operations Center, as Ceylon Desk Officer, and as Dependent Area Affairs officer in IO/UNP. He is married and has two children.

THE ALLIANCE



KENNETH ROGERS STATE REPRESENTATIVE

(continued from p.33)

Fight Political Appointments

The State Standing Committee has insisted successfully that Schedule C-Type FSR appointees brought in to serve Presidential appointees as special assistants, secretaries and the like must leave when their principals do, and that new Schedule C-Type FSR appointees must not be offered the prospect of career status. The ALLIANCE will seek to negotiate or propose legislated ceilings on the overall number of such appointees, and prohibitions against their appointment to office director and other traditional career line officer positions. This will preserve promotion and assignment prospects for FSOs as well as secretaries.

Better Second Careers

The Department's Executive and Professional Placement Service, which assists Foreign Service people in seeking second careers, is in danger of death by attrition. We believe the EPPS should not only be saved, but strengthened and oriented toward the second career prospects of those who, like secretaries and communicators, find their Foreign Service careers blocked. Successful outplacements would help to thaw promotion opportunities for those who prefer to remain.

Promotion Precepts and Umbrella Agreement

Last year the Committee, after extensive consultations with the Membership, negotiated with management the umbrella agreement on improvement in the FSO promotion system. That agreement can be reexamined when the 1977 precepts come up for negotiation. We will once again consult widely regarding the precepts and the implementation and possible amendment of the umbrella agreement.

Framework Agreements

We have a number of "framework agreements" and other arrangements defining the terms under which AFSA may use Department facilities while acting as exclusive representative. The ALLIANCE will review these and negotiate revisions as necessary, in order to speed out communication with Keypersons, Chapters, Members and non-members in the bargaining unit; facilitate our use of meeting rooms in the Department for AFSA business; and obtain more office space to permit more Committee meetings and privacy for grievants.

Reclassification

We commented on p. 28 that we support the Foreign Service Compensation Committee's effort to monitor our pay system and its linkages with the GS salary scale. If we can establish foreign service factors in pay classification, we can help the cause of junior FSOs who are generally acknowledged to be underpaid in comparison with GS counterparts, and relieve the CSC/OMB pressure on the Department to downgrade the positions of secretaries and communicators, which the Department blames in part for the promotion freeze.



ALTA FOWLER STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Communicators and Secretaries

Communicators, communications technicians and secretaries have more problems than any other group within the State Foreign Service today. A number of our proposals which apply generally to the State Foreign Service would be particularly helpful to the career prospects of these groups.

Skill Code Changes

Despite its professed concern for secretaries, communicators and communications technicians, management has held up all requests for changes from surplus to deficit skill codes while it ruminates endlessly over its "worldwide specialist program". Unless something is done quickly, promotion prospects appear dim again this year for these "surplus" specialists. The ALLIANCE supports the State Standing Committee's proposal for interim procedures permitting such transfers this spring. If management negotiates positively and rapidly, there could be a thaw in the promotion freeze this year.

Preserve Career Counselors

There are rumors that the Department intends to abolish career counselors, leaving people to go one-on-one against their microfiche and the area and functional counselors of PER/CCA. The ALLIANCE would vigorously oppose any such change.

Membership

Contrary to statements by State Representative candidate Griffin, State AFSA Membership is now higher than at any time since September 1975 (see also p.30). The increase, from a low in mid-November 1976, is due in large part to the efforts of September 17 among secretaries and communicators. We recognize that their vote of confidence in AFSA is a tentative one, contingent upon our performance. But we believe that September 17 would not have recommended that its constituents join AFSA if it did not believe that we offered at least the prospect of representing their interests effectively. The ALLIANCE intends to measure up to the confidence of all Staff Corps Members, new and old.

(please turn to p.36)

In addition to the platform outlined by my fellow-members of the ALLIANCE slate, as a State representative to the AFSA Board, I will work toward development, through reclassification, of real standards that reflect the actual working conditions and responsibilities weighing on officials working in foreign countries. That means that consular officers, for instance, will receive more recognition of the statutory and regulatory requirements of their positions, and that specialists in all categories will serve in grades commensurate with their full responsibilities. Such classification will be done in conjunction with Civil Service Commission, OMB, and PER officials.

WILLIAM S. TILNEY
FRESH START CANDIDATE FOR STATE REP

Fresh Start Slate

President—Michael Michaud
1st Vice President—John Gunning
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As a Fresh Start candidate for State Representative, I believe AFSA must take the following actions if it wants to survive and fend off the challenge of AFGE in its attempt to become the exclusive representative of Foreign Service employees.

1. AFSA should concern itself first and foremost with being an effective and tough bargaining agent for all Foreign Service employee interests.
2. AFSA should seriously consider affiliating with a large, professional-oriented public sector employee organization which has the expertise and "clout" required to effectively deal with Management. AFSA volunteers are just not enough.
3. AFSA should be responsive to the views and opinions expressed by COA, September 17, 2000 Plus and other groups. There are many angry and frustrated Foreign Service employees who feel that they haven't been given a "fair deal" as far as promotions, job classifications and career opportunities. AFSA must do everything possible to ensure that no employee group is considered "second class citizens."
4. AFSA must never isolate itself from its constituency. Lines of communication between AFSA and the overseas membership must be improved.
5. AFSA should be primarily concerned with ameliorating the working conditions of Foreign Service employees. It should not allow itself to become bogged down in procedural disputes and internal bickering.
6. AFSA should consider establishing a special committee for women and minorities—it is intolerable that AFSA now appears to be lagging behind the Department and management on sensitivity and responsiveness to women and minorities. During President Carter's visit to the Department last February, he remarked that the Department of State had the poorest track record among all Federal Agencies in the employment of minorities.

William S. Tilney, an FSO-4, is presently the Management Analysis Officer for SCA. He returned to the Department last June after a year at the Maxwell School, Syracuse University. He has previously been stationed in Nice, Santo Domingo and Guadalajara. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, he worked for AID in Enugu, Eastern Nigeria, and Kinshasa, Zaire. He was also a Peace Corps volunteer with the first contingent to Ethiopia in 1962.

He is married to Margaretha Danette Tilney-Hillenius and has three children.

JAMES R. VANDIVIER
FRESH START CANDIDATE FOR STATE REP

Fresh Start Slate

President—Michael Michaud
Vice President—John Gunning
2nd Vice President—James Wilkinson
Secretary—John Scott
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State Rep—William Tilney
USIA Rep—Janet Ruben

We have now heard from all of the candidates, at least once, and maybe it's time to reflect on the agony of the poor reader who conscientiously wades through all of this material, trying to make an intelligent decision. It was gratifying to me personally to see so many of the candidates talking about 2000+, COA, September 17 organization, WAO, JFSOC, the Thursday Luncheon Group, and even the Diplomatic Couriers as potential resource groups which can play useful roles in a revitalized AFSA. These disparate groups are perceived by many as a valuable reservoir of talent, expertise, untapped energy which AFSA, not so very long ago, was trying to block. Some of you may not be aware that AFSA, just two years ago, charged Management with an Unfair Labor Practices suit for having met with 2000+ for discussion of Administrative personnel concerns. The matter was later dismissed by an Administrative Law Judge but there is no question that this controversy did a great deal of harm to AFSA and to the special interest groups. Hopefully that saga is now ended.

I am running for one of the State Representative Board positions as a candidate on the FRESH START slate. I joined this able, highly motivated group with my eyes wide open because I personally believe that AFSA must begin anew to set its house in order. The ALLIANCE slate includes some good friends of mine and I hope that relationship will continue. Nevertheless I see them as damaged by an identity with the last two AFSA Boards, which must take the brunt of the responsibility for AFSA's ongoing crisis. FRESH START does not carry this kind of burden and can offer what its name implies, a fresh start, a new beginning.

A fair question, of course, is what is my interest in this? As President last year of the 2000+ Association of Administrative personnel, I became very deeply concerned about our Personnel programs and the manner by which they disadvantage large segments of our Foreign Service employees. Foreign Service morale may very well be at a new low and this seems to me and to my colleagues as so very, very unnecessary. I am a Foreign Service Staff employee, Chief of the Diplomatic Couriers, a college graduate, married, and the father of a son in college, and a daughter about to enter college. Whatever the possible worth of these credentials, my employer insists that it can't and won't promote. Communicators, Secretaries, or Couriers even to the job classification of the positions that these persons may be occupying. It is no small wonder that Foreign Service Staff personnel, and many officer categories as well, view themselves as disenfranchised and less than equal citizens in the Foreign Service community. I very much want to work for fair, decent treatment for *all* Foreign Service personnel. FRESH START candidates fully share this sentiment.

JAMES R. MEENAN—AID REPRESENTATIVE

Statement: AID has undertaken various initiatives aimed at improving its operating management systems. However, the key areas of Personnel Management and AID's Functional Organization have been neglected to the point that they are impeding US resource transfers to the Less Developed Countries (LDCs). My previous statement reviewed "Issue No. 1—AID's Inefficient Foreign Service Personnel System."

Issue No. 2—AID's Ineffective Functional Organization

An effective functional organization should be reflected in clear lines of authority/responsibility and a sharp focus in program direction and management as encompassed in the organization's Direct Operational (Line) and Indirect Support (Staff) Functions.

A. Direct Operational (Line) Functions: Entails providing the Agency's operational managers with the responsibility and corresponding authorities for staffing, organizing and managing their programs to assure the most effective transfer of US resources to the LDCs.

The present AID functional organization is comprised of a multitude of independent offices and functions which are not integrated into a coherent organization. This structure appears to have evolved from AID's creating separate offices outside of the normal operating Geographic Bureaus to address specific concerns or mandates. The Geographic Bureaus are now confronted with the untenable situation of not having effective control over their programs due to the infringement of competing and support offices into direct operational management (e.g., PPC, SER, TAB, FFP, PHA).

AID's Management should realign and correlate the allocation of operational responsibilities and authorities to obtain a sharper focus in program direction and management within the Geographic Bureaus.

B. Indirect Support (Staff) Functions: Comprises the establishment of (1) the policy framework (PPC function) in which the operational managers are to function; and (2) the support services (SER function) required by the managers in discharging their program responsibilities.

The support offices are not adequately responding to the needs or program requirements of the Geographic Bureaus and place added demands on the operating managers which impede efficient operations. Therefore, the Geographic Bureaus often find themselves confronted with the necessity of going outside the Agency to secure the needed support services that are not forthcoming from within AID.

AID Management should more clearly define and align the functions of the offices providing support services to the Geographic Bureaus.

Conclusion: Foreign Service personnel should be provided the proper organizational environment in which to work. The present functional organization is not conducive to efficient/effective operations and tends to place unnecessary burdens on Foreign Service personnel.

As AID Representative, I would vigorously pursue with Management and continue to point out the numerous shortcomings in AID operations which tend to work to the detriment of Foreign Service personnel.

ALLIANCE

Nancy is in Syracuse at the Maxwell School. Her photo did not arrive in time for inclusion in this column. She is a beautiful person.

NANCY FOX

AID REPRESENTATIVE

(continued from p. 34)

AID Matters

The ALLIANCE supports continued strengthening of the AID Standing Committee to include representatives from a variety of occupational skill codes, meeting regularly; and of the AID Washington Keyperson network, to ensure that Members as well as non-members within the AID bargaining unit are well-informed of relevant personnel matters and other AFSA business. We will draw upon the Committee and the network for people to staff other AFSA Committees which deal with matters affecting AID Foreign Service interests.

The enactment of AFSA's career Foreign Service legislation for AID's employees, and permanent agency status for AID itself, will be our highest priority. We will also be focusing on:

---establishment of procedures to protect the interests of International Development Interns;

---fair placement policies for AID Foreign Service employees on rotation assignments;

---AID compliance with the assignment board and tour of duty precepts;

---occupational backstop codes, with special emphasis on FSS groupings; and

---career counseling and development.

(please turn to p.37)

I've helped to develop AFSA/AID positions on most of the important items now being negotiated with AID management, including those raised with Governor Gilligan by the AFSA delegation on April 8th. If elected, I will be ready to step right into office and defend your interests vis-a-vis management, and within AFSA.

ALLIANCE



PETER WOLCOTT USIA REPRESENTATIVE

(continued from p. 36)

I support the ALLIANCE platform, much of which applies to USIA personnel. The following two platform planks are vital to USIA!

Reorganization

Under my leadership and initiative AFSA/USIA developed a position on the reorganization of USIA for use as a basis for AFSA advocacy with USIA and State Department management, the White House, and the Congress. This position stresses the importance of integrating the information, cultural, and cultural exchange functions within one unit - avoiding Stanton fragmentation!"

Stress is laid on:

- openness
- long-range communication processes
- overseas spokesman role
- an active, government-wide advisory role on the conduct of public diplomacy

Increase Membership and Beat AFGE

I pledge to lead a campaign to regain 300 members within a year to provide a solid base to challenge AFGE's exclusive representation. New memberships will come through demonstrated action and resultant benefits for USIA personnel!

AFGE will be unseated through:

- assured professional input into reorganization decision making.
- Vigorous AFSA/USIA participation in AFSA's committee structure.
- Increased communication with our membership.

First -- USIA management must be persuaded to grant us the right to meet on Agency premises. (Denied in March!)

Second -- A network of USIA professionals must push for our rights on such issues as:

- grievances
- staff corps promotions and pay
- pay comparability between FS and GS
- rights of spouses
- employee-management relations legislation

Third -- Expand USIA personnel use of:

- AFSA Counsel for grievances
- Foreign Service Educational & Counseling Service
- scholarships
- Foreign Service Club
- access to the Foreign Service Journal

FORGED IN ADVERSITY, THE ALLIANCE IS DEDICATED
TO PROGRESS

JANET E. RUBEN FRESH START CANDIDATE FOR USIA REP

Fresh Start Slate

President—Michael Michaud
V.P.—John Gunning
2nd V.P.—James Wilkinson
Secretary—John Scott
Treasurer—Julie Ann McGrath
State Rep—James Vandivier
State Rep—George Griffin
State Rep—William Tilney
USIA Rep—Janet Ruben

"Why AFSA?" USIA friends have asked when I told them I was running on the FRESH START slate. The question is a good one, and it shows precisely why AFSA needs a fresh start. While AFSA does not now represent USIA members as exclusive bargaining agent, it nevertheless has a definite role to play in representing their professional interests within the foreign affairs community, to Congress and to the public. Many professional issues will arise when reorganization gets underway. USIA needs a strong voice on the AFSA board. I think I can provide that voice. The board must take note of the concerns of its USIA members. You can count on a FRESH START board to do just that.

My two-and-a-half years as Personnel Officer for Latin America taught me how the Agency works, formally and informally. I was actively involved in the assignment process at all levels, and I also took part in BEX and USIA panels to interview junior officer and lateral entry candidates. My personnel experience is invaluable to me, I think, as a candidate to represent USIA on the AFSA board. Problems are growing worse: family disenchantment with overseas life and many employees' determination to remain posted in Washington are of acute concern throughout the foreign service, not just in USIA; the same is true of career development in general and assignments of women in particular. AFSA can and must address these important issues, for USIA as well as State and AID.

But AFSA needs to regain stability in order to accomplish anything for its members. Internal bickering has sapped the strength of the organization. Harmony has to be reestablished on the board. That means a FRESH START.

To regain credibility as an organization, AFSA has to represent foreign service employees full time. Plagued by the trauma of the recent past, AFSA is not taken as seriously as it should be.

AFSA must either work for its members or lose them. That is exactly why it has lost half its USIA membership in the last year. But AFSA still offers services and resources that many USIA people don't even know about: to name two, it has a lawyer and a membership interests committee at our disposal.

Without stability, credibility, and responsiveness in AFSA, it will continue to flounder. The FRESH START slate offers all three.

Biography

Janet Ruben, an FSIO-4, is currently Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Advisor on the US delegation to the OAS. Since joining USIA in 1968, she has served in cultural and information assignments in Mexico City, Quito, and Rio de Janeiro. She was also Area Personnel Officer for Latin America in USIA. She received a B.A. from Smith College and an M.A. from Stanford.

**ROBERT G. CLEVELAND,
CANDIDATE FOR RETIRED REPRESENTATIVE**

ROBERT G. CLEVELAND retired in 1970 as Director of the State Department's Office of Public Services (FSO-1) after an outstanding career in private business, the United States Navy and the Foreign Service. He had duty in Bucharest, Paris, Sydney, Bangkok, and Belgrade as well as in the Bureaus of European and East Asian Affairs in the Department. He received the Department's Superior Service Award.

EUGENE M. BRADERMAN retired in 1974 as Consul General in Amsterdam (FSO-1) after a distinguished career in State and Commerce. Received Gold Medal Award for distinguished achievement in the Federal Service. Served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Director of the Bureau of International Commerce, Chairman of many US delegations and negotiating teams, attended the Senior Seminar and was Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Department's Bureau of Economic Affairs.

Our principal objective in seeking election to the Board is to help restore AFSA to a position of professional leadership in the foreign affairs community. While not losing sight of the crucial importance of AFSA's position as the official representative of State-Aid employees, active and retired, on bread and butter issues, we believe the time has come for AFSA to assume a broader role. We espouse the following specific objectives:

1. Continuing concern and active work for the welfare of retired personnel. This should always be a primary AFSA objective, as it is obvious that all AFSA members will eventually become retirees.
2. To encourage and support legislation of benefit to retired as well as to active personnel.
3. More tapping by the foreign affairs agencies of the existing large resources of experience and ability among retired officers. These resources are far less utilized in the United States than in many other countries.
4. Expansion of AFSA-sponsored professional activities and programs, e.g. symposia, conferences, etc. on professional subjects among experts in government, business, academia and retired personnel. Publication of accounts of such activities in the *Journal* or elsewhere.
5. Improved communication between AFSA and management. While some adversary relationships are intrinsic in employee-management situations, AFSA membership is totally different from the traditional labor force. Thus the style of AFSA-management discussions should reflect the character of AFSA members—diplomatic but firm.
6. A thorough review of the AFSA by-laws, including the electoral provisions. The present system permits the election of less than majority candidates and is clumsy, time-consuming, and very expensive. We believe there are better ways for the AFSA membership to elect its leadership.

We are the candidates endorsed by DACOR.

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**C. ARNOLD FRESHMAN,
CANDIDATE FOR RETIRED REPRESENTATIVE**

I have no particular program to offer AFSA voters, nor axes to grind. I would simply hope to contribute as best I can toward the early stabilization of AFSA generally—following the turbulence of the past two years—and toward the advancement of the legitimate interests of AFSA's membership, including in particular the 28 percent now constituting the retired membership.

Biography

Arnold Freshman entered the Foreign Service in 1950 with ECA (forerunner of AID). After service as ECA Controller in Germany, he was transferred to State rolls and in 1963 became an FSO. In addition to Department assignments in the Office of German Affairs and the Bureau of Political/Military Affairs, he has served in Germany, Italy, Afghanistan, Denmark and the United Kingdom. Freshman, an FSO-2, retired in 1973.

**INFORMATION ON AFSA
1977 ELECTION**

The AFSA Elections Committee wishes to alert the membership to the following arrangements for campaign meetings and to certain voting procedures.

1. **Campaign Meetings:** The Elections Committee has announced a series of meetings to be conducted in early May to give AFSA members an opportunity to meet and question candidates as follows:

Candidates for **President:** Monday May 2, 1977, at 12:00 Noon, in the East Auditorium, Room 2925, N.S.

Candidates for **Vice President, Second Vice President, Secretary and Treasurer:** Friday May 6, 1977, at 12:00 Noon, in the East Auditorium, Room 2925, N.S.

Candidates for **State Department Constituency Representative:** Monday, May 9, 1977, at 12:00 Noon, Room 1912, N.S.

Candidates for **USIA Constituency Representative:** Wednesday May 11, 1977, at 12:00 Noon, in Room 6320, N.S.

Candidates for **AID Constituency Representative:** No meeting scheduled by agreement between the candidates.

Candidates for **Retired Constituency Representatives:** No meeting scheduled by agreement among the candidates.

2. **Voting Procedures:**

The Elections Committee will mail on or about May 16 to each AFSA member of record as of May 1, 1977 a white envelope bearing on the front the legend "AFSA ELECTION BALLOT" and containing the necessary material for voting in the current election. The material will consist of (a) a single sheet of paper with "Instructions for Voting" on one side and a blank ballot on the other side, (b) a return envelope addressed to AFSA Ballot, P.O. Box 35023, Washington, D.C., 20013; and (c) a smaller envelope marked "AFSA Secret Ballot."

The Election material is all color-coded to indicate the addressee's constituency: State-Green; AID-Pink; USIA-Blue; and Retired-Yellow. If you receive material for the wrong constituency, notify the AFSA Elections Committee, P.O. Box 40602, Washington, D.C., 20016, immediately. Identify the constituency of the material received and state what you believe to be your correct constituency and also indicate when you became a member of that constituency.

If a member does not receive an envelope with election material by June 15, he or she should notify the Elections Committee, by cable via the AFSA channel, or at the AFSA office, 2101 E St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037.

After marking the ballot, fold it and seal it inside the smaller envelope marked "AFSA Secret Ballot." Place the envelope containing the ballot inside the larger pre-addressed return envelope. The member should print his or her name and address on the reverse side and affix his or her signature.

Place the correct postage on the outside envelope and return the ballot by the swiftest and most secure mailing method available. Members stationed overseas are authorized to use the regular Air Pouch for this purpose. However, as the address is that of a local private bank, *the envelope must carry the required postage for regular US domestic mailing.*

Ballots must reach the address on the envelope by 1:00 p.m. July 11, 1977.

3. All members are asked to cooperate to assure that AFSA election envelopes reach addressees promptly. If any undelivered envelope is seen, please promptly forward it to the member or it return it to the Elections Committee, P.O. Box 40602, Washington, D.C., 20016, with an explanation of the problem.

Americans know about the mass evacuation and internment in "relocation centers" of Japanese living on the Pacific coast, which was ordered and carried out during the period immediately following the outbreak of war with Japan in December 1941. Less well known is the fact that the American government, in the interests of "hemisphere security," transported, during 1942 and 1943, more than 1,000 Japanese from Peru to the continental United States where they were kept in camps for the duration of the war. The story of this uprooting of Peruvian Japanese is thoroughly documented in the files of the Departments of State and Justice but has been little publicized. As a Foreign Service officer assigned to the Embassy, I participated in this operation. The following is an account of what happened.

The Monday morning after Pearl Harbor, officers of the Far Eastern Division of the Department of State suddenly found themselves unemployed. Diplomacy, the nation's first line of defense, had failed and the military had taken over. The tensions of the secret summer negotiations, which had mounted with the uncertainties of when and where war would break out, vanished overnight. Now we must win the war, and as quickly as possible. But what could the Far Eastern Division of the State Department do? We could worry about the Americans caught in Japan and China and throughout the Far East but we could do little about them. Communications were cut. One telephone call had got through to Ambassador Joseph C. Grew in Tokyo late at night on Sunday, December 7. There was the problem of representation of interests and it was quickly arranged that the Swiss would handle relations with Japan. But in the first shock of the attack, we felt helpless and without a justifiable reason for being.

Americans were stunned and bewildered and found it easy to hate the Japanese enemy. An

"The sun is likewise inlaid in the throne of the Inca emperors and in the royal emblem of the Mikado."

Japanese and Americans in Peru, 1942-1943

JOHN K. EMMERSON

Oriental face was immediately suspect; Chinese labeled themselves in self-protection. State Department Japanese specialists busied themselves in writing articles and speeches to further the "Know the Enemy" campaign. Most of us would shudder to reread the oversimplified, biased essays we turned out to support the national cause. Even Ambassador Grew, when he was later repatriated, delivered some speeches better characterized as fire than reason.

Galvanized into action, government agencies—all too late—tried to cover their chagrin over the disastrous failure of intelligence before Pearl Harbor by turning in every direction to unearth sources of disloyalty, sabotage, subversion, and espionage. The "day of infamy" had cast suspicion on every person and everything identifiable as Japanese. There followed the indefensible forced evacuation of 100,000 Japanese from California, including thousands of American citizens, and their incarceration for the duration of the war in concentration camps euphemistically named "relocation centers." Then

someone's eyes wandered down the map of the Pacific coast, fixing on the startling fact that 30,000 Japanese were living quietly in the coastal regions of Peru, a vital, strategic area where enemy infiltration, clandestine communication, and all manner of spying could be perpetrated with impunity. Something had to be done about Peru!

The United States immediately proposed to the Latin American republics that they intern Axis nationals and in January 1942 a conference of Pan-American ministers of foreign affairs set up an emergency advisory committee for political defense. Among its recommendations made during the course of 1942 were actions to control "potentially dangerous aliens, to intern Axis nationals, to restrict the naturalization of enemy aliens, and to cancel the naturalization of Axis supporters."

Sometime during January of 1942, Lawrence Salisbury, one of the most able Far Eastern specialists in the State Department, who had served in both China and Japan and spoke both languages, told me that the Embassy in Lima had appealed to the Department for a Japanese-speaking Foreign Service officer. The Peruvian government, which severed relations with Japan in January 1942, was deeply concerned over the threat to hemisphere security of its large Japanese population, as was the United States. It appeared that no one in Peru, except the Japanese themselves, could speak Japanese! Could we help? Larry fixed his twinkling eye on me: "How would you like to go to Lima?" By February we were there.

The nature of my duties in the Embassy was supposed to be known only to the appropriate officials of the Peruvian government. The Japanese colony in particular was not to know that an American Embassy official spoke Japanese. In the Embassy I soon found that my closest collaborators were to be the "legal attachés," smart, young, FBI agents, and Rolland Welch, a German-speaking Foreign Service officer who was to look after the Germans.

In June 1940 President Roosevelt had directed that J. Edgar Hoover's FBI would be responsible for non-military intelligence in

John K. Emmerson is Senior Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution and is presently at the Center for Research in International Studies, Stanford University. He began his Foreign Service career in 1935 in Japan and his last post was Tokyo, 1962-66. In between he served in Lima, China-Burma-India war theater, occupied Japan, Moscow, Karachi, Beirut, Paris, Lagos and Salisbury. He is completing a book: The Japanese Thread, of which this article is to be a chapter.

the Western Hemisphere. The Special Intelligence Service (SIS) was set up in the FBI and agents skilled in undercover work soon fanned out through South America, to carry on covert activities and in many cases to be attached to embassies to maintain liaison with national and local police forces. The principal purpose in the beginning was to counter German intelligence operations but the discovery of the large Japanese colonies in Brazil (300,000) and in Peru (30,000) led naturally to a closer look at the nation's Pacific enemies. The "legal attachés" in Lima were difficult to conceal. They were invariably close-cropped, close-shaved, clean-cut, well-pressed, typical American-boy types and, being naturally gregarious, they liked to drink in the bar of the Hotel Bolivar on Plaza San-Martin in the center of the city. Peruvian friends would wink and smile: "FBI!" A few spoke Spanish but unfortunately none knew either German or Japanese. The FBI was not the only United States agency digging up information in Peru. Both the Army and Navy had sizable staffs and, like the FBI, employed "native informants" to bring in tidbits about what the Germans and the Japanese were up to—the Italians hardly counted. It is not difficult to imagine how often this network of spies and counter-spies got tangled up and how many times agents were tailing each other. But the appetite for "intelligence" was insatiable and Washington archives must still bulge with the voluminous reports sent in by all the dedicated, eager gatherers.

In this atmosphere of suspicion and distrust, where every Japanese barber was assumed to be an admiral in disguise and every Japanese tailor a constant recipient of secret orders from Tokyo (suspicious documents and uniforms in at least one instance turned out to be relics of the Russo-Japanese war), I became fascinated with the story of the Japanese in Peru, how they got there, who they were, and what they were really doing.

Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, French man of letters often called an apostle of the return to nature and the champion of innocence and religion, wrote in 1784: "... from island to island, the nations of Asia made their way to

the New World, where they landed on the shores of Peru. Thither they carried the name of children of that sun whom they were pursuing. This brilliant chimera emboldened them to attempt the passage to America." Not that one should take Saint-Pierre's history too seriously. Lanson, whose *Histoire de la Littérature Française* we had studied in Paris, wrote, "The poor man! He wanted to explain nature without being a scholar and in ignorance of science This pitiable philosopher is a great painter." But some Peruvians and Japanese took Saint-Pierre's fiction as fact. They saw an affiliation between the sun goddess of Japan and the sun god of the Incas. One Peruvian writer, Francisco A. Loayza, after spending ten years in Japan, published a book in 1926 entitled *Manco Capac, founder of the Empire of the Incas, was a Japanese*. He supports his thesis by finding similarities between the Quechua and Japanese languages and between customs and institutions of the two cultures. The Japanese colony in Peru found it expedient to exploit this legendary affinity and in 1922 presented to the city of Lima a life-size statue of Manco Capac, the first chief of the Incas and high priest of their sun god. The President of Peru, Augusto B. Leguia, attended the ceremonies and lent credence to the theory of common Peruvian and Japanese origins in his remarks:

"Our ancestors must indeed have mingled in the remote awakening of the megalithic age. Profound archeological investigations continue to affirm the existence of similar remains in our two continents. Also equal . . . are the red and white symbols of our flags. And the sun is likewise inlaid in the throne of the Inca emperors and in the royal emblem of the Mikado."

The good president's knowledge of Japan was a little askew: Japan is hardly a continent and the emblem of the Emperor is the 16 petal chrysanthemum and not the sun.

In 1845, Peru needed workers, *brazos*. The country was like the Venus de Milo, commented a writer in 1891, *sin brazos*, without arms. Francisco Pizarro, the first immigrant to Peru, brought with him in 1531 50 black slaves, one third of them women. The Chinese began to arrive in 1849: 75 of them on a Danish vessel, the *Frederick*

Wilhelm. Thirty years later 100,000 Chinese lived in Peru. Contracted in Macao and packed inhumanly on "slave ships," from ten to 30 percent died during the four month voyage. Peruvian writers compare the curiosity with which Limenians of the 1850s stared at these strange Orientals with that which filled the Indians who watched for the first time Pizarro's negroes. The blacks, emancipated in 1855, reveled in their newfound freedom and, delighted to inflict upon others sufferings they themselves had experienced, immediately treated the newcomers as "slaves." Chinese immigration continued unrestricted until 1874 when a treaty signed in Tientsin provided that thenceforth travel between China and Peru could take place only with the consent of the travelers. Contract immigration was stopped in 1909. In spite of the thousands who came during the years after 1849, the high death rate at the time, the return to China of many, and a gradual process of amalgamation, reduced the Chinese population by 1940 to 10,000, of whom only 550 were women.

Although there was a technical difference between contract labor and slavery, the Chinese in Peru during the years 1849-1874 reaped few benefits from the distinction. Exploited by sugar plantation owners, manhandled by negroes and *cholos* (persons of mixed blood), cursed by politicians and journalists, they toiled doggedly and left their sweat in Peru's flourishing coastal agriculture. Manuel Gonzales Prada, an incisive and biting critic of Peruvian society, wrote in his essay "Our Aristocracy" in 1940: "The sugar-owning nobility should have a coat-of-arms inscribed with an arm brandishing a whip across the buttocks of a Chinese."

Japan's first official contact with Peru came through a Peruvian vessel, the *Maria Luz* which dodged a typhoon to seek refuge in Yokohama harbor in 1872. The ship was on its way from Macao to Callao with 230 Chinese coolies aboard, destined for the sugar plantations of Peru's coastal valleys. The Yokohama authorities, on the basis of Japan's treaty relationship with China and the discovery that the *Maria Luz* was indeed a "slave ship," released the Chinese and

sent the *Maria Luz* on her way. The Peruvians demanded indemnity and the two parties submitted the case to the Czar of Russia who in 1875 ruled against Peru.

By the census of 1876, fifteen Japanese resided in Peru. A few years later, in 1889, Takahashi Korekiyo, the finance minister who was assassinated by the young officers on February 26, 1936, made a trip of investigation to Peru on behalf of the Japan-Peru Mining Corporation. Nothing came of the venture but it marked the first sign of Japanese interest in Peru's resources. After abolishing the unequal treaties and winning a war with China, both of which occurred in 1895, Japan was ready for expansion overseas and turned to South America. The first immigrant ship, the *Sakura Maru*, docked in Callao April 3, 1899 with 790 passengers, all from the "emigrating prefectures," Niigata, Yamaguchi, Hiroshima, and Okayama, and destined for the coastal sugar plantations. During the next 23 years, nearly 17,000 farmers and laborers from the countryside of Japan crossed the Pacific legally to be absorbed in the farms and plantations of the land of the Incas. The years of highest arrival figures were 1908, 1913, and the five years 1925-1929, during which period 7,000 new Japanese settlers came to Peru. After 1931 the tide shifted, coincident with the beginning of warfare in China, the campaigns to encourage settlements in Manchukuo, and the drastic Peruvian restrictions enacted in 1936 and 1937. Every year, from 1931 through 1941, those Japanese who departed from Peru exceeded those who arrived.

No one knows how many Japanese illegally entered Peru. It was common knowledge that Peruvian passports were on sale to both Chinese and Japanese in Yokohama, Macao, and Hong Kong; the going rate at one time was 1,000 Peruvian *soles*. Peru's foreign minister during the 1930s admitted in 1941 that "administrative corruption" connected with immigration was rife and that certain Peruvian officials had been involved in the traffic.

The census of 1940, the first since 1876, put the number of native Japanese in Peru at 17,598, the *nisei*, or Peruvian citizens of

Japanese ancestry, at 8,290, making the total "Japanese" population 25,888. The figure of 30,000, accepted by the Embassy in 1942, including 10,000 *nisei*, was probably not far from reality.

While the origins of Peru's Japanese included every one of the 47 prefectures, more than a third were from Okinawa, or the Ryukyu islands. To the outsider this meant nothing—no one guessed that Okinawa would one day become temporarily an American "colony"—but to the Japanese residents and their families, the Okinawan element produced a clear-cut division in the community. Surnames immediately identified Okinawans; they spoke a language which was not the "Emperor's Japanese"; they were looked upon by their compatriots from *naichi* (literally the "inner land," the main islands) as the "little people," a step or two down the social scale from the true sons of Yamato.

The first Japanese immigrants to Peru were exclusively agricultural laborers. Soon, however, their inherent thrift and propensity for hard work started the movement from farm to town; the recently arrived settlers bettered themselves by selling artisans' skills and tending modest shops. Many plantation workers advanced to the status of *yanacones*, tenant farmers. In 1916 the Japanese minister, who then resided in Chile, requested the Peruvian government to allow, on a reciprocal basis, the practice in Peru of Japanese doctors and dentists. Peru's foreign minister indignantly rejected the proposal, asserting that reciprocity was impossible since no Peruvian doctor or dentist could find a career in Japan.

Carleton Beals, an American specialist in Latin America affairs, complained in 1937 that "the whole weight of the imperial Japanese government has been thrown behind the effort to gain a strong foothold in Latin America." He described the Japanese drive to exploit a vast cheap market for "civilized goods" among low income Indian consumers, a drive advantaged by cheap labor, depreciated currency, pooled distribution, and the low Japanese living standard which was close to that of most Latin Americans. Beals was alarmed at the political, cultural,

and racial appeal of the Japanese. For instance, they had promised to buy El Salvador's coffee in return for the recognition of their puppet state of Manchukuo. It was the same story heard so many times in so many decades from so many sources: unfair competition from cheap goods "made in Japan" underselling indigenous manufacturers.

The patent success of the Japanese won them enmity. For all to see, they were serious and industrious. They utilized to the full every hour of the day and every square meter of ground. They could outproduce and outsell their less energetic Peruvian competitors. They dominated certain classes of small business: the *bazaar*, the *cafetina*, the barber shop, and the bakery. In the narrow off-streets of Lima and in the dusty *barrios* (districts) of straggling, sun-cooked towns up and down the coast and even in the huddled villages of the *sierra*, the *bazaar* and the *cafetina*, both national institutions, were almost invariably identified by signs reading *Yamashiro*, *Matsuyama*, *Higa*, or *Tanaka*. The *bazaar* sold all the cheap goods the poor Peruvian needed; at the same time, he often resented it. As one foreign observer put it: "He feels instinctively that the Japanese earns his living from the toil of the poor . . . He is dimly aware that selling cheap goods, which are inferior to good ones, is an indirect form of usury." In the little, dark, cramped *cafetinas*, the radio blared popular songs while the *paisanos* of the neighborhood drank Japanese-produced *chicha* (a native drink made from corn) and exchanged the gossip of the day. Not surprisingly, these places became suspect as hotbeds of plots and propaganda.

The first Japanese Barbers Association was organized in Lima in 1907 and within fifteen years there were 100 shops in Peru. By the time the war broke out and the Japanese were driven from their businesses, the Peruvians advertised urgently for barbers and opened emergency barber colleges to train replacements for the ousted Japanese. More than fifty percent of Lima's bakeries were Japanese-owned. A "crisis situation" developed in poultry production in

1943 because of the large numbers of poultry farms operated by Japanese in and around Lima. The Japanese made the bodies of most of the buses running on the streets of Lima in 1942 and 1943. They were prominent in the manufacture of rubber products and hosiery; one company produced from ten to twelve thousand dozen felt and straw hats and berets annually. They had earned the reputation as the best plumbers and carpenters; their florist shops and greenhouses were the best known in Lima. Japanese were producing 12.5 percent of Peru's cotton and were growing cinchona and coffee in the interior.

The location of the Japanese disturbed our intelligence services, mobilized to combat enemy subversion. More than ninety percent lived along the coast or in the two cities of Lima and Callao. Callao was totally dependent on the Japanese for its daily supply of green vegetables. Japanese controlled 55 percent of the cotton production of the fertile Chancay valley, just 50 miles north of Lima. The most prominent farmer in Chancay was Okada Nikumatsu who operated six haciendas with an acreage of 2,750 hectares, mostly in cotton cultivation. Okada's life was a typical success story. He had come to Peru in the first group of immigrants in 1899. Through his own efforts he rose from common laborer to administrator of the six farms and leading business man in the Chancay valley. He was decorated by the Emperor in 1929, a fact which immediately marked him as a "potentially dangerous" Japanese. He was deported from Peru in June of 1942.

In early 1940 Peruvian officials were considering additional restrictions to supplement those already effected in 1936 and 1937. New laws would prohibit Japanese from owning land and would ban further immigration. On Saturday, May 11, the Senate met to debate the "Japanese problem." No action was taken but during the same weekend rumors circulated in Lima that arms had been smuggled to Japanese in Callao, that 25,000 rifles had been discovered on a Japanese farm, that 8,000 machine guns had been found concealed in a Japanese florist shop in Lima, that a crate containing an unassembled

airplane had been accidentally opened at the port of Chimbote, and that the police had come across caches of arms and ammunition in various towns, intended for use by a fifth column composed of from one to five thousand Japanese ex-soldiers. According to one report, American intelligence officers had been responsible for uncovering the plot. On Monday, May 13, several hundred youths, assembled in front of the offices of a Japanese steamship company in Lima, began

**"While investigators
were still sorting out
the results of the riots, a
disastrous earthquake
shook Lima and Callao
on May 24, which may
have suggested to the
Japanese that the
revenge of their gods
was swift."**

to shout "Down with the Japanese! Viva el Peru!" Stimulated by the growing dimensions of the arms stories, the crowd began to stone windows, smash doors and loot every Japanese establishment at hand. No one was killed but many were injured, mostly Peruvians, and about 600 business, farm, school, and private properties were seriously damaged. Both the Peruvian government and the Japanese Legation promptly and categorically denied the rumors of hidden arms and the Congress voted an indemnity for the riot damage (about half the amount requested by the Japanese). While investigators were still sorting out the results of the riots, a disastrous earthquake shook Lima and Callao on May 24, which may have suggested to the Japanese that the revenge of their gods was swift.

Two months after the May disturbances the government took another step, this time effectively to deprive *nisei* of their Peruvian citizenship if they returned to Japan for education or other purposes. Officials explained that this measure was "designed to coun-

teract a maneuver of Japanese subjects who although born in Peru were sent to Japan when 12 or 14 years old, in order to be exposed to the Japanese national spirit, serve in the army and complete the formation of the Japanese character."

By the time war focused American attention on the Japanese in Peru, the ground had been well prepared by the Peruvians themselves. Rarely has a foreign government cooperated so enthusiastically in actions urged by Washington.

It was in this early, post-Pearl Harbor atmosphere, with the shock still fresh, that we arrived in Lima in February of 1942. Peru, like all Gaul, was divided into three parts: *la costa*, *la sierra*, *la montaña*; the coast, the mountains (you went from sea level to 16,000 feet in a matter of hours), and the jungle. Outside of Lima and a few other cities, the population was largely Indian, descendants of the Incas, and speaking the Quechua language. Only 65 percent of the school-age children spoke Spanish; the remaining 35 percent spoke Quechua or other Indian languages. Of these, 65 percent were listed in the census as "without instruction." Quechua intrigued me and I took lessons in it for several months. All I can now remember is that it has one unpronounceable guttural sound which was phoneticized by a combination of three k's: kkk. I might interpolate here that I also studied Spanish which was essential for anyone living and working in Peru. I found learning Spanish like studying the piano: easy to begin but impossible to finish. The more I became engrossed in the language, the richer and more beautiful I discovered it to be. My two teachers urged me to poke into Peruvian literature and to practice translating English into Spanish. My translations of three articles I had written in Washington about Japanese nationalism were published in *El Comercio* under the pseudonym of *Ijin* (foreigner). Washington Patiño (his sister was named America, his brother George) was the enthusiast who guided my Spanish hand in these endeavors. He was a great teacher and a friend who dedicated himself to introducing Peru and Peruvians to me. One day Patiño

overheard a conversation in a barber shop in which a Japanese was speculating on who *Ijin* could possibly be: surely he must be someone who had lived in Japan.

Manuel Gonzales Prada held up to ridicule the Peruvian "aristocrats" who prided themselves on pure Spanish blood and their direct descent from Pizarro and his conquistadores. "Spanish blood," he wrote, "loses itself in morganatic unions and in the libidinous mysteries of bedrooms, so that the least Africanized of our young aristocrats has his whiteness diluted with ten per cent of pitch. One can discover the Anglo-Saxon in the 'black minstrels' of the United States in spite of the blacking smeared on their faces; in our noblemen, the berber sticks out through the white lining; only the pigment and the kinky hair are lost. The minstrels are white flour in blackened sacks; the others resemble rock coal in ermine sacks." The Japanese, unlike the other races, including the Chinese, did not mix. They sent for "picture brides" from Japan; more than half of the Japanese population was female in contrast to five per cent for the Chinese. This fact contributed to the solidarity of the Japanese colony.

The war to the Peruvians was a far-away fire. Not directly involved although pro-Ally in sentiment, they set about to enjoy the advantages, and these included war on the Axis economic stake. The measures taken against Axis nationals, including the restrictions on location and business, the blacklisting of firms, and the deportations, were welcomed for their destruction of unwanted competition. So-called patriotic Peruvians, inspired without doubt by economic motives, vied with each other to give information—for a price—to various competing American intelligence agencies about suspected acts of sabotage or suspicious persons or incidents which suggested espionage. We were always hearing about strange lights signaling enemies from lonely beaches.

Pressured by American authorities, the Peruvians zealously imposed controls on the movements and activities of Germans and Japanese. The Japanese were restricted in the following ways.

(1) All Japanese schools, organizations, and newspapers were closed and Japanese were frequently arrested for illegal assembly. The colony had maintained 27 schools where 4,000 students were taught in Japanese by 113 Japanese teachers. We compiled a list of 102 Japanese organizations, ranging all the way from the Japanese General Society with a membership of several thousand to something called the Amagusa Social Club. Two Japanese dailies, the *Peru Jiho* and the *Lima Nippo*, were published until December 7, 1941, when the *Nippo* carried these banner headlines: JAPAN AND AMERICA COME TO WAR . . . UNITED STATES INSINCERE IN CONVERSATIONS . . . STRUGGLE OF THE CENTURY BREAKS . . . JAPAN'S PATIENCE SNAPS.

(2) Japanese were prohibited from traveling outside their home communities without special permission from the local authorities.

(3) All licenses for hunting, fishing, and possession of arms were revoked.

(4) Responding to an American suggestion, the Minister of Government ordered the removal of 355 telephones belonging to Japanese.

(5) Although no systematic plan of relocation was instituted, as in California, Japanese residents of certain "strategic" coastal cities were moved to points in the interior.

(6) By decree of March 22, 1943, the government ordered canceled the naturalization papers of Axis subjects "who may engage in subversive activities or in propaganda for systems contrary to democracy."

Although severe, we in the Embassy doubted that these regulations were being strictly enforced. We learned that travel restrictions were administered haphazardly, that in some areas Japanese were traveling freely, provided they carried always for emergency purposes a few 10-sol bills. Furthermore, in spite of orders, naturalization continued; at least two Japanese were naturalized to our knowledge.

To break the economic influence of the Japanese, the Peruvians froze their funds on December 8, 1941 and placed 566 Japanese business concerns on the "proclaimed" or black list. Laws designed to im-

plement the resolutions of the Rio conference empowered the government to control Axis firms and to nullify contracts covering rural property. The latter regulation forced Japanese to leave their rented land or to labor as peons at a daily wage. In 1943 the government assumed the right to expropriate agricultural, industrial, and commercial business of Japanese.

This economic warfare, as it was called, crippled but did not destroy the Japanese economic stake in Peru. I wrote in the report I prepared for the Embassy on October 9, 1943:

"Numerous changes of ownership have occurred without benefit of law, companies have been reorganized, and the Japanese have been quick to discover ways and means of safeguarding their own interests. Frequently, businesses have been placed in the names of sons who possess Peruvian citizenship or of Peruvians whose participation in the enterprises is nominal only. In other cases sales are said to have been made on the basis of tacit understandings with the Japanese owners, assuring the latter of a substantial equity at the end of the war. No single case is known of the Peruvian government having acted to expropriate Axis property . . . in accordance with the degree of April 10 . . . It is agreed by most observers that in spite of inefficiency, delay, graft, and the machinations of the Japanese, economic warfare against them has been in the main successful. The larger enterprises, including farm lands, factories and commercial houses are no longer in Japanese hands. With a few exceptions . . . they are out of the business picture for the duration."

But security and economic controls were not enough. The American government urged the deportation and internment in the United States of Axis nationals from Latin America. Twelve nations responded to the American offer and expelled both Japanese and Germans to the United States for custody. More than 2,000 of those who left their Latin American homes were Japanese. From April 4, 1942 until July 9, 1943, during the period I was in Lima, the Embassy participated actively in the expulsion from the country and transportation to the United States of 1,024 Japanese, of whom 399 were women and children. They were sent in groups on seven ships and one Army transport airplane at irregular intervals during this period.

The first evacuation vessel, the

S. S. Etolin, left Callao on April 4, 1942, carrying 141 Japanese who had volunteered for transportation to the United States. These were among a total of 978 Japanese who had expressed to the Spanish Embassy, in charge of Japanese interests, a desire to leave Peru. On subsequent sailings no volunteers were accepted. The object of the program was to expel those enemy aliens whose continued presence in the country presented a danger to hemisphere security. In December 1942 General Marshall apparently suggested that Japanese brought from Peru might be exchanged for American prisoners of war held by the Japanese. No such exchanges ever took place and we in the Embassy were unaware of the proposal. In selecting the deportees, since no proof of guilt existed, it seemed logical to mark for detention those individuals who by their influence or position in the community, their known or suspected connections in Japan, or by their manifest loyalty to Japan, could be considered *potential* subversives. Their selection process, to be reasonable, demanded reliable intelligence based on research into the activities of the Japanese who were then living in Peru. Since no one in the Peruvian government or in the Embassy, except me, spoke or read Japanese, this research task fell largely to me. My friend and colleague, Rolland Welch, performed the same task with respect to the Germans.

One of my more exotic Embassy duties was to read the intercepted mail of the Japanese. The Peruvian police had for some time fretted about the possible subversive nature of correspondence which no one could decipher passing among members of the Japanese community. My presence was greeted enthusiastically as the solution to their dilemma. Regularly a police officer would appear at my office with a huge batch of mail bearing Japanese names and addresses and wrapped carefully to conceal its identity. Anyone who has studied Japanese appreciates the vast difference between handwriting and the printed word. Japanese usually wrote in a form of script called *sosho* which means "grass writing." To the uninitiated, a Japanese handwritten letter looked as though pieces of grass had been

dipped in ink and gracefully squiggled up and down the page. In our Tokyo language study we had made no effort to learn *sosho*. It was enough to understand the newspapers; reading handwritten letters was beyond the call of duty. Fortunately, because of personal interest, I played around a little with handwriting but never became proficient in reading it. But I could never admit to a Peruvian official, nor even to my own Embassy col-

"I failed to find a single letter which divulged bomb plots, secret trysts, contemplated assassinations, codes or even plans to signal a Japanese ship from a lonely beach."

leagues, that I, as a proclaimed language officer, could not decipher an ordinary Japanese letter! So I made the best of it! Through sheer concentration, the wearing out of a dictionary, and a generous application of imagination, I managed to discover generally what the Japanese were writing to each other about. To the deep disappointment of the Peruvian intelligence officers, however, I failed to find a single letter which divulged bomb plots, secret trysts, contemplated assassinations, codes, or even plans to signal a Japanese ship from a lonely beach. I therefore could never confirm the rumors being constantly whispered to our legal, army, and naval attaches by their conscientious paid "informants."

One day my police contact came to me triumphantly. He had found what he was sure was the most suspicious document of all, a mysterious printed card, obviously detailing secret instructions to saboteurs. I looked hastily at the card which, because it was printed, I could read easily. I had to tell a crestfallen policeman that he had brought me a wedding announce-

ment! Later I thought what a mistake I had made. If I had just concocted a secret plot, no one would have known the difference and how very happy I would have made my friend!

I did learn some things about the Japanese community. In Japan I had heard very little about Okinawa. It was the forgotten 47th prefecture, the one the Emperor had never visited, and since we had no consulate there and no one ever thought of spending an Okinawan holiday, the existence of these islands scarcely penetrated my consciousness. In the letters Okinawa cropped up time and again. One Japanese wrote to another:

"... The ones who seem to want to leave Peru are the *little ones* (Okinawans)... On the next boat the passengers will not all be Okinawans I understand, but most will be from Japan proper."

Another gossiped:

"... I have heard rumors that K. M. has married a certain Okinawan by the name of Higa [Higa is the most common Okinawan name: 372 of our 11,000 Japanese registered in Lima-Callao were named Higa]... In the first place, it is a great mistake to marry an Okinawan. I have a feeling of great disappointment at hearing that the daughter of that household has married an Okinawan. I should say that even if by so doing, a girl would get S/30,000, she should never marry an Okinawan."

Another letter-writer slandered the Okinawans:

"... I didn't want to go to the wedding but, for fear of gossip, shut my eyes and went anyway. Since they went to Lima we have received not one letter but that is just like Okinawans."

Some of the Japanese letter writers affirmed their loyalty to their mother country:

"... Not only soldiers serve their country. Every Japanese without exception is in this war. We here in this country are in the front lines."

One ominously referred to "blood" in expressing his patriotic sentiments:

"... I listen with the utmost attention to every word and every syllable uttered on the radio. If there is anything we can do in this war, in which 100 million souls are of one heart, then we should be ready to do it even at the sacrifice of our blood."

Still another, in the Japanese tradition, penned a poem:

"... We hear the voice of the storm
But our hearts are strong.
We are proud to be sons of men of Yamato!

When I came back home I wrote this poem . . . When we think of our fighting forces in the bitter cutting cold of the Aleutians or in the burning heat of the South Pacific fighting and giving their lives, then the persecution which we are receiving here amounts to nothing."

My conclusion was that the second generation Japanese in Peru did not feel the same degree of loyalty to the country of their birth as that which the American *nisei* so dramatically demonstrated by their participation in the war. The Peruvian citizens of Japanese birth never faced that challenge. Still there must have been many who wanted to prove themselves as Peruvians. One intercepted communication appeared to be notes for a speech to be delivered by a *nisei* entitled "The Loyalty, Standpoint and Attitude of the Japanese Nisei in Peru." The writer calls upon the *nisei* to make known their unquestionable loyalty as Peruvians. He cites the praise for the American *nisei* expressed by Secretary of the Navy Knox after a visit of inspection to Hawaii and concludes that to be loyal to Peru is to be loyal to Japan:

"... the descendants of Japanese are not destined to be used as cat's paws by Japan's power.

"The merit of the Japanese race and the glory of our blood shine throughout the world. Therefore the highest and greatest mission of the sons of Japanese race is to display the spirit of Yamato in the place which gave us birth. To carry out the meaning of loyalty without reservation and to become a part of the country in which we live are the great duties which we owe to our mother country.

"If unfortunately Peru and Japan should be forced to war, then Peruvians of Japanese race should fight as Peruvian soldiers against the Japanese forces. In the end, to draw arms against Peru is to draw arms against Japan."

It was natural that we should cooperate with our Chinese allies. Our two embassies were on good terms and I quickly became acquainted with a bright, young, able officer on the Chinese Embassy staff named George Woo. Although his father had served in the Chinese diplomatic service, George (or Jorge, as he called himself in Lima) had lived for a number of years in Peru and was trilingual in Spanish, English, and Chinese. We decided that the 10,000 Chinese in Peru, loyal to the Allied cause,

ought to be willing to help in our investigation of Japanese activities in the country. George and I formed a Chinese-American alliance and tirelessly traveled up and down the country, to villages and towns, large and small, both in the coastal region and in the hinterland, seeking information about the Japanese colonies. Invariably the Chinese and Japanese existed side by side and were engaged in many of the same kinds of small business endeavor. Everywhere we were feted by the local Chinese associations; we moved from banquet to banquet. Except for my later experience in Yenan I have never eaten such delectable Chinese food. I made speeches in broken Spanish and drank innumerable toasts to Allied victory in war and to undying Chinese-American friendship.

We were inescapably conspicuous in these towns: there could be little that was secret about our mission although we whispered to our Chinese friends while warily looking sideways. The Japanese must have known all about us; still we heard in one village that the rumor was going around that a mysterious German and a Japanese were traveling together for some unholy Axis purpose. We gathered masses of information in the various communities about who the Japanese were and what they were doing and picked up dozens of lurid rumors. But we learned nothing reliable or convincing about subversion. George and I became fast friends and saw a lot of Peru together. I tried to suppress any awkward thoughts that our lavishly hospitable Chinese hosts might be inspired not only by patriotic zeal for the Allied cause but by a back-in-the-mind coveting of their enemies' business. In any case our trips were a triumphant demonstration of allied solidarity: *viva el Peru, la China, y los Estados Unidos!*

Lacking incriminating evidence, we established the criteria of leadership and influence in the community to determine those Japanese to be expelled. We prepared lists which we presented to the Peruvian authorities. These authorities, committed at least personally if not officially, to the expulsion of *all* Japanese, treated our suggested lists rather lightly. As the second and third ships departed, it became

clear that the passengers who actually embarked were not the ones so carefully identified by us. What was happening was that the more affluent Japanese were finding that a well-placed monetary contribution would bring immunity from deportation just as it had eased the restrictions against business. Besides, to the Peruvian police who rounded up the deportees, a Japanese face was a Japanese face.

In February 1943 the sixth contingent of Japanese was due to leave from Peru's northern port, Talara, on the *S. S. Frederick Johnson*. Consultation in the Embassy and particularly with Raymond L. Ickes of the Department of Justice, who visited Lima in connection with the deportation program, established the consensus that since we were receiving the aliens we must insist that the individuals we designated were the ones to be expelled. The ambassador therefore asked me to go to Talara to check personally the embarking passengers with the Embassy's list and gave me authority to reject any not approved by us. On the ship I spoke to the Japanese only in Spanish, to keep our "secret." One or two expressed surprise that I was able to pronounce their names with such a good accent.

I looked into the faces of these humble, bewildered people, shopkeepers, farmers, carpenters, barbers, fishermen, starting out involuntarily on a voyage to an unknown future. These were not spies, saboteurs, bomb throwers, plotters-against-the-state. One of our picked "leaders" was Juan Saburo Koide, president of the Japanese Association of Trujillo and in Peru since 1908. His career was probably suggestive of that of many of his more successful compatriots. He had progressed through an amazing series of occupations to his position of leadership in the Trujillo colony. He had engaged in the bakery business, the carriage business, in truck gardening, antiques, club management, and wholesale merchandising. In 1929 he had returned to Japan, married, and within five months had come back to Peru with his wife. For six years he had been a prominent member of the Trujillo Rotary Club. That night in the bare, dark, barracks-like wardroom

of the *Frederick C. Johnson* I talked at length with Koide about his past and about his present state of mind. He spoke quietly, without evident bitterness or anger. He regretted that he had not returned to Japan with his wife who had left Peru in March of 1941. He insisted—and I was impressed by his earnestness—that the Japanese in Peru were loyal to their adopted country and that he and his fellow countrymen tried to live by the high moral precepts of *Bushido*. He believed that only a few of the Japanese were interested in political questions or were personally concerned with Japan's war against the United States. Most of them thought only about their personal welfare and their chances of making a decent living in their present homeland, Peru.

Juan Saburo Koide was being sent off to internment because he was judged a threat to the security of the Western Hemisphere.

Checking the passengers from behind a little grilled window in what I suppose must have been the purser's office, I found that many who presented themselves were not identifiable on any of our lists. Others we were expecting were "no shows." Acting on the ambassador's instructions, I refused to accept anyone whose name did not appear in the rosters we had prepared. Those so eliminated left the ship with gleeful faces.

A few days later, at a conference back in Lima, the chief of police, an energetic, blustering, roly-poly, little man named Miry Teran, was livid with rage. Gesturing wildly in despair, he turned to me: "*Pero donde están mis presos?* Where are my prisoners?" He had apparently emptied Lima's jails of miscellaneous vagrants and petty miscreants with Japanese faces and sent them off to Talara. Good riddance and money saved to the state. The generous Americans would take this riffraff off his hands. But I had dared to liberate his prisoners! I have often wondered what became of these freed felons who wandered off into the Talara night.

As time went on and deportations continued, a subtle change began to occur in the attitudes of the beleaguered Japanese in Peru. The letters which started to come back from the camps in Texas and New Mexico may have played

some part in this change. The letters said, in effect: "Come up and join us! It's not so bad here. We see movies twice a week and eat chicken on Sundays." The purpose of the well-placed gift suddenly shifted. Instead of paying to stay off the ships, influential Japanese were now paying to get on!

By the summer of 1943 it became clear that the Japanese colony in Peru was not a threat, if it ever had been, to the defense of the hemis-

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phere. The last ship with which I had anything to do left Callao on July 9, 1943, taking only women and children who wished to join their husbands and fathers already interned in the United States. Shortly after this I told the ambassador I thought my job was done. No one was any longer worried about the Japanese colony and he had no further need for a Japanese-speaking Foreign Service officer on his staff. He was reluctant to let me go. Parkinson's law is not easily reversed and any diminution in staff is a blow to the prestige of the post. Luckily I was saved from a continuing pleasant, though pointless, residence in Lima. My friend Larry Salisbury wrote personally from Washington to ask whether I would be interested in an assignment in the China-Burma-India theater of war. The job might be dangerous and I would have to be separated from my family for a period of up to two years. He could guarantee, however, that the experience would be "interesting." After hesitating only long enough to consult Dorothy, who agreed with qualms but brave understanding, I wrote Larry that I welcomed the assignment to the CBI.

The ambassador kept me on as long as possible and it was October before I finally flew to Washington, leaving the family to spend another six months in Peru before settling for the duration in Colorado. I had time to write my report on the Japanese in Peru and we took advantage of the opportunity to spend a last quick vacation in Arequipa, Cuzco, Machu Picchu, and La Paz, Bolivia.

As I look back on the Peruvian experience I can feel no pride to have been part of the Japanese operation. One steeled oneself against the heartbreak being inflicted on hundreds of innocent Japanese caught up in a war-generated hysteria which marked each of them a suspect. It is hard to justify pulling them from their homes of years standing and herding them, whether born in Japan or in Peru, on ships bound for a strange land where they would live in concentration camps under conditions which at best were difficult, in spite of chicken on Sunday. Of course we were at the same time interning our own citizens in relocation centers and the Latin American republics in solemn conference assembled had sanctioned the actions we were taking in Peru. Incredible as it may seem, intelligence services reasoned at the time that Japan's war strategy included plans for an attack on the west coast of South America. We knew that Japanese army and naval officers had been unusually active in the Latin American republics during 1941; the Peruvian Legation in Tokyo had issued 47 diplomatic visas to Japanese in 1941, 15 of which went to military officers. We took seriously a letter which the Japanese military attaché in Lima had purportedly written on January 20, 1942 to the Chief of the Peruvian General Staff threatening that Japan's fleet would destroy air and naval bases on the Pacific coast of the American continent, aiming primarily at the Panama Canal and would attack all shipping near the Pacific coast, especially merchant vessels in service between North and South America. He promised that neutrality would offer Peru not only immunity for its maritime traffic but lucrative trade with Japan "when the latter has completely assured control of the Pacific."

Continued on page 56

" 'They order,' said I, 'this matter better in France.' "—Laurence Sterne

France, NATO and Tactical Nuclear Weapons

JOHN R. COUNTRYMAN

For the first time since General de Gaulle declared his independence of NATO, both the political needs of France and the military needs of the alliance may dictate a closing of the gap. Vehicles for increased cooperation could be the advent of the French tactical nuclear weapon, the Pluton, and NATO's own arguments about what to do about its tactical nuclear arsenal.

To understand the possibilities now open for greater cooperation between the NATO alliance and France one must look at the political situation in France, at the concerns of the alliance regarding nuclear strategy, and the link between these two provided by the Pluton. This weapon which was unveiled in 1975 and is due to go into full service this year, is, as we shall see, a weapons system in search of a European role.

Developments both domestically

and outside her borders over the past few years have gradually drawn France into greater cooperation with NATO. The first and most important of these developments has been what many observers describe as a decline in Gaullist foreign policy. This has resulted in French cooperation in many NATO activities—in the early warning system against Soviet attack, in the "Eurocom" tactical communications system, in the NATO oil pipeline, in NATO maneuvers and in nuclear targeting.

The pull on France toward NATO is seen as deriving from two additional factors. The first is the necessity to offer the substance and not merely the shadow of military cooperation with the rest of Europe, if France is to maintain a strong voice in Europe's non-military councils and if she is to continue to derive the many benefits of European cooperation in the economic and political realms. Beyond this, there is a growing number of French critics who point out that maintaining a divided Europe is the best way to insure continued US preeminence on the Continent—something which Gaullism has always sought to avoid.

The second reason impelling France toward greater cooperation with NATO is financial. The cost of modern weapons systems is simply too high to permit a nation like France to develop and procure all or even a great part of the weapons she knows she must have to be credible as an "independent" force. For example, in late 1975, President Giscard d'Estaing all but abandoned the idea of a balanced *force de frappe* when he elected not to go ahead with the *avion de combat futur* (ACF), otherwise known as the Super Mirage, which was to have been the French long-range nuclear strike aircraft of the 1980s, comparable to the US F-111 and the Russian MIG-23.

The composition of the 1976 French defense budget also reveals the degree to which France is feeling cost pressures. The overall French defense budget rose to \$11.5 billion in 1976, a 14.2 percent increase over 1975. But inflation and increased personnel costs caused a decline in defense expenditures in real terms. Inflation rates in France have reached 12 percent

to 16 percent in recent years, and consequently the budget for defense, in terms of actual buying power, has declined by 25 percent in three years. Moreover, a total of \$6.66 billion of the 1976 \$11.5 billion budget was eaten up by personnel costs.

If the imperatives of European unity and the pressures of rising military costs are pushing France toward greater cooperation with NATO, what is preventing fuller integration? There are two reasons. First, though the Gaullist ideology is fading, it is still strong, and President Giscard d'Estaing needs continued Gaullist support for his current programs. Second, French "independence" has practical advantages. France, by being non-integrated and non-standardized, can sell her arms more easily. And one must remember that France is the world's third largest arms exporter after the United States and the Soviet Union.

All of this means that we are still a long way from seeing France reintegrated into NATO. NATO headquarters has not been recalled to Paris even though there is a French observer at NATO headquarters; the United States is not permitted to maintain supply bases in France; French troops are still not in their allotted sector along the German-Czech border. Most significantly as we shall note later, France has been unwilling to deploy its tactical nuclear weapon, the Pluton, in West Germany.

It was noted earlier that though Gaullism is on the decline, it is still a potent force. Consequently, France's search for a more active European role, though a clear imperative of current policy, will continue to be inhibited by the requirements of "independence." Nowhere has this been more apparent than in the policy statements accompanying the unveiling of France's own most recent and ambitious foray into tactical nuclear weapons, the Pluton missile.

The Pluton, which has been in the planning stages since the mid-60s, was first shown off in the annual July 14 parade in 1975. It is mounted on an AMX-30 tank chassis and carries a nuclear payload of between 15 and 20 kilotons. It has a current range of 75 miles. The Pluton will go into full service in 1977 with an estimated 110 weapons to

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be distributed among six artillery regiments.

Former Prime Minister Chirac gave the best statement of the purpose and conditions for employment of the Pluton in an article "Au Sujet des Armes Nucleaires Tactiques Françaises," which appeared in the May 1975 issue of the French military journal *Défense Nationale*. M. Chirac discusses the three reasons why France wishes to have tactical nuclear weapons. First, France does not want anyone to have a monopoly on such weapons. This is the old Gaullist cry for independence. If the United States and the Soviet Union have tactical nuclear weapons why should not France? Second, tactical nuclear weapons give France a strategy with more nuance and effectiveness. The availability of tactical nuclear weapons avoids the stark alternatives of surrender or carrying the conflict to the most extreme level of violence. This is an argument familiar to US planners, who have for some time insisted that the United States must have an alternative to backing down before local Soviet pressure, or unleashing a strategic nuclear holocaust. Third, M. Chirac sees tactical nuclear weapons in a European context. He noted that France wishes to play a role in the defense of the continent to which she belongs, in keeping with her capacities. Significantly he adds that France cannot make a sanctuary out of her territory; she must look beyond her frontiers. Additionally he contends, tactical nuclear weapons, because they are both French and authentically European, bring to the defense of Europe by their very existence a contribution of which France's allies—and France herself—have not really determined the extent. This last statement is particularly significant and we shall have occasion to return to it later.

M. Chirac next turns to the specific role of the Pluton. Its first virtue, he says, is that it enables France to link the nuclear risk to a geographic area and in a manner which does not lend itself to errors of judgment. The second virtue of Pluton derives from the fact that being an organic part of the French First Army, its engagement signifies that tens of thousands of Frenchmen have assumed the risks of war and that the commitment of

the First Army makes France appear really determined to fight with every means at her disposal.

Though the Chirac statement contains many generalized formulations, what is clear is that France sees the Pluton as giving her an independent capability to decide on what geographical area and under what circumstances she will manifest a national will to resist aggression.

Shortly after the Chirac statement and the appearance of the Pluton in the July 14 parade, it became clear, however, that the debate over the deployment and precise use of the Pluton in a European context had only begun. Once again France was caught between her own demands for "independence" and the requirements of European cooperation.

France's dilemma was clearly posed by Jacques Vernant in the August-September 1975 issue of *Défense Nationale* in an article entitled "Paris-Bonn et Les Problèmes de la Défense." M. Vernant sees three possible solutions to the problem of how the Pluton could be integrated into any joint defense scheme with the Federal Republic of Germany. The first would be to keep the Pluton stationed on French territory. He recognizes that this would mean that initially the weapons would not be available where most needed. But he maintains the weapon is mobile. The second solution would be to initially deploy the Pluton on German soil. But this would necessarily involve French participation in the NATO Nuclear Planning Group, something which France would not accept. On the other hand, to station the Pluton on German territory without reference to the Planning Group would be unacceptable to the FRG which would be faced with having two separate unintegrated tactical nuclear weapons battle plans in operation on its soil. The third solution would be to have a bilateral agreement between France and Germany involving a "two-keys" arrangement, but this would be inconsistent with the FRG's obligations to the NATO Nuclear Planning Group. M. Vernant is forced to end his article with the uncomfortable conclusion that though it is theoretically advantageous to deploy the Pluton in the FRG, the proposal collides with

some very real practical difficulties. When one puts the Chirac and Vernant statements together, it is clear that the Pluton is a weapons system in search of a European role.

What sort of advantages can be drawn by US and NATO planners from the current situation? Can France help us elaborate a more effective strategy for the defense of Western Europe involving tactical nuclear weapons? Can we assist the slow crabwise movement of France toward even closer cooperation with—if not integration within—NATO? And, specifically, can the Pluton be made of real practical value to NATO in a military sense, despite the seemingly conflicting requirements of French independence and NATO solidarity? I believe that the answer to all of these questions is "Yes." But Western leaders will have to exercise imagination, patience and flexibility.

I believe that three practical steps can be taken toward achieving the goals noted above. First and foremost, public debates in the United States and in Europe should take cognizance of France's tactical nuclear capability and of the Pluton specifically. By bringing the "French factor" into our calculations—however tentatively and with whatever reservations—we would gain immediate political advantages in our relations with France. In his statement above, M. Chirac made a clear play for NATO and US recognition of the potential contribution French forces—particularly the Pluton—could make to European defense. Our recognition of this potential would go a long way toward showing that we are sensitive to the requirements of French pride. It would also indicate a movement away from the classic Anglo-Saxon prejudices, which dictate that people who make superior champagne and ladies' underclothes cannot be taken seriously in more technical and martial areas. We would also reveal our readiness to help France find an expanded European role for its military forces.

At the same time, our concerns about a possible role for French tactical nuclear weapons need not be couched in terms designed merely to cater to French sensibilities at a cost to our own inter-

ests. Polite but firmly articulate mention should be made of the inconsistencies and problems which result from a French policy which calls for both independence and cooperation, particularly in the military sphere, where contingency planning is so important and given the modern battlefield where events move so rapidly.

Second, consultations with the French about their own plans for the use of the Pluton could help us clarify and even solve some of the more nagging problems in our own tactical nuclear weapons' employment policies. Major objections to the employment of "mini-nukes" in conjunction with a policy of early use and forward defense by NATO in Western Europe have been voiced by many academic and other civilian leaders. It has been contended, for example, that such a policy "unnecessarily reduces the opportunities for diplomatic efforts to neutralize the crisis"; and that the composition of NATO's tactical nuclear weapons' arsenal and its command and control structure make it difficult to restrict tactical nuclear weapons use to the immediate battlefield and preclude any limited employment for purely demonstration purposes.

This is not the place to enter into a full discussion of the pros and cons of tactical nuclear weapons' use in the defense of Western Europe. However, because it is known that the French generally favor some kind of demonstration use for tactical nuclear weapons in the event of conflict, consultations with them in this area could be particularly productive. Planners in the United States recognize the weakness of any US or NATO plan to set off a low yield nuclear device in some unpopulated area and away from heavy concentrations of Soviet troops as a "demonstration" or "signal" of our resolve in the event of attack by the Warsaw Pact. The argument, with which I am in full agreement, runs that such "demonstration" use of a tactical nuclear weapon, far from showing resolve, would indicate vacillation and lack of purpose, and would probably encourage the continued aggression it is designed to stop. But if the use of a demonstration explosion by NATO would be taken as a sign of weakness, would

this necessarily be the case with France? I believe not. If one or two Pluton nuclear missiles were used against Warsaw Pact aggression this would show a degree of French resolve heretofore probably not appreciated by the Soviets. Furthermore, France would be making a practical and unambiguous contribution in an "independent" manner to the defense of Europe; the Soviets would be faced with some awkward choices in their next move; and the continued availability of French forces of all kinds to NATO would be virtually assured because of the initial decisive nuclear step. In addition, advance provision for a French "demonstration shot" would quiet criticism in the United States and Europe which demands gradualism in crossing the nuclear threshold and the time for diplomatic maneuver such an approach affords.

It might be argued that France would be unwilling to bear the onus of being the first to employ tactical nuclear weapons and would fear Soviet retaliation against targets in France. I believe, however, that the Soviets would be slow to retaliate against France and that, therefore, a French resort to tactical nuclear weapons would be less likely to trigger automatic nuclear escalation of the conflict, because France does not pose the ultimate threat to the Soviet homeland.

On a practical level France might make a bilateral agreement with the FRG for a Pluton demonstration explosion and have the FRG advise the NATO Nuclear Planning Group of where and under what circumstances such a use would be made. NATO feedback to the French could also be made through the FRG. The existence of a "demonstration effect" contingency plan, would by its very existence complicate Soviet planning, would give France a real role in European defense, and would get around the otherwise very formidable problems involved in integrating an independent French tactical nuclear weapons employment policy within existing or future NATO plans.

An additional avenue to get France into more active cooperation with NATO on tactical nuclear weapons planning would be to make use of NATO's Eurogroup. This organization, set up in 1968

and made up of the ten European members of NATO (including all the EEC countries except France and neutral Ireland), aims at aligning European defense and above all arms procurement policies.

There are already indications that France is moving to cooperate on arms programs under some independent European umbrella outside NATO itself. France might be encouraged to elaborate her own strategy for employing tactical nuclear weapons beyond the demonstration phase and feed them to the Eurogroup, perhaps under the guise of providing background information in connection with joint arms procurement policies. This would be an untidy procedure and would initially at least not involve much real joint contingency planning, let alone joint maneuvers. But it would at least force the French to clarify their own thinking and give NATO an idea of where and to what extent French tactical nuclear weapons forces might be available in time of crisis.

Finally, it would provide one more forum in which to demonstrate to the French some of the problems attendant on a French policy of "independent cooperation."

It has often been stated that the French will be there if and when the balloon goes up, but the question is will they be in the right place at the right time?

In the United States and NATO we can fret over this situation and indulge in the luxury of showing our irritation with France; or we can accept the fact that the still operative strictures of Gaullism demand an independent French policy in defense as in other areas, and accordingly do everything possible to derive military and political benefits from France. In the present context giving continued attention to possible roles for French tactical nuclear weapons in the defense of Europe in general, and specifically to the use of the Pluton in a demonstration role, plus a further dialogue about tactical nuclear weapons' employment through the Euro-group could bring us long-range political and military benefits.



To Slow the Arms Race

THE GAME OF DISARMAMENT: *How the United States and Russia Run the Arms Race*, by Alva Myrdal. Pantheon Books, \$15.00.

President Carter has placed a new agreement on strategic nuclear arms at the top of his negotiating agenda with Russia, and has set forth in his inaugural address a most ambitious long-term disarmament goal for the United States—the *elimination* of nuclear weapons from the earth. President Nixon and President Ford defined our nuclear disarmament goals in much less far-reaching terms, and the preservation of a nuclear retaliatory capability, not its elimination, has been regarded by both hawk and dove in this country as essential to the maintenance of mutual deterrence and strategic stability. Only the Chinese, among the nuclear powers, have been talking about the elimination of nuclear weapons, and the Chinese voice on this subject has had an unmistakably rhetorical ring.

The idea of eliminating all nuclear weapons evokes the concept of “general and complete disarmament” which was the agreed objective of post-war disarmament negotiations until tacitly abandoned in favor of a more limited and realistic approach, in the early 1960s. Thereafter, “limitations” rather than “disarmament” became the key word in the lexicon of the arms controllers. The pragmatists took charge.

But now President Carter, while apparently still prepared to start from where we are and to inch forward step-by-step, has rekindled our idealism and broadened our vision in his call for the elimination of all nuclear weapons.

There are formidable obstacles in the way of achieving President Carter’s goal.

Even if all nuclear weapon countries, including Russia and China, agreed to quite intrusive inspection arrangements—an exceedingly remote and distant prospect—nuclear weapons could probably still be hidden from the eyes of the most diligent and prying inspectors. Because of this difficult and unsolved verification problem, the SALT I agreement, for example, limits de-

livery vehicles or launchers, not the nuclear warheads themselves.

Apart from this technical verification problem, it seems unlikely that any of the nuclear weapon states would relinquish the deterrent capability of their nuclear weapons until their security is guaranteed equally well by other means. Until politics replaces conflict in governing international relations, survival will seem to depend on the capacity for self-defense. Thus, the elimination of all nuclear weapons may be far beyond our political reach until we have also established a worldwide rule of law.

Even though such idealistic goals as the elimination of nuclear weapons and the worldwide rule of law are necessarily very long-term, they are, nonetheless, relevant to our immediate and short-term problems. Progress in achieving arms

“On the other hand, if we and the Russians sought parity in each element of our strategic nuclear capability, we would add a powerful stimulant to the arms race.”

control and in establishing the primacy of politics in relations among states must go hand in hand; it is difficult to believe that we will obtain a SALT II agreement—a modest step toward the President’s goal—if détente is shorn of all its other content.

Alva Myrdal of Sweden, a veteran participant in arms control negotiations, stands in a neutral corner and is thus able to take a detached view of current arms control efforts which, she believes, lag distressingly far behind the accelerating arms race. She makes many sensible suggestions in this comprehensive survey of *The Game of Disarmament*, some of which bear directly on President Carter’s goal of reducing and eventually eliminating nuclear weapons.

Mrs. Myrdal takes strong exception to the view that nuclear parity between the two superpowers is necessary to stability. Few would agree that parity is necessary for

deterrence; we and the Russians can destroy each other with a fraction of our present nuclear capability. But many argue that the perception of parity is important for political reasons—a view advanced by many in the Department of Defense or, in the then Senator Mondale’s words, the Department of Psychology. The parity which SALT II will establish between the United States and Russia in the number of launchers and missiles with multiple warheads should help end our disruptive internal debate over Russian intentions and over the issue of superiority. Neither will be superior. Both will have the same number. On the other hand, if we and the Russians sought parity in each element of our strategic nuclear capability, we would add a powerful stimulant to the arms race. The Russians would have to catch up with us in accuracy and in numbers of warheads and bombers. We would have to catch up with the Russians in throw-weight and in numbers of land-based ballistic missiles and sea-based ballistic missiles. Mrs. Myrdal’s point is an important one.

To slow down the nuclear arms race between the United States and Russia, Mrs. Myrdal favors “a series of reciprocated moves, unilaterally initiated, not necessarily agreed in advance.” The concept of mutual or parallel restraint, perhaps based on informal understandings to remove the curse of unilateralism, has strong support in Congress. It was embodied in the Vladivostok Resolution which was introduced in the Senate in January 1975 by Senators Kennedy, Mathias, and Mondale and which had 42 co-sponsors and the endorsement of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Furthermore, the Russians responded positively to the idea when it was proposed to them during informal and unofficial talks in Moscow last November.

Mutual restraint by the United States and Russia in the development and deployment of new weapons—long-range cruise missiles, mobile ICBMs, or maneuverable reentry vehicles—would be a practical and effective way to make progress toward the goal President Carter has set forth. To eliminate nuclear weapons, we need first to stop adding new ones.

—DAVID LINEBAUGH

Diplomacy of Violence?

UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY AND WORLD ORDER, by James A. Nathan and James K. Oliver. Little, Brown, \$10.95 (paper).

This is a provocative book, and one that representatives of the United States ought to read. In their extended, interpretative treatment of American foreign affairs since 1945, the authors advance the thesis that the United States has shaped the postwar international order by means of the calculated use of threats and pain, that is, a "diplomacy of violence." "More than a decade of American policy," the authors note, "has been predicated in large measure on the assumption that force could be productively wedded to diplomacy." They argue that the foregoing view has produced a disastrous collision between external methods and domestic values and institutions, with the result that the present generation of young adults is "stunned, not stupid"—stunned into a virtually complete lack of interest in public discussion of American national interests and national security. This condition, the authors believe, is dangerous for the United States; its amelioration requires recognition that the realities of interdependence may be more important to American foreign policy than are the modalities of a diplomacy of violence.

It is well for the authors that their theme is so clearly intriguing, for in detail their book is both flawed and irritating. The authors apparently possess contempt for historical studies. Their information and evidence is so uneven in quality as to give the impression of haphazard research. Their discussion of Western interventions in Russia in 1918-1919, for instance, rests on sources both dated and limited, with blissful inattention to the numerous and important writings on that subject both old and recent. The authors embrace a variety of New Left "atomic diplomacy" à la Alperowitz, with no apparent realization that among professional historians such views have been 99.9 percent discredited within the last three years. It is dis-

concerting to find such lapses, and many others, side-by-side with relatively sound and up-to-date treatments of other issues such as the outbreak of war in Korea; certainly it increases the difficulty of evaluating the book, whether for review or for personal use. One must also warn the literate readership of this periodical that frequent errors of grammar and syntax mar the volume.

Despite the problems mentioned above, the book is stimulating enough in thesis to command an audience. Even some of the errors are likely to lead the reader to worthy reflections on just what has gone wrong, or right, with American foreign policy in the last 30 years. Although the ideas of violence as a hallmark of American foreign affairs, the close relation of domestic and foreign affairs, and interdependence all have received much attention in recent literature, the authors of the present volume have an original treatment that justifies serious attention.

—THOMAS H. ETZOLD

Beware The Lobbyist

THE POWER PEDDLERS — *A Revealing Account of Foreign Lobbying in Washington*, by Russell Warren Howe and Sarah Hays Trott. Doubleday, \$12.50.

Lobbying on behalf of foreign interests is a major industry in Washington. Contrary to public belief, it is not illegal when the lobbyist is properly registered and does not resort to bribes. The subject obviously lends itself to investigative journalism, and the trouble with such journalism is that the reader is often left with the impression that certain activities are illegal, or at least questionable, when they may be perfectly above board and within the law. Except for the muddying of this distinction by a generally ominous tone and breathless delivery, "The Power Peddlers" is an interesting compendium of all kinds of foreign lobbying in Washington.

Here you will find, *inter alia*, a dissection of the China lobby and its more recent counterpart, the pro-Communist China lobby. There is a rather full recounting of how Mrs. Anna Chenault is supposed to have made President Thieu throw the 1968 election to Richard Nixon; how the Rhodesia lobby defeated efforts to repeal the

Byrd amendment; information on the Israel lobby and the dark doings of Mr. Tongsun Park; the hectoring of State Department officials by the Dodd committee's hearings on behalf of Mr. Streulens and his Katanga lobby; the efforts of East-West trade proponents to forestall and later to repeal the Jackson-Vanik amendment; how one expatriate Greek, Ilias Demetracopoulos, kept stoking the fires against the colonels' regime; and much, much more.

There are some inaccuracies, and sometimes when lobbyists have been active the outcome is automatically ascribed to their efforts when other explanations would be more plausible. For instance, the granting of MFN (most favored nation) treatment to Romania was much less the result of lobbying than of a policy of the executive branch that was found plausible by our legislature. The book can be read for amusement and titillation, as a tentative reference work or, as the authors seem to have intended, as an expose of machinations that cry out for reform. While some of its facts require checking, it is in general an accurate, though selective and one-sided, presentation of facts with which we all need to be familiar.

—M. F. H.

Cuba's Lost Maidenhood

CASTROISM AND COMMUNISM IN LATIN AMERICA, 1959-1976, by William E. Ratliff. *The American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace*, \$4.00.

The distinctions and rivalries between Latin American subversive groups willing to accept a moderate pace toward social reform and others urging headlong violent revolution are traced in this scholarly study of communist and castroite political parties during the past 20 years. The former are placid under Moscow's leadership, while the latter agitate under Peking's. As the pages of history have turned, Fidel Castro now is tall among the moderates, his leadership brushed aside by extremists, though they still find it helpful to march under his name.

The schism created by Castro's endorsement of the 1968 Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia has become virtually unbridgeable as

the once maidenly Cuba has had to yield to the rapacious Soviet embrace. It could have been expected as a logical outcome of the evolution of Cuban policy, which no longer, Havana insists, tries actively to export revolution. Despite the waning of Chinese influence during the present decade, communists and castroites still see eye to eye on the urgency of combating United States "imperialism."

This invaluable handbook offers descriptions of the compositions, goals and shifting affiliations of leftist groups, complemented by a useful six-page glossary of their identifying acronyms. It also presents a blow-by-blow chronicle of the interminable and intricate doctrinal polemics with which leftists belabor one another as they squabble over the proper paths to power. No ideological hair has remained unsplit as they wrangle on the high unsullied plane of theory: but the reader's eyes will be opened to the verbosity and bitterness of their intellectual jousting.

Policy-makers and students of Castroism and Cuba should read this concise volume, not only for its

intrinsic merit but because it bears critically on the warming question whether tensions should be relaxed between Washington and Havana, and relationships perhaps renewed.

—JOHN P. HOOVER

A Thorn to South Africa

A CRICKET IN THE THORN TREE: *Helen Suzman and the Progressive Party*, by Joanna Strangways-Booth. Indiana University Press, \$12.50.

Helen Suzman represented the Progressive Party in the South African House of Assembly for 13 years. While in theory the Progressive Party was allied with the United Party and both together constituted the opposition against the ruling Nationalist Party, the United Party in fact exerted only half-hearted opposition during most of that period. Helen Suzman always demonstrated courage and intellectual force, but she came to be ostracized by the main opponent, the United Party, hammered at and hated by the Nationalists. Nonetheless she was the lone voice of dissent in a racist parliament, the sole focus of the unenfranchised non-whites, and thus more than

just an opposition MP. She could never rely on the United Party for any kind of moral support. Without her presence, the voice of liberalism in South Africa would have been stifled in 1948 when the Nationalists first came to power. This book concerns itself with the life of this remarkable woman who represented a suburb of Johannesburg so faithfully and so well.

The book makes for nauseating reading. The Progressive Party, which stood for the enactment of a multi-racial government, felt itself obliged in the late '50s to break away from the official opposition United Party. Yet both the United Party and the Nationalist Party came to feel that South Africa could maintain its isolation indefinitely and categorically rejected Suzman's (and the Progressive Party's) contention that sooner or later a settlement would have to be reached between moderate whites and moderate non-whites. For advocating such ideas, Helen Suzman was condemned, her Jewishness made the object of public ridicule, and she was generally ostracized. The Nationalist Party likened her

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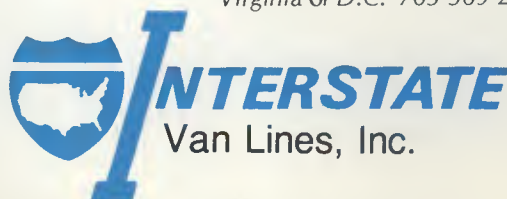
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speeches to the chirping of a cricket in a thorn tree, stating that the chirping made one deaf as the tune remained the same year in and year out. She was admired as a fighter, not only by the Nationalist Party, but more especially by the leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graff. It was only in 1974 that the South African Government began to concede that possibly Helen Suzman's ideas might have some merit. The author states that this listening was due only because the South African "world" was collapsing on all sides; i.e., the Portuguese empire was something of the past; Rhodesia was becoming more and more isolated, thus exposing South Africa's flank; and the number of racial riots throughout the country was increasing.

The book is required reading for anyone interested in minority politics. Having said this, the writing style used by Strangways-Booth is laborious and tiresome. There is intricate detail given such incidents as the split from the United Party; friction between Suzman and Sir de Villiers Graff; and party organizing activities and the role Suzman played in this. Other incidents such as the infamous Sabotage Bill and the personal allegations of complicity made at the time of Prime Minister Verwoerd's slaying receive only brief mention.

—ROY A. HARRELL, JR.

Love Story

TELL HIM THAT I HEARD, by Patricia Hangen, Harper & Row, \$7.95.

Pat Hangen, wife of Welles Hangen, head of the NBC bureau in Hong Kong, has written a love story of their life together until he was captured May 31, 1970 in Cambodia. Like Foreign Service wives, Pat was with her husband on his overseas assignments, sharing the excitement, and setting up households, which eventually were more complicated by the addition of two children. With great skill she intertwines their personal story with worldwide political events.

After Welles's disappearance, Pat had several psychic perceptions about him, but no hard information. For seven long years she has lived with awful uncertainty, but kept her faith, courage, and dignity. Her book is a testimony to the strength of true love.

—LUREE MILLER

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DIPLOMACY

from page 9

cepts of society in which the individual is like a cell in a living organism. Such governments might well reject, at least for now, Western human rights if given a free choice. Others would probably give priority to basic economic justice over political rights (in a little-noticed policy shift, the US has acknowledged in the UN Human Rights Commission the parity of economic and political rights). These preferences, if actually and extensively present in a country, should be fully and sympathetically reported, but two cautions are important. It is vital not to fall into the trap of justifying a repressive, but efficient, government by "Mussolini made the trains run on time" arguments. Second, most countries have accepted the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the Helsinki Accords, or some similar commitment to Western-style human rights, and in the end our job is to represent a government, people, and society profoundly, if not always consistently, concerned

with these rights and the democratic values of which they are part.

In sum, our objective should be to achieve with totalitarian governments what used to be called in our profession (before the idea somehow crept in that inter-governmental relationships could only be cordial or hostile) "correct" relations. This means a relation which serves mutual interests effectively in a detached and businesslike way, reflects respect for each other's sovereignty, and frankly recognizes without rancor extreme and basic differences in values and political systems.

Some of our Foreign Service predecessors took considerable pride and pleasure in exercising their diplomatic skills in preserving the delicate balance of this kind of relationship. Our skills are not less than theirs, and if we use them well and consistently, we can stabilize the effect on foreign relations of our people's and government's reinvigorated concern for world-

wide human rights and political freedom, even if that concern never achieves integrated and consistent expression in our instructions.



FÖHN

*A casement window cracks a warning
leaves in handfuls swirl upward
and away
the mountains are moving in on us
the hills advance*

*Across the lake
houses and trees line up for battle
The wind commands
like a squadron of fighter planes
it zeroes in
unpredictable and sure*

*We who walk the Bahnhofstrasse
asleep
stir uneasily
the waves repeat the mountains'
profile
black and foreboding*

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JAPANESE & AMERICANS IN PERU

from page 47

During my period of service in the Embassy, we found no iota of reliable evidence of planned or contemplated acts of sabotage, subversion, or espionage. Stories that many adult male Japanese in Peru held commissions in the imperial army and navy were never verified.

Much later I learned something of the problems faced at the end of the war by the Peruvian Japanese who had been forcibly interned in the United States. The Immigration and Naturalization Service found that they were enemy aliens who had entered the United States "illegally." In 1945 an inter-American conference in Mexico City recommended that any person who had been deported for reasons of security should be prevented from "further residing in the hemisphere, if such residence would be prejudicial to the future security or welfare of the Americas." On September 12, 1945, the United States

by presidential proclamation authorized the Secretary of State "to remove to destinations outside the limits of the Western Hemisphere . . . all alien enemies brought to the United States from other American republics who are within the territory of the United States without admission under the immigration laws." The Peruvian government had in the meantime announced that it would permit the return of no Japanese who had been deported from its territory. Thus, the Japanese could neither return to Peru nor remain in the United States. Their plight can be understood. Many were Peruvian citizens who had never known Japan; to go there would be to start life yet again in an alien land, with little if any knowledge of the language and no inkling of the conditions they would face.

What actually happened after some years of bureaucratic delays, legal interventions, and complicated negotiations, was that some returned to Japan, a few finally found their way back to Peru, and

many remained in the United States. Some of them found employment on the Pacific coast and in the East, especially at Seabrook Farms in Bridgeton, New Jersey, a large fruit and vegetable canning concern. Many became naturalized citizens, married Americans of Japanese ancestry, and served in the United States Army.

The forcible detention of Japanese from Peru, arising out of a wartime collaboration among the governments of Peru, the United States, and the American republics, was clearly a violation of human rights and was not justified by any plausible threat to the security of the western hemisphere. To try to understand it, one must put oneself back into the atmosphere of the times. The war against Japan was a total war. After the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, the enemy was deemed capable of any act, no matter how unreasonable or unlikely. The enthusiastic exploitation of prejudice, hatred, emotion, and covetousness became respectable and acceptable.



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NOT FOR WIVES ALONE PART II

from page 16

ing to see how women—both in and out of the Service—re-learn to work with each other as supportive sisters.

In Foreign Service terms, perhaps, the most significant move in this direction is the AAFSW Forum. It has recently surveyed wives, formulated recommendations and submitted them to the Director General and the Deputy Under Secretary for Management. In so doing, wives are both dealing with specific concerns vital to their lives and talking and working together in new ways. It is to be hoped that this step, which has put AAFSW and WAO directly in contact with all wives for the first time, will mark a shift towards a more inclusive feeling both within and without that organization. It is also to be hoped that their recommendations are given serious consideration.

But how wives work together is but one parameter of community. The larger, perhaps more determining, one is how the Foreign Service

and wives re-learn to work and communicate together. If wives (families!) and their needs are not truly recognized, if they are ignored, if they are shunted aside as not being of sufficient importance, if they are dealt with cosmetically, there can be no community, there can be no "meaningful relationship." There can only be an adversary atmosphere within which the tender sprouts of community will die. How things are done will be as important as what is done.

So the strands twist back to the center of the cat's cradle. What is the relationship between wives and the Foreign Service? Where lies the responsibility, not for the past, but in the present for the future?

The relationship is clearly interdependent. The Foreign Service and wives must both face this fact. Of necessity, there is probably more of a relationship than some wives would like and less than others want or need. Beyond this, there seems to be no clear consensus among wives about the "wife problem" and there probably will not be. Many wives, suggests

Katharine Baker, a sociologist and Foreign Service wife, in a recent study (*FSJ*, Feb. 76), are reluctant to plumb the question fully—as are many employees, their husbands—because it is a question which probes to the core of their own lives. It implies a threatening choice between one's marriage commitment and one's evolving personal identity.

There does seem to be a rough division between wives. There are those who do not want to be a part of the Foreign Service in any way, who want overseas the detachment and non-involvement that is possible in Washington. There are wives who want—or do not mind—involvement but want it acknowledged, appreciated, respected and recompensed where appropriate. There are those, too, who are noncommittal, who have already made their accommodations, who feel they are too far from the centers of power to bother.

As we focus on the relationship and its problems, it is important—for wives and the Service—to remember that for all the unhappy-

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ness, hurt and anger, for all the frustrations which they live with and sometimes succumb to, for all the pleasure many women find, most Foreign Service wives handle a difficult set of responsibilities in a superb fashion. That they do does not mitigate the problems or obviate the needs. It is also important to remember that, just because some of the friction is societal, we do not need to wait for society to solve it. As members of the broader society, wives, husbands and the Service must address our share of common concerns. And to insist upon total consensus before beginning to untangle things is a recipe for disaster.

If there is a sense of common ground among this diverse group of Foreign Service wives, it seems to me that they are saying that they want for themselves and the Foreign Service a flexible relationship which permits and respects within it a variety of choices and life-styles. New systems need to be structured which foster this flexibility. The Forum report suggests possible structures based on documented needs. While the re-

sponsibility for systems must ultimately rest with the State Department, wives want to be treated as respected persons through them and want to make contributions toward devising them.

Many are further saying they feel that, in order to make flexible restructuring possible, the Foreign Service is responsible for clarifying its own needs and requirements of wives in a more realistic fashion. Wives need to know what the true limitations are—if any—on being a private person. They need to know how much participation is needed, wanted, required, accepted, recognized, optional. Wives must see themselves as equal beneficiaries in the adventure before the demanding price becomes worth continued payment. Wives need to be a part of the clarification process. Clarification may help some families responsibly decide their future relationship to the Foreign Service. Like Paris, the Foreign Service life may not be everyone's cup of tea. Like Ouagadougou, it is not a way of life where everyone can "make it." More than many other kinds of life, the Foreign Service is a family

affair.

There is going to be change, either thoughtfully and constructively or by default. Either way, it will not be easy nor is the way clear. Those involved will need the combined virtues of Solomon, Job, Portia, and Woody Allen. We have a choice, now, between working together or drawing even more rigid sides. In structuring the change, it is as important not to remove the sustaining pride from wives who need to say "we of the Foreign Service" as it is not to remove the sustaining independence from wives who draw their internal strength from other identities. Great care must be taken to conserve the good in *old* ways while fostering the renewal possible in *new* ways.

With determination, good will and a sense of humor, the Foreign Service "wife problem" can be unsnarled. But not by wives alone. To do so, wives, employees, husbands—and the Service need to look with greater sympathy and understanding toward one another and recognize our mutual need of support.



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LETTERS TO FSJ

On "Terrorism and Diplomacy"

 Having lost three of my close friends and Foreign Service contemporaries to terrorism, and having been myself high on the Viet Cong assassination list, I am hardly one to question David FitzHugh's concern with certain aspects of the American policy of "no concessions" in dealing with this international problem.

I do take strong exception, however, to FitzHugh's charge that "the majority of terrorist attacks come from one group or another under the umbrella of the Palestine Liberation Organization." Not only is this contradicted elsewhere in the article by reference to the many diverse elements around the world using terrorism as a political weapon, but by the fact that Black September is not a member of the PLO and its activities have been repeatedly disavowed by the PLO leadership, including Yasir Arafat.

In repeating the old Israeli myth re the continuing Arab intention of pushing it into the seas—a threat, incidentally never made by any responsible Arab leader—FitzHugh has very clearly aligned himself with the hard-line Israeli position on refusing to deal with the Palestinian issue and its continuing reference to the PLO as a "terrorist" group with which it can *never* negotiate. In this portion of his article, in fact, FitzHugh reveals a hatred of the Arabs and emotional espousal of Israel hardly consonant with the fair and balanced view of other peoples usually associated with the Foreign Service.

Fortunately, both Secretary Kissinger and now Secretary Vance, have a more accurate perception of the centrality of the Palestinian issue in the Arab-Israeli conflict and of the developing character and position of the PLO with which both Israel and the US will inevitably have to deal.

May I add in conclusion, that the AFSA telegram to the French Ambassador on the Abu Daoud affair represents less than full knowledge of the facts surrounding the action of the French Government and would seem to illustrate AFSA's increasing involvement in

issues where it has inadequate competence and often no business being involved at all.

DAVID G. NES
FSO-1 retired

Owings Mills, Md.

Reply from the Author

 Many thanks for the opportunity to respond in the same issue to David G. Nes's strong letter. I should like to refer him to an interesting article entitled: "Lebanon: The Insane War," by James M. Markham (*The New York Times Magazine*, August 15, 1976), in which Markham states:

"In 1974, at the Arab summit meeting in Rabat, the Palestine Liberation Organization was anointed as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. . . The PLO is an umbrella organization, its membership extending from out-and-out capitalists to some of the Arab world's most determined Marxist revolutionaries. The goal of its left wing is revolution in the Arab states themselves. . . and the extinction of Israel."

The United States Immigration and Naturalization Service published an unclassified intelligence briefing paper on Palestinian terrorism under "the umbrella organization" of the PLO, which paper included the Black September Organization. This briefing states:

"The PLO, frustrated in its efforts to organize an effective network inside Israel, have (sic) internationalized their struggle. Consequently, many Palestinian terrorist attacks have taken place outside Israel."

The briefing then goes on to list those organizations under the umbrella of the PLO which are willing to consider a negotiated settlement with Israel and those which are not. But I would defer to Mr. Nes's viewpoint, that it would have been more accurate to write "a large number of terrorist attacks" rather than "the majority," since there are, as he points out, a number of other organizations involved in terrorism which do not come under the umbrella of the PLO. *Mea culpa!*

I must disagree, however, with Mr. Nes's clairvoyance of Henry Kissinger's "accurate perception of the centrality of the Palestinian issue" and my "hatred of the Arabs and emotional espousal of Israel." Mr. Nes has overstated both and obviously has inferred

more than either Kissinger or I have implied.

Since Mr. Nes has taken me to task on only a small portion of the article, I should like to believe he is in general agreement with the rest of it. I think we will both be well served and content if the Department takes another look at terrorism and comes up with a more realistic response.

DAVID FITZHUGH

The Cost of Living Increase

 The rising cost of living has always been with us. But perhaps the most unusual request for a cost-of-living increase was that sent to the Mayor of Paris by Sanson, the executioner, in August 1792 (a particularly busy summer for the man in charge of the guillotine).

Sanson got straight to the point. "The method of execution practiced today costs at least three times as much as the former method, irrespective of the increased cost of living."

He was, however, a man not without good taste and delicacy, as he argued: "I must have trustworthy helpers, for the public insists on decency."

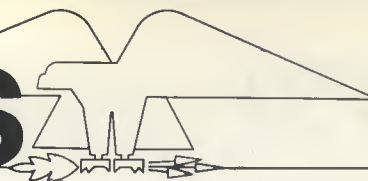
At the same time Sanson's humanitarianism came through: "I have. . . other family expenses like having to look after one's parents and old infirm servants, who have sacrificed their lives to this service and who have a right to a decent treatment." (Quoted from Pernoud and Flaissier, "The French Revolution", pp. 277-78.)

Perhaps if the Department of State had argued as forcefully as did Sanson we might have had cost of living increases much earlier. But then, maybe the Department's case wasn't as clean-cut as was Sanson's—during that long summer of 1792.

JOE A. ROBINSON
Falls Church, Va.

The JOURNAL welcomes the expression of its readers' opinions in the form of letters to the editor. All letters are subject to condensation if necessary. Unsigned Communications will not be considered for publication. Send to: Letters to the Editor, Foreign Service JOURNAL, 2101 E. Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

AFSA NEWS



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

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

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SENATE COMMITTEE SEEKS INFORMATION ON DEPARTMENTAL POLICIES AND PRACTICES

The new International Operations Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee recently addressed a wide range of questions to Secretary of State Vance. It was explained that the desired information will be used by the Committee when considering the Administration's FY 1978 authorization requests for the State Department, USIA and the Board for International Broadcasting. Many of the questions relating to personnel management reflect earlier discussions that AFSA representatives recently had with the Committee's staff members.

Questions of particular interest to AFSA members include the following (question numbers are those as shown in the Senate letter):

19. (a) How and on what basis does the US restrict the employment in the United States of the family members of foreign diplomats assigned here? Conversely, how and on what basis are Foreign Service family members restricted abroad? Can US corporations with offices abroad hire Foreign Service spouses without restriction? (b) Please discuss the feasibility of bringing about, bilaterally, or multilaterally, a relaxation of such restrictions with a view to facilitating the employment in foreign economies of Foreign Service spouses.

40. Please discuss the feasibility of the Department maintaining a Spouses Skills Bank to insure that US Missions

abroad give first priority in hiring to suitably trained Foreign Service family members.

16. (a) What new approaches are currently being considered by the executive branch to combat international terrorism?

(b) What is the feasibility of a multilateral agreement under which each member country agrees to prohibit its commercial aircraft from flying into any country in which minimal security requirements (as determined by an appropriate international authority) are not in effect?

25. Please provide a complete account of events and findings relating to the matter of microwave radiation at the US Embassy in Moscow.

35. A 1976 GAO study found fundamental deficiencies in the foreign language capabilities of State and USIA employees stationed abroad; the study identified a general "failure to follow language training policies and procedures" and criticized "the assignment of officers to language-designated positions who had partial or no language training." Please provide a detailed account of actions which have been taken toward overcoming this shortcoming. If additional funds are necessary, please discuss. Does the Department believe that language training should, as a matter of course, be available to Foreign Service spouses?

27. Please list the members of the new advisory board on ambassadorial nominations, including brief biographical information, and provide a description of the decision-making process of

which the board is a part. Why is the Foreign Service not explicitly represented on the Board? Is the board also making recommendations on non-ambassadorial positions?

28. The report submitted on January 7, 1977, in response to the Pell amendment requiring the Department to develop a plan for the improvement and simplification of the State-USIA personnel system, is a start toward reform. What are the Department's current plans in this area?

29. What was the level of out-of-pocket representation expenditures by Department employees during FY 1976? What is the basis for that estimate? Is it the Department's intention to reduce this figure in the future through increased use of appropriated funds? List the posts where US Ambassadors incurred out-of-pocket expenditures, and the approximate amounts, in FY 1976. What are the Department's intentions regarding the extraordinary expenses at certain US posts in Europe which have traditionally been met by the private wealth of ambassadors? Can these not be met through the use of Representation funds? How were Ambassador Richardson's representations expenses handled in London? Is the "Emergencies in the Diplomatic and Consular Service" account ever used for this purpose?

31. Please detail what has been done thus far to implement the Pearson amendment requiring that "a substantial number of FSOs be given one-year 'grass-roots' assignments before their 15th year of service."

32. What are the Department's current plans regarding the longstanding issue of State-USIA reorganization? Has a planning group been established? When does the Department expect to have this issue resolved? What are the Department's views regarding the proposal to reestablish the Voice of America as a separate entity operating under the supervision of a Senate-confirmed board and without executive branch control?

33. Please discuss the implementation and adequacy of the Departmental grievance procedure enacted in 1975.

34. It is a common complaint that the FSO pay scale, while comparable to that of the Civil Service, does not provide comparable cumulative benefits because of the slower rate of promotion in the Foreign Service. In the Department's view, does this situation require redress?

AFSA PREXY ADDRESSES ADMINISTRATOR GILLIGAN

AFSA President Woodring addressed the following letter April 4 to new AID Administration John J. Gilligan:

"Congratulations on your confirmation as Administrator of the Agency for International Development. Members of our Association look forward to serving with you in what we hope will be a period of institutional renewal and growth within AID and the official foreign affairs community.

"As you know, the Association is the exclusive employee representative for Foreign Service personnel of the Agency for International Development and the Department of State under Executive Order 11636. That Executive Order and its implementing regulations together with current agreements and procedures constitute a well-established relationship which we hope to continue and improve in the period ahead.

"The Association serves a dual function. In addition to its representational activities, it is also a professional organization open to all members of the foreign affairs community, a role it has played for over fifty years. Within the parameters of this role, the Association may initiate dialogues with management on matters of policy and mission, subjects often discussed at the highest councils in the Agency.

"We expect our relationship with the foreign affairs agencies' management to continue through the established channels. However, we look forward to meeting you personally, Thursday, April 7 at 10:30 a.m., to discuss certain issues in which we hope you will take a direct interest, including the following:

"Organizational and Legislative Reform

"AID has endured sixteen years of legislative patchwork which has produced a profusion of procedural and policy barnacles. We believe it is time to review our mission in the development field, simplify our procedures for doing our business and adopt modern business methods in planning, programming, and evaluating our activities. We stand ready to work with management to bring about the necessary reforms.

"Foreign Service Employee-Management Relations Legislation

"We have found that Executive Order 11636, which governs employee-management relations in the three foreign affairs agencies, has a number of weaknesses, notably its excessively in-house character. We support legislated federal employee-management re-

lations, but believe that the Foreign Service is sufficiently different from the Civil Service to warrant continuing separate treatment. We hope to solicit your support to explore with us the possibility of agreement on appropriate amendments to the Foreign Service Act.

"Assignments Procedures for Foreign Service Personnel

"Following a period of lengthy negotiations, AFSA and AID jointly developed the Precepts for Foreign Service Assignments. The Precepts, issued July 1976 by the Agency, are guidelines for the AID Foreign Service Assignment Boards; however, we are concerned with the consistent disregard of these guidelines.

"Occupational Backstop Codes

"The Agency established a special task force in April 1976 to review and recommend necessary changes in AID's current occupational backstop categories. We believe the report provides some excellent recommendations. We note with concern that the Agency's recent draft proposal to realign occupational groups ignores the realities of current operational requirements in the Agency and is silent on the possible implications of these groupings to the future mission of AID.

"Career Counseling and Development

"We believe that AID's most valuable resource is its personnel. The utilization of its people in a timely and efficient manner and with regard to Agency requirements as well as individual career development needs is a difficult but necessarily primary concern for all of us. We believe the establishment of an effective career counseling system by AID is central to a solution to this problem. . . .

"Thank you in advance for your consideration of this letter. We look forward to meeting with you."

THINKING ABOUT COLLEGES?

Do you have a child who will graduate from high school in 1978 and is planning to go to college? If so, write now to the colleges of your child's choice for catalogues and applications for admission to the class of 1982. For counseling assistance contact: Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center (FSECC), 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037; phone (202) 338-4045.

GRIEVANCE ISSUES

The March issue of the Department of State *Newsletter* carried an article prepared by the Department entitled "'Smith' wins, State loses: a grievance board case history." Though AFSA had not seen the article in advance, we are pleased to see that the Department wants to spread the word that the grievance process works. We note with disappointment, however, the references to a "closely-fought contest" and to "litigation." The grievance procedure is a flexible procedure established to enable an employee to process his own case, with or without assistance—and certainly without legal assistance, except in the most complicated cases. This is an administrative process, and the atmosphere should not be (and generally is not) that of legal adversary proceedings.

We also note—here, with bemusement—that for all the detail in which the Department reports on this case, they managed to omit the one portion of the ruling which may be of broad interest to all employees. Part of "Mr. Smith's" complaint had been considered by the Department under the informal procedures of the old Interim grievance procedures, and the Department had accorded some relief, though the grievant thought it to be inadequate. The Department contended that since he had not appealed the decision to the Grievance Board at that time, the new Grievance Board lacked jurisdiction to consider that aspect of his case. The Grievance Board said, "The Board has found that the provisions of Section 663.7 in no way constitute a bar to the Board's consideration of grievances which were earlier brought before the Agency for resolution under Section 664 of 3 FAM." While the circumstances of each case differ, this means that the Grievance Board may be able to consider your case if you brought a grievance under the old system and weren't satisfied with the result, if you did not appeal to the old Grievance Board. We thought you'd like to know.

JOIN AFSA
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COMMITTEE ON EXTRAORDINARY DANGERS AND TERRORISM REPORT

Terrorism: There continues to be a high-level of concern abroad and in Washington about the inflexibility of our present terrorism policy. This subject was discussed with Secretary Vance by AFSA President Woodring and other Board Members in a February 23rd meeting. We continue to urge a high-level review of our policy and would appreciate any views or comments from the field on this issue. AFSA believes the Department should implement our policy along the lines and recommendations recently made by a Rand Corporation study which severely criticized the present rigid approach. We also believe that more effective action should be taken against countries that harbor, support, or release terrorists.

URGENT NEED FOR CORRESPONDENCE GUIDE

The so-called "current" Correspondence Handbook is long out of date, having been issued in 1956 - or 21 years ago!!

AFSA has long complained against the inordinate delay in publishing an updated version of this all important manual. As stated in a recent AFSA letter to Management:

"The most important tool for Secretaries is the Correspondence Handbook, as was recognized by the Secretarial Task Force when it recommended (No. 46) that 'The 1956 Correspondence Handbook should be brought up to date.' Responsibility to form an inter-office working group to bring it up to date was assigned to the Directives Staff of O/FADRC. The publication date for the new Handbook was set for October 31, 1975.

"We have been informed on several occasions that the project was near completion, but apparently it has been pushed aside for 'hot projects.' Now that the deadline is almost eighteen months overdue, we think that the Correspondence Handbook should also be treated as a 'hot project.'

"We believe this is a proper matter for consultation, since it affects working conditions of the employees within the authority of the foreign affairs agency. On behalf of all Foreign Service personnel, and in particular the Secretaries, I would appreciate your prompt attention to this matter and, if possible, a firm date when we can expect completion."

The alleged attackers of our Embassy in Cyprus still await trial in that country and we will provide our members with more information when it is available. As of this date, no further information has been made available about the killers of Ambassador Meloy or FSO Waring in Lebanon.

Moscow: The Johns Hopkins epidemiological study continues at a slow pace and has not, as of April 12th, completed its study protocol. AFSA has nominated a highly qualified expert in environmental science who also is a medical doctor as our representative to a review committee for this study. We are awaiting peer group approval of this nomination. Cooperation with the Department in this area has been less than satisfactory and there appears to be a continuation of the previous management's attitude of secrecy and unwillingness to be forthcoming in providing basic information about the health of our employees who served in Moscow.

We have also asked for the basic data from the US Army's sampling of water in Moscow to determine whether or not there are contaminants in the water and whether such tests are being conducted in an effective and careful manner.

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TAX DEDUCTIBILITY OF HOME LEAVE EXPENSES

On April 4, 1977, the Hitchcock case, in which AFSA is sharing expenses with the Thomas Fund, came for oral argument before the 4th Circuit Court (see *FSJ* November 1976). The three-judge court sitting in Alexandria listened attentively and cross-questioned the government's and the taxpayer's lawyers. The court appeared interested in whether it might be possible to have the taxpayer deduct only meals and lodging expenses, but both lawyers argued against. The decision will not be forthcoming for several months.

This is but one example of the legal actions which have very seriously depleted the money in the Association's Legal Defense Fund. The Fund's activities in support of its cases in court provide the cutting edge to the Association's representation of its members' interests. What we cannot settle justly through administrative procedures, on certain occasions may have to be settled through outside legal action. The Association is completing procedures to ensure that contributions to the Fund will be tax deductible. Continued support of the Fund is urgently needed.

FIRST REVISION TO AFSA KEYMAN MANUAL ISSUED

In early April the Association sent out to all Washington Keypeople and AFSA Representatives abroad the first revision to our AFSA Chapter and Keyman Manual issued in 1976. The purpose of the Manual is to assist AFSA Reps at home and abroad in understanding AFSA's rights and to afford them the requisite information for effective representation and aid to the Members at their posts.

Revisions include a complete rewrite of the Grievance section, new and fuller listings of AFSA Committees, Staff, and Keymen and Chapter Representatives, and the Regulation on Chapters.

AFSA Reps and Keypeople who do not have the Manual should write to AFSA, Room 3644 N.S. to obtain a copy.

WHEN HAVE YOU BEEN TO YOUR F.S. CLUB?

Your Foreign Service Club has been spruced up and improvements will continue to be made into late spring. Thanks to the willing volunteer work of a couple of faithful members, the restaurant and private rooms upstairs have been painted an attractive antique white. This shade sets off a number of tasteful artworks which have been loaned to the Club by members.

A good eavesdropper well trained at international receptions, diplomatic and otherwise, has overheard large numbers of contented members and friends express enthusiastic approval of the succulent dishes turned out by our talented Chef Clarence Young. Equal praise is being made of the low-caloried and eye-appealing salads produced by our number 2 cook, Mrs. Lillie Davis. Lillie is also an artist at the sandwich board.

By way of reminder, all members of AFSA are automatically members of the Foreign Service Club. Luncheon is served every official workday (Monday through Friday, except national holidays) from 12:00 noon to 3:00 p.m. on the main

floor restaurant of the Club. By prior arrangement, private luncheons can be served in our three rooms on the second floor. These are known as the Board Room (which can accommodate 12), the Library and the Lounge (which can accommodate up to 40 each).

The Club is a most appropriate place to hold your representational functions as well as farewell and retirement luncheons or dinners. In order to work out plans for cocktail parties, receptions, or sit-down dinners evenings, weekends, or holidays, get in touch with vivacious Miss Diana Huddleston, the Club's enthusiastic Operating Manager. Call her at 338-5730 between 11:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m. on any workday or if you are unable to reach her, call Harvey Cash at 338-4045 from 9:00 to 12:00 or 3:00 to 5:30.

Members of AFSA who might not know the Club are encouraged to come and try it for themselves. Those faithful members who come to the Club regularly are encouraged to invite potential new members. The location is ideal; the atmosphere is appealing; food and drinks are excellent and reasonable in cost; service is good and pleasant; and it is YOUR Club that needs YOUR support.

MEMBERS' INTERESTS APPEAL FOR EXPERTISE

The Members' Interest Committee needs expertise and help in dealing with specialized inquiries and proposals from the membership. In particular, we are looking for additional Committee members who could deal with the following specific issues:

- Foreign Service taxation issues;
- Privileges and immunities;
- Medical questions;
- Travel;
- Transportation of effects;
- Allowances.

We would like to have an expert member of the Committee for each of these fields. For personnel assigned in Washington who would be willing to volunteer their time, please contact Members' Interests Committee Chairman, Ted Wilkinson, X22294 or AFSA Counselor, Wil Chase, X28160.

FOREIGN SERVICE AUTHORS

Richard F. Boyce and his wife, Katherine, have been working on Volume Two of *American Foreign Service Authors* for some time. Volume One was published in 1973 by the Scarecrow Press. A recent letter from Mr. Boyce says that he and his wife would like to turn the project over to other interested researchers, since both Mr. and Mrs. Boyce have health problems. He writes "We would be glad to turn over to successors our accumulated material (data on about 300 (a) authors and (b) depositors of manuscript collections). The book ought to be completed and the result would be most satisfying. I shall be glad to enclose a copy of the first volume for the convenience of whoever takes it on. We shall be glad to share our knowledge of the project. All the source material is in Washington: (a) National Union Catalogue of Manuscript Collections; (b) State Department file of Biographic Registers; (c) file of State Department *Newsletters*; (d) files of the *Journal*; and (e) file of the *DACOR Bulletin*."

Dick Boyce is an honorary member of AFSA, having paid dues to the Association for over 50 years. He helped start, with Clarke Slade, the Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center, has contributed articles and book reviews to the *Journal* over the years and is the author of *The Diplomat's Wife* and *A History of DACOR*.

FLEMMING AWARD

Stephen W. Bosworth, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Economic and Business Affairs, was the recipient of a 1976 Arthur S. Fleming Award.

The citation for Mr. Bosworth's award read in part.

For his exceptional contributions to the formulation and execution of the United States international policies on energy and the North/South economic dialogue. Stephen W. Bosworth has played a major and unique role in the conceptualization and negotiation of the International Energy Program for consumer country cooperation and the establishment of the nineteen nation International Energy Agency to implement an emergency oil sharing arrangement and a series of long term cooperative measures to reduce dependence on imported oil . . .

DACOR AWARDS

The DACOR Educational and Welfare Foundation (DEWF) is making three awards for academic excellence for graduate work in the field of international relations for the 1977-78 academic year.

Michael Bornstein, first year graduate at the School of International Affairs, Columbia University, is the winner of the DACOR Fellowship. This fellowship, established in 1975, is made possible by members' contributions to DEWF.

Monique Grzelak, in her first year of graduate work at SAIS, is the recipient of the S. Pinkney Tuck Memorial DACOR Fellowship. This fellowship is permanently endowed by a grant to DEWF by the Katherine Tuck Fund, first awarded 1976-77.

The Bourgerie Georgetown Fellowship, financed by a special contribution by DACOR Governor Elmer H. Bourgerie, will be made to an outstanding graduate student at Georgetown.

Each of the three awards is in the amount of \$4,000.

Foreign Service People

Marriages

Wood-Thurston. FSO Bobbie Sue Wood was married to Thomas W. Thurston on March 7 in Fort Lauderdale, Florida.

Deaths

Merriam. Roberta Briggs Merriam, wife of FSO-retired Gordon B. Merriam and sister of the late Ambassador Ellis O. Briggs, died on April 9 in Damariscotta, Maine. Mrs. Merriam accompanied her husband on assignments to Tehran and Cairo, before his retirement in 1940. In addition to her husband of South Bristol Rd., Damariscotta, Maine 05443, she is survived by two daughters, Mrs. Peter Kuniholm and Jeri Merriam and a stepson, John A. Merriam.

Mertz. Charles T. Mertz, FSIO-

retired, died on March 27 in Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania. Mr. Mertz joined the State Department in 1949 and served at Manila before his transfer to USIA in 1953. He then served at Saigon and Rio de Janeiro before his retirement in 1971. He is survived by his wife of RD #1, Lime Ridge Road, Mifflinsburg, Penna. 17844, a daughter, Barbara Kay, and two sons, Kenneth B., and Ronald A.

Plitt. Edwin A. Plitt, retired Career Minister, died on March 20 in Washington. Mr. Plitt joined the Foreign Service in 1921 after serving with the US Army in France from 1917 to 1919, and served at Sofia, Constantinople, Athens, Paris, Bern, Tangier and Bonn before his retirement in 1958. He was promoted to Career Minister in 1949 and in 1950 became President of the International Commission of Control, International Zone of Tangier. His last assignment before retirement was as

deputy inspector general. He is survived by his wife, Jeanne Riboulet Plitt, of the home in Washington and a son, Col. James R. Plitt, 9 Hemlock Lane, Acton, Mass. 01720 and four grandchildren.

Rogers. Jordan T. Rogers, Jr., son of FSO-retired J. Thomas Rogers and the late Dr. Sarah F. Rogers, died of injuries suffered in an automobile accident, on March 4, in Baltimore. In addition to his father of 148 Old Ford Dr., Camp Hill, Penna. 17011, he is survived by four sisters.

Ziffren. Edythe Ziffren, wife of FSR-retired Lester Ziffren, died on February 20 in New York. The Ziffrens served with the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs in Chile, with USIS in Bogota and again in Santiago during the 1950s. She is survived by her husband of 220 East 81st Street, New York 10017, and a daughter, Didi, of the home.

FSJ SPECIAL SERVICES

In order to be of maximum assistance to AFSA members and *Journal* readers we are accepting these listings until the 15th of each month for publication in the issue dated the following month. The rate is 40¢ per word, less 2% for payment in advance, minimum 10 words. Mail copy for advertisement and check to: Classified Ads, *Foreign Service Journal*, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

BOOKS

NANCY'S NOOK, owned by retired AID FSR, will give 20% discount on mail orders for fiction and non-fiction in print books. 10% for professional and textbooks. 45¢ mailing and handling charges per book. Write Nancy Dammann, Box 368, Hyden, KY 41749.

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BOOK FAIR

Even though one may be away from Washington, it is possible to participate in the Book Fair. Individuals or groups at post can help substantially with donations. May we make a few suggestions about some items that the Book Fair committee can use:

1. Unused stamps. New issues, commemoratives, or perhaps a series or set. Nothing very grand—a small cash outlay and a trip to your local post office will help add interest and color to the Stamp Corner. Of course, we still want your packets of used stamps, too.

2. For the Art Corner—sketches, graphics, water colors—home-made or purchased, matted or unmatted—of local or regional scenery, landmarks, or people.

3. Again for the Art Corner—small, easily mailable items of local handicraft, e.g. small boxes, Christmas tree ornaments.

Send items to:

Chairman

AAFSW Book Fair

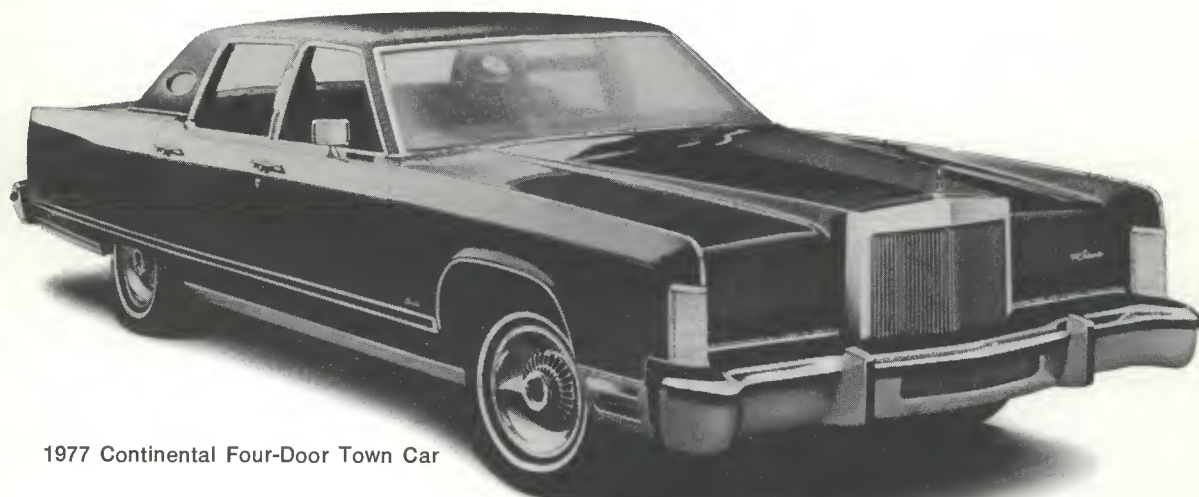
Room 8326 NS

Dept. of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

May we ask one more thing? Please shop, pack and send as soon as possible so that the Book Fair committees may do their preparation and pricing work well ahead of the last few hectic days before the Book Fair.

Diplomacy comes in all sizes.



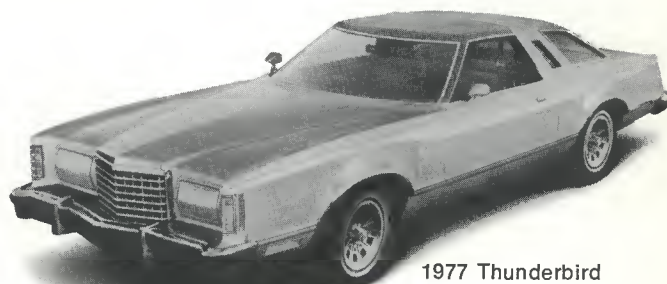
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June 1977

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The CIA'S SECRET OPERATIONS

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HARRY ROSITZKE

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

Membership dues are: Active Members—Dues range from \$13 to \$52 annually depending upon income. Retired Active Members—Dues are \$30 annually for members with incomes over \$15,000; \$15 annually for less than \$15,000. Associate Members—Dues are \$20 annually.

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

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AFSA SUPPORTS EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES ABROAD FOR FAMILY MEMBERS

The AFSA Governing Board approved May 6 the sending of the following letter to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for its consideration when preparing the State Department Authorization Bill for FY 1978:

"With more and more women pursuing careers and remaining in the job market after marriage, and many women re-entering the job market, it is imperative that the foreign affairs community focus on ways and means to be responsive to these growing demands. Specifically, for many Foreign Service spouses, the heretofore traditional role of the Foreign Service wife is neither fulfilling nor rewarding. Encouragement should be given to those women who do still seek the traditional role, but it should not stop there. Avenues should be explored and regulations implemented to make available information on employment opportunities in the country of assignment for spouses and dependents.

"AFSA supports the concept of employment overseas for family members. However, this concept should not be implemented so as to conflict with, deny, or impede development opportunities of regular career service employees. The career service employees must be given preference in training, assignment, and career development. To this end, AFSA supports the proposal that Foreign Service dependents should be allowed to accept gainful employment abroad when neither the laws of the United States nor those of the host country are violated, except when determined, in writing, by the US Ambassador to that country, that the interests of the United States are adversely affected.

"Further, AFSA supports the hire, temporary or otherwise, on a priority basis of qualified dependents of Foreign Service employees for positions within the overseas mission that are not normally designated for career Foreign Service personnel, regardless of nationality and in such a manner that this complement is not used in lieu of fulfilling the requirement for a career position.

"AFSA is recommending to the Department an amplification of these suggestions more appropriate for inclusion in Departmental regulations, for implementation of the above basic positions.

"AFSA believes these problems should be resolved through modifications of existing regulations. However, if the Committee continues in its intent to legislate policies in this area, the Association believes that language which protects the legitimate interests of the career service should be used. The Association will provide the Committee with suggested alternatives to the amendments currently under consideration prior to the Committee's final mark up."

The text of the proposed language approved by the Board and forwarded to the Committee follows:

"(A) The Department of State will give priority consideration to qualified family members of Foreign Service employees when hiring personnel to staff those overseas

SPECIAL BULLETIN

The AFSA Committee on Education has announced the following recipients of the 1977 Merit Awards for outstanding achievement.

Paul A. Baker, Michael C. Brower, Thomas L. Cheney, Harry A. Cooper, Gerald A. Donohue, Jr., Matthew J. Engelhart, Karen L. Erickson, Linda F. Esposito, David L. Felsenthal, Moira C. Holly, Marc D. Johnson, Christina I. Jones, Timothy S. Keiter, Corinne M. Mull, James M. Piret, Steven J. Sartorius, Mark S. Sherwin, Stuart K. Stephens, Douglas J. Warner and Leo J. Whelan.

The following received honorable mention: Michael J. Farrand, Rebecca L. Hart, Jonathan L. Ledsky, Scott F. Ramage and Lewis A. Segall.

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

A more complete story on the recipients, together with information about the awards and the program for next year, will appear in the August *Journal*.

positions, including temporary and local hire, that are not normally designated for career United States Foreign Service personnel; provided that such employment shall not be used to avoid filling the need for fulltime career positions.

(B) Members of a Foreign Service employee's family may accept gainful employment in a foreign country unless such employment (1) violates the law of that country or of the United States; or (2) could, as determined in writing by the US Ambassador to that country, damage the interests of the United States.

(C) The Department of State shall expand all counseling services and include counseling for Foreign Service families relative to family life, and other subjects appropriate to living overseas."

As this issue of the Foreign Service Journal goes to press, we do not yet know how the approved bill will read but understand the substance of the above language will be included.

REMEMBER TO VOTE

Each AFSA member is urged to vote in this year's biannual election for members of the Association's Governing Board.

Ballots were mailed out by May 16 to all persons enrolled as members as of May 1, 1977. If any member has not received a ballot by June 10, he or she should immediately notify the AFSA Elections Committee, P.O. Box 40602, Washington, D.C. 20016.

Voted ballots must be mailed in time to reach the designated address by one p.m., July 11 in order to be among those ballots to be counted. The mailing envelope must carry the correct postage. Neither the Elections Committee nor AFSA officers nor AFSA staff members may accept voted ballots. Ballots must be returned through US Postal Service facilities and bear postage.

Remember that if you do not vote, you forfeit your right to help determine AFSA's future leadership. Do not let apathy decide this important question of AFSA's future.

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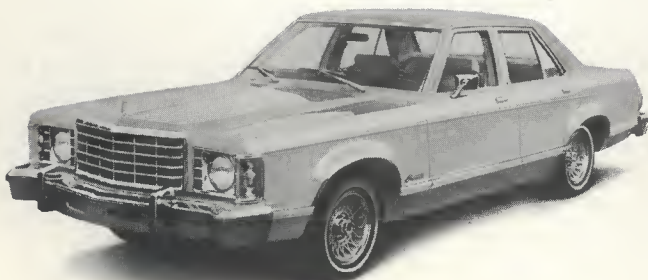
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A view of the great courtyard created by Minister Maxwell Blake in the 1920s. To the left is Blake's Moorish style pavilion.



The courtyard, showing the 200-year-old fountain found by Blake in an old building in Fez.



A room in the pavilion, incorporating antique doors, ceilings and mosaic floor from old Moroccan buildings. On the walls are a few historic engravings of Morocco on permanent loan from Mr. Donald Angus.

NEW LIFE for the OLDEST AMERICAN LEGATION

HARLAND H. EASTMAN



The seal of the Legation, located on the exterior wall of the ballroom.

The Sultan Moulay Suliman in 1821 gave the United States a small building in the medina of Tangier to serve as the residence and office of our consul. This was probably the first real estate the United States Government ever acquired abroad. Even more remarkable, the building today—156 years later—is still the property of the United States.

I am sure the Sultan would have been highly skeptical had anyone predicted in his day that this building would become the most historic American property outside the United States. Yet it has become just that. To briefly cite its historic credentials, the building is by far the oldest diplomatic property in the world to be continuously owned by the United States. The next oldest candidate for that distinction was not acquired until much later in the 19th century. The building for 140 years housed the United States consular offices in Tangier, the longest period any building abroad has ever been occupied as a diplomatic or consular post. In our ever changing world this record will probably never be beaten. Because Tangier was the diplomatic capital of Morocco until 1956, the building also served for 135 years as the seat of our principal representative to the Sultan of Morocco. His titles varied over the years: consul, consul general, minister and diplomatic agent. By the same token the building has been known during various periods as the American Consulate or Consulate General, American Legation and American Diplomatic Agency. In modern times it has generally been known as the American Legation and as such it will no doubt be remembered.

The building today, of course, bears little resemblance to the quarters given us by the Sultan. The few rooms

Harland Eastman served in Paris, Saigon, Cotonou and Liverpool before his present assignment.

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The small drawing room in the original building given to the US by the Sultan of Morocco in 1821.

that clustered then around the original courtyard were altered and added to several times over the next 120 years. A ballroom straddling the street was erected during the 1820s and is today one of the jewels of the building. At the end of the 19th century the stables were torn down and a three story building erected in their place. In the 1920s even more dramatic changes took place under the remarkable Maxwell Blake who served as Minister and Consul General in Tangier for a quarter of a century. Blake fought off suggestions that the building be replaced by new quarters elsewhere in the city. All the other consulates had long since abandoned the medina but Blake was determined to stay. His first coup was to obtain by gift two adjacent properties. With this in hand he persuaded Washington to give him funds to erect a fine new courtyard in the Moorish style and to rebuild the existing buildings as necessary in order to create an architectural whole that would be both visually pleasing and functional. The ground floor of the complex housed the offices while the upper floors became a rambling and romantic residence for Blake and his successors. When finally completed the Legation contained more than forty rooms built around three courtyards. Into the fabric of the building were incorporated antique painted ceilings and doors, centuries old fountains and grills, priceless marble fireplaces, and ceramic tiles rescued from old buildings. These and other treasures were purchased by Blake and left behind as his personal legacy to the building.

The official life of the Legation came to a close when the new Consulate General and Residence in Tangier opened in 1961. For the next fourteen years the Legation was used first as an Arabic Language School for American diplomats and then as a training center for the Peace Corps. When the Peace Corps moved out in 1975 the future of the building hung in the balance. Fortunately, several friends of the old Legation rallied to its cause and were determined that the Legation must be preserved as a living symbol of America's 200 years of unbroken friendly relations with Morocco.

This was easier said than done, of course, and the ad-

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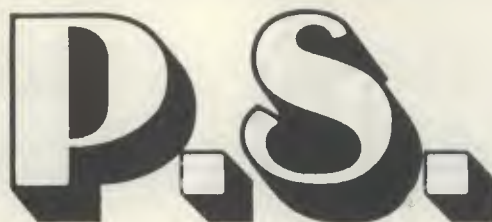
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"The interest of humanity, or common good of mankind, is too little thought of by selfish man, and scarcely ever mentioned."—Benjamin Franklin

A Mature America and the Global Social Contract



JOSEPH V. MONTVILLE

There is a feeling that America may have recently begun to mature. The majority of American voters seem to have endorsed the premise in the Presidential election that there had been unacceptable abuse of power by Democratic and Republican Administrations in Washington for the last 10 or 15 years, in both domestic and inter-

national politics. The popular verdict seemed to be that the country or at least its government had been guilty of arrogance, vainglory and a wholesale drift from the values which have defined this nation. Vietnam and Watergate could prove to have been major stimuli in the maturation of the American political culture.

It is no accident of history that the impact of the women's movement coincides with this perceived sense of maturity. For the movement has assaulted the foundations of the macho/cowboy ethic which has dominated our political behavior for so many decades. Animus is yielding some ground to anima. Our traditional obsession with power is beginning to be balanced by thoughtful concern over the survival of the species.

This essay attempts to build on the assumption of a maturing America, to identify some of the principal elements of dangerous

contention now and in the future in its foreign relations, and to suggest that America might mitigate serious potential strife by taking the lead in negotiating a global social contract.

This term should not be taken as yet another example of American political rhetoric. Today's world or, perhaps more convincingly, tomorrow's world threatens to display many of the characteristics of Thomas Hobbes's description of the natural condition of mankind, before the social contract emerged, "a time wherein men live without other security than which their own strength and their own invention shall furnish them . . . and the life of man solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short." Hobbes used the concept of the social contract to describe that condition where men agree to give up a portion of their presumed natural right to everything for the sake of peace and mutual security.

Presently Regional Political Adviser in the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, Mr. Montville has served in Iraq, Lebanon, Libya and Morocco. He studied at Lehigh, Harvard's Center for Middle Eastern Studies and did Ph.D. work in comparative politics at Columbia. He also had a Fulbright Scholarship in Egypt. His article was conceived and researched while he was legislative assistant to Senator Gary Hart and Congressman Lee Hamilton respectively in 1976 during a Congressional Fellowship. It is dedicated to them, whom he considers two of the most dedicated public servants in America.

There are obvious parallels between Hobbes's abstract natural condition and today's unstable world. There are parallels also in our government's basically self-centered politico-military approach to world problems in the last ten or 15 years and the position of the new Administration that recognizes global interdependence as real and natural. The Carter call for "world order" diplomacy can be seen as a proposition in which all members of the international community are encouraged to acquire the habit of community whereby, in Hobbes's words, "man be willing, when others are so too. . . to lay down this right to all things, and be contented with so much liberty against other men as he would allow other men against himself."

The Carter Phenomenon

This essay could not have been written had Jimmy Carter lost the 1976 Presidential election. If there is any weight to the perception of maturity in the electorate it is that Carter built his election on his contention that the people were weary of political leaders who behaved like ill-bred adolescents, and that they were ready to support an emotionally mature adult who unself-consciously accepted old-fashioned American values including, even, the social utility of love.

In the area of America's behavior abroad, candidate Carter was blunt in his criticism. In his first major foreign policy speech in Chicago on March 15, 1976, he said

"For too long, our foreign policy has consisted almost entirely of maneuver and manipulation. . . where military supremacy and economic muscle are the only things that work and where rival powers are balanced against each other to keep the peace. . . . It is likely that in the future [however], the issues of war and peace will be more a function of economic and social problems than of the military security problems which have dominated international relations since 1945."

In the same speech, Carter charged that for years the United States had ignored the developing countries or treated them as pawns in the big power chess game. He criticized what he called this "attitude of neglect and disrespect toward developing nations" which he said was "predicated in part on a

sense of superiority toward others — a form of racism."

Addressing the issue of neglect of the less developed countries, Zbigniew Brzezinski outlined what he has called the serious inequities in the worldwide human condition which have caused the new Administration to perceive America's future security in terms of movement toward international equity. In the spring, 1976, *Bellagio Review* Brzezinski noted that of the roughly 150 states in the world community, only five, with a total population accounting for just six per cent of the world total, have per capita incomes of over \$5,000 per year. An additional 15 states, with about 13 per cent of the world's population, have per capita annual incomes over \$2,500. A further 24 per cent of the world's population show \$500 to \$1,500 per capita annual incomes. But some 90 states, representing about 60 per cent of the world's population, have per capita annual incomes of less than \$500.

These stark disparities in the standards of living around the world have caused the proliferating sovereignties of the post World War II Southern hemisphere (in socio-political if not geographic terms) to combine to try to force the wealthy Northern hemisphere to compensate for past economic exploitations, real, perceived, or invented, through systematic resource transfers.

Not long ago, the United States, as the preeminent world superpower, could ignore the apparent threat to its long-range security in the demands of the less developed countries for equity, but that time has passed. The diminution of our claim to unquestioned political leadership in the free world caused by our record in Vietnam, the growth of Soviet power, and the devaluation of the dollar, once the unquestioned bedrock of the international monetary system, ended the short-lived post-war Pax Americana. The quintupling of oil prices helped to speed our consciousness of the fact.

Equity Demands of the Southern Hemisphere

The perceptions of and demands behind the Third and Fourth Worlds' call for a new international economic order vary in drama and degree.

The less developed countries, organized in the Group of 77 (which now numbers 112 countries), proclaimed their position at Manila in February 1976 declaring:

. . . that international economic conditions—particularly world inflation, monetary disorders, recession in the highly industrialized regions, the appearance of new forms of economic discrimination and coercion, certain forms of action by transnational corporations and the revival of protectionist trends in the developed countries — have seriously affected the economies of the developing countries. . .

The Group deplored

. . . the application by the developed countries of unjust and discriminatory trade regulations, and the obstacles which they impose on developing countries in regard to access to modern technology; [and affirmed] their conviction that it is necessary and urgent to bring about radical changes in economic relations in order to establish new relations based on justice and equity which will eliminate the inequitable economic structures imposed on the developing countries, principally through the exploitation and marketing of their natural resources and wealth.

The 63 page Manila Declaration goes into great detail on how these demands should be fulfilled. The document contains many political assumptions that are at least debatable and its tone is often strident, perhaps to satisfy domestic constituency demands as much as to impress the industrialized world with the seriousness of the Group of 77's determination.

Mahbub ul Haq, a representative of the Third World who is also a development specialist at the IBRD, has attempted to explain in more relaxed language just what the North-South issue is all about. Writing for the Overseas Development Council ("Negotiating a New Bargain with the Rich Countries" in *Beyond Dependency*, Erb and Kallab, eds., 1975), Haq explained that the developing countries were working as a bloc in various international forums to gain greater equality of opportunity in the international economy and to secure the right to sit as equals around the bargaining tables of the world. No massive redistribution of past income and wealth is being demanded. In fact, "even if all the demands are added up, they do not exceed about one percent of the

GNP of the rich nations. What is really required, however, is a redistribution of future growth opportunities." Haq outlines three principal problem areas: trade, monetary policy, and international resource transfers.

The problem in foreign trade, he says, is that exports of about 12 major primary commodities (excluding oil) account for about 80 percent of the total export earnings of the developing countries. The consumer pays over \$200 billion for these commodities and their products while the producers get only about \$30 billion, with the middlemen enjoying most of the difference. Furthermore, there are often extreme fluctuations in basic commodity prices while the purchasing power of these primary exports keeps declining in terms of the costs of manufactured imports. Finally, the manufactured exports of the developing countries often face tariffs and quotas in the developed countries although they constitute only some nine percent of manufactures in world trade.

To attempt to solve these trade problems, the argument goes on, producers must get a greater share of the final consumer price through processing commodities, improving world market structures, reducing middlemen profits and developing their own financing and distribution facilities. Also, producers, working through associations as necessary, should secure improved prices for primary products *before* stabilizing them in commodity agreements.

In the area of monetary policy, Haq says the developing countries have benefited little from the creation of international liquidity. He notes that of the \$102 billion in international reserves created during 1970-74, they received \$3.7 billion — less than four percent. "As in any banking system," he says "the poor get little credit."

His solution to this problem would be the gradual phase-out of national reserve currencies and their replacement by a truly international currency — like the Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) — through deliberate decision of the International Monetary Fund. Further, the volume of international liquidity should be regulated by the IMF in line with growth requirements in world trade and

production particularly to benefit the developing countries. Also, the distribution of international liquidity should be adjusted to benefit the poorest countries. To assure that the developing countries' interests are equitably represented, the present voting strength in the IMF should be changed to establish near parity between them and the developed countries.

The problem of international resource transfers is particularly

"One of the ironies of the current indictment by the developing countries of the industrialized world is that both sides see accelerated economic growth as the answer to all problems. This is at a time when the energy crisis has alerted us to the possibility of a ceiling on industrial growth."

provocative. Existing resource transfers are purely voluntary—dependent on the fluctuating political will of the developed countries. Although a kind of international "deal" was made by the industrialized countries in accepting a target of one percent of GNP per year, .7 percent of which would be official development assistance (ODA), in actual fact, ODA for all members of the OECD's development assistance committee declined to .3 percent in 1975 and to .2 percent in the case of the United States.

A much more alarming aspect of the resource transfer situation is the debt problem, Haq writes. This has come about through general inattention to the terms of resource transfer which has resulted in the accumulation of *over \$120 (about \$200 billion in March 1977) billion in financial debt whose servicing takes away about one half of new assistance every year.*

The Inadequacy of Status Quo Diplomacy

It is not the intention here to

analyze the historic justice of the Group of 77's claims of exploitation or to judge the efficacy of its proposals to remedy the situation made at, for example, the Sixth and Seventh Special Sessions of the United Nations General Assembly or at UNCTAD IV in Nairobi last spring.* The United States has, in fact, been very generous in the past and has participated in some impressive successes in Third World economic development. The point is that global economic and social inequities clearly still exist and this situation is potentially dangerous for the United States and the world community. Dealing with the problem is very difficult because it is so complex, because so many domestic US interests are involved and because it is politically easier to fight to protect the advantages of the status quo for the short term than to contemplate sacrifices or adjustments that may be necessary for US and world security in the long term. This is why mature political leadership from the White House is so essential.

For the moment, let us consider just one aspect of the US's present problem in dealing with Third World demands for increased investment and easy access for its manufactures to developed world markets. At a December 1976 Carnegie Endowment conference of economists, trade unionists, academics and business leaders at Rye, New York,† US labor leaders complained loudly about domestic unemployment caused, they said, by the cheap imports from the developing countries. Gus Tyler of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union told the meeting his union had declined from 2.7 million members to under 2 million in the last few years because of imports. Lane Kirkland, George Meany's heir-apparent at the AFL-CIO, attacked Third World nations that lure American multina-

*For critiques see Nathaniel H. Leff, "The New Economic Order—Bad Economics, Worse Politics" in the Fall 1976 *Foreign Policy*. See also, Edwin J. Feulner, Jr.'s *Congress and the New International Economic Order*, Heritage Foundation, 1976.

†Reported in *The Washington Post*, December 16, 1976.

tional firms through "extravagant concessions and virtual gifts of lands and labor." Warning that the US economy faces the same threat that has undermined Great Britain, the loss of its industrial base, Tyler said the United States should reverse its international development policy by deemphasizing industrialization in the Third World and promoting agricultural production.

Such defensive reactions by elements of the US economy adversely affected by changes in the world economy can be expected to increase. Furthermore, these constituencies will make their weight felt in Congress and the specialized departments of the Executive branch. But if short-term adjustments cause difficulties, we must imagine what long-term challenges, both foreign political/economic and global environmental, await American policy-makers. By looking into the future, it might be easier to perceive the problems for our long-range security and the consequent need for vision and courage in the present.

Some Limits in the Future

One of the ironies of the current indictment by the developing countries of the industrialized world is that both sides see accelerated economic, particularly industrial, growth as the answer to all problems. This is at a time when the energy crisis has alerted us to the possibility of a ceiling on industrial growth.

Robert Heilbroner, in his book, *An Inquiry into the Human Prospect*, (1974) brought together a number of independent studies which point to a near future whose dimensions make the difficult present seem easy indeed. Drawing on the March 1973 *Scientific American*, for example, Heilbroner outlines a best case population projection for the world. At the current rate of growth, the populations of Southeast Asia, Africa, and Latin America will double in 30, 27, and 24 years respectively.

If, in the best circumstances, the developing countries were to achieve a zero population growth level by the year 2000, they would nonetheless have increased in size two and one half times in 50 years. If the developing countries succeed in reaching the target of Western fertility rates by 2050, they will

meanwhile have grown four and one half times in size.

For those who would defeat the population problem through greatly increased food production in "green revolutions," Heilbroner cites Erhlich's *Population, Resources, Environment* (1972) as finding that if India were to apply fertilizer as intensively as does the Netherlands today, India would consume nearly half the present world output. Further, the introduction of fertilizers on such a scale may surpass the ecological tolerance of the soil to chemical additives (citing Barry Commoner's *The Closing Circle*, 1971).

Projections on the limits of industrial growth are particularly sobering. The current annual rate of industrial growth in the developed countries is about 7 percent—that is a doubling every ten years. Thus in 50 years, demand for resources to feed industrial growth will have doubled five times requiring a volume of resource extraction 32 times larger than today's.

Even assuming, Heilbroner continues, that through vast improvements in technology, including access to seabed resources, the supply difficulties could be overcome, one barrier would still seem to defy all the ingenuity of man. This is the problem of heat.

All industrial production, including the extraction of resources, requires the use of energy. Also, all energy, including that generated from natural processes such as wind power or solar radiation, is inextricably involved with the emission of heat.

The problem is that, "if the present rate of growth continued for 250 years, emissions would reach 100 percent of the absorbed incoming solar heat. The resulting increase in the earth's temperature would be about 50°C. — a condition totally unsuitable for human habitation."*

Shorter Term Dangers

If his readers are skeptical about his long-range projections of the limits to industrial growth and the implications for future political

stress and turmoil, Heilbroner forces them to face a less speculative near-term phenomenon. He warns of the possibility that some developing countries whose governments fear violent upheavals because of resource scarcity and severe population pressures in their countries might resort to nuclear blackmail to get relief from the developed countries.

This might seem farfetched if we were not so aware of the nuclear proliferation problem today. An MCPL (Members of Congress for Peace Through Law) study in 1976 estimated that by 1990 nuclear power plants in the less developed countries alone will be generating 30,000 pounds of plutonium annually—enough to make the equivalent of 3,000 Hiroshima-scale bombs a year. We thus turn sharply back from Heilbroner's bleak future to a serious problem whose management demands "world order" diplomacy—now. We can examine a case that illustrates the complexity of the challenge to our diplomacy in the present.

Economies and Nuclear Proliferation: West Germany and Brazil

At an international conference on global food problems in Philadelphia last December, a Ford Foundation official reported that Brazil had achieved no significant increase in production of domestically consumed major food crops in the last ten years. However, over that same period, Brazil's population has grown between 20 and 30 percent, driving up food prices and further diminishing the already low food-buying power of the poorest people. Infant mortality rates, which had been declining steadily, are now rising as a result of malnutrition.

The chief explanation for Brazil's domestic food crop deficit is that it has incurred such massive foreign debt that most of its agricultural advances have been devoted to crops for export. Much of the land that now yields 10 million tons of soybeans per year for Japan used to produce foodstuffs for Brazilians. The New York Times story of December 4, 1976 does not go on to explain why Brazil has such a massive foreign debt, but Norman

*Citing Ayres and Kneese, "Economic and Ecological Effects of a Stationary State," Resources for the Future Series, December 1972.

Gall did so in an article in the Summer 1976 *Foreign Policy*.

Noting that Brazil is the developing world's leading oil importer, Gall reports that it has been in deep trouble since the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. This situation has produced a Brazilian foreign policy called "ecumenical pragmatism," which involves closer ties to the Arab world diplomatically as well as diversification of export markets, sources of energy, technology, and foreign investment.

Specifically, Brazil wants its own nuclear power capacity to lessen its dependence on expensive imported fuel. Furthermore, Gall says, since Brazil has ambitions to become a world power, it might do so by developing a nuclear weapons option for its own sake and as a counterbalance to whatever nuclear development rival Argentina might undertake.

The complexity of the interdependence of the international politico-economic factors in the Brazil case became apparent after the uproar over the well-publicized West German-Brazilian nuclear development deal of 1975.

Under this agreement, the Germans agreed to build uranium enrichment, fuel fabrication, and spent fuel processing plants as well as power plants on contract to the Brazilian state power monopoly. In exchange, Brazil agreed to export portions of the uranium discovered in a joint exploration project to West Germany. News of the deal evoked sharp criticism in the US Congress over the lack of effective controls on the proliferation of nuclear technology.

What received little attention at the time was the fact that West Germany, which has no important petroleum or uranium resources, had powerful incentives to search for a deal like the one it eventually negotiated with Brazil. The first was the 1973 Arab oil embargo followed by OPEC's quintupling of prices. The second was the suspension by the United States Atomic Energy Commission of the signing of all new contracts for future supplies of enriched uranium because anticipated demand exceeded the capacity of the AEC's three enrichment plants to produce. Furthermore, the AEC went back on firm contracts to supply enriched fuel to 45 foreign reactors

set to begin operations in the 1980s. Ten of these were in West Germany and two in Brazil.

The Government's Organizational Dilemma

Thus this specific case links the Arab-Israeli problem, domestic Brazilian food shortages, the global oil price crisis and consequent search for nuclear energy to the serious dilemma of uncontrolled proliferation of nuclear weapon-making technology. Unfortunately,

"This rhetoric is not the sort of clever, articulate, conceptual analysis to which foreign affairs specialists have become accustomed in recent years. It is, however, accurate. No American of any sensitivity who has lived in the Third World can have helped but experience the same perception."

there is little evidence that any one center in the United States Government had any conception of the interrelationship of events and facts that led to the Brazil-West Germany deal. Neither the Congress nor the Executive Branch was even organized to be aware of the variety of independent but interrelated economic and social factors that resulted in the controversial agreement, let alone realize what had happened.

The United States Government's ability to deal with the complicated demands of world order diplomacy deserves entirely separate treatment. Few can deny, however, that our Government, including Congress, is not organized to "see" something like the Brazil-Germany deal and understand it. Furthermore, it is not organized yet to "see" the significance of the North-South confrontation in terms of the steady erosion of living standards in the industrialized West and consequent adverse domestic political reaction,

the growth of inequity in much of the Third World, and the resource and ecological limits which undermine the traditional economists' and politicians' remedy of ever-increasing industrial production.

A Question of Commitment

The task is enormous. It is really the agenda for humanity in the next 50 years. Before the 1976 election, there was little evidence that this country's political leadership at the highest level accepted this fact. The new Administration not only appears to accept the fact but also seems committed intellectually and morally to doing what is necessary to fulfill this country's responsibilities. In the March 1976 speech referred to above, Jimmy Carter said:

"A stable world order cannot become a reality when people of many nations of the world suffer mass starvation; when the countries with capital and technology belligerently confront other nations for the control of raw materials and energy sources; when open and non-discriminatory trade has become the exception rather than the rule; when there are no established arrangements for supplying the world's food and energy nor for governing control and development of the seas; and when there are no effective efforts to deal with population explosions or environmental quality. The intensity of these interrelated problems is rapidly increasing and better mechanisms for consultation on these problems that affect everyone on this planet must be established and utilized."

As President, Mr. Carter has re-committed himself to act on all these issues. In the North-South context, he told United Nations permanent delegates March 17 that "poverty and inequality are of such monumental scope that it will take decades of deliberate and determined effort even to improve the situation substantially." He also said "developing countries must acquire fuller participation in the global economic decisionmaking process." In this speech and one to the Organization of American States Permanent Council April 14, the President pledged the United States to work for commodity price stabilization agreements, more preferential trade arrangements for the developing countries, full US replenishments for multilateral lending institutions, and concentration

Continued on page 35

All that is necessary for the forces of evil to win
in the world is for enough good men to do nothing.

—Edmund Burke

The Doggedness of Conscience

ROBERT EHRMAN

"After a while, they disconnected the wire from my finger and connected it to my ear. They immediately gave me a high dose of electricity. My whole body shook in a terrible way. My front teeth started breaking. At the same time my torturers would hold a mirror in my face and say: 'Look what is happening to your lovely green eyes. Soon you will not be able to see at all. You will lose your mind. You see, you have already started bleeding in your mouth.' "

— excerpt from the National Observer, describing torture tactics in Turkey.

Torture is a worldwide phenomenon. It is not confined to any one political doctrine or economic system. In a broad spectrum of at least 60 countries, torture is increasingly used as an instrument of state policy—this according to the widely-respected human rights organization, Amnesty International. But torture is only the most brutal way of assaulting the civil and human rights of persons by reason of their color, language, ethnic origin, or conscientiously held beliefs. Thousands are being tortured, thousands more unjustly imprisoned, restricted, subjected to degrading treatment. Tortured or not, they are oppressed because their governments find them unacceptable.

Robert Ehrman was employed in commercial radio before joining USIA. Since his retirement from the Agency, he has been freelancing for VOA, Christian Science Monitor and the Journal. He's reworking for publication his novel based on the actual trial of an American doctor in extraterritorial China of the mid '30s.

Amnesty International works on behalf of these prisoners of conscience. It seeks to get them released and to protect them in other ways, provided they have not used or advocated violence. If the prisoners are tortured, AI tries to stop the atrocity no matter what they have done.

With an uncompromising stand against violations of human rights, Amnesty International fights to secure observance of United Nations accords and treaties aimed at protecting those rights: 1) the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights; 2) the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners; 3) the Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from being subjected to Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment; 4) the UN Human Rights Commission; and 5) the international covenants and protocol intended to provide the legal framework.

But words have spoken louder than deeds. Almost 30 years after the inviolability of human rights was universally proclaimed, those rights are still largely ignored. The record of the UN Human Rights Commission is one of non-performance. Much of the UN membership turns a blind eye to governments that trample on human rights in the name of order and stability. Other UN human rights agreements have done no better. Discouraging as the record may be, however, perhaps it is well to keep in mind that institutions composed of governments are not immune to political pressure. An organization such as Amnesty International has greater freedom and flexibility.

Non-profit, privately funded by

donations and membership fees, independent of government, unbelonging to any ideology, political faction, religious creed or economic interest, AI has enjoyed an impressive growth in members. Sixteen years after its founding, AI has more than 100,000. In the twelve months ending May 1976, they increased from 70,000 to 97,000. Membership embraces national sections or chapters in 33 countries and 1665 prisoner-adoption groups in Africa, Asia, North and South America, the Middle East and Europe. The United States section, with 55,000 members, is growing fast in reaction to the spreading abuse of human rights, further spotlighted by US executive and congressional initiatives.

While the overall direction of AI is from its headquarters in London, American activities are channeled through the national section in New York, the West Coast unit in San Francisco, and the office in Washington, D.C. Established about a year ago, the Washington staff makes good use of what it sees as unique opportunities to advance AI's objectives in a city with high concentrations of persons and institutions active in international affairs. In its educational, information-exchanging role, the office functions primarily as a liaison with Congress and the Department of State. It has a working relationship with other human rights groups and with many non-governmental organizations. It also provides information to other Washington sectors such as lawyers, academics, labor units and church groups, many of whom are involved in human rights issues within their own areas.

In its work on Capitol Hill, AI

makes information available to members of Congress and their committees. New Senators and Representatives are briefed on AI and its task, in part to help prepare for possible appeals by congressmen in AI cases requiring emergency action. In accordance with AI's non-lobbying statutes, the Washington office is not involved with any moves on proposed legislation. Rather, it gives testimony when asked and suggests witnesses and sources for congressional hearings. AI attends all relevant meetings, sends transcripts and prepared statements to the International Secretariat in London, and makes contact with congressional witnesses potentially useful to Amnesty. In dealing with the State Department, AI maintains a two-way flow of information.

While Amnesty International has grown, so has the onslaught on human rights. Some 9,000 men and women, prisoners of conscience, have been released with AI's help, but the human rights of hundreds of thousands may never have been in greater jeopardy.

Siti Suratih has been detained for 11 years without trial in Indonesia. One of more than 55,000 prisoners of conscience in her country, she is a trained nurse who managed to bring up her four children while working full time. Amnesty says her only conceivable crime could be that she married a member of the Communist party. Her husband died in 1968. She is still in a concentration camp. AI is trying to get her released.

How does AI learn about prisoners of conscience like Siti? From families, professional associates, religious organizations and observers in many parts of the world. AI investigates each case, collecting as many facts as possible about the prisoner's background, details of the arrest, the trial (if he or she was fortunate enough to get one) and imprisonment. All this information is sifted in the context of AI's continuing appraisal of political and legal activities in over 100 countries of every political persuasion. Once the report is complete, AI decides whether or not the prisoner qualifies for help.

If the prisoner qualifies, AI assigns the case to an adoption group in one of Amnesty's national sections. Adoption groups are the

heart of the AI organization. Each consists of 10 to 20 persons—of all ages and from all walks of life—who volunteered their time and effort and meet together monthly for the benefit of their adopted prisoners. To reinforce impartiality, the three prisoners assigned to each group are from countries of different political systems. No group adopts prisoners from its own country.

The group goes to work. Letters, financial aid and packages, when allowed, are sent to the prisoners and their families. Courteously worded letters of inquiry and concern go to the prisons, government officials, heads of state and embassies. International bodies and news media are informed. AI's International Secretariat protests through diplomatic channels.

By writing each month, the adoption group demonstrates its support for the prisoners and puts their jailers on notice that public opinion is aware of the prisoners' existence and is concerned about their condition and fate.

An adoption case that turned out favorably is that of Ernst Wilhelm of the German Democratic Republic. He was adopted by a group in the Netherlands and by Group 34 in Washington, D.C. He is a physicist who had worked for a technical journal in East Germany. In 1970, at the age of 26, he fled East Berlin, was arrested in July of that year in Hungary, was returned to the GDR and sentenced to eight years in prison. His crimes were: encouraging someone to leave East Germany, helping someone to escape to the West, having contacts with people trying to leave, and trying to leave himself. For this type of offense, his sentence was unusually severe, possibly because, as a convinced socialist critical of his country's brand of socialism, he had earlier distributed and discussed banned literature and protested the participation of East German troops in the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Amnesty International adopted Wilhelm because free emigration is a right guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The GDR ratified the covenant in 1973. Those convicted of trying to leave East Germany or of assisting

others to leave if the help was not given for financial gain—those the AI also classifies as prisoners of conscience.

In prison, Wilhelm was in almost continual difficulty with his jailers. According to former cellmates, he often refused to work, claimed the status of political prisoner, and protested the treatment of other prisoners. His health was poor, made worse by open windows, lack of heat, and scanty, unwholesome food.

In August 1976, Wilhelm was released and allowed to emigrate to West Germany. It is generally accepted that his liberation resulted primarily from the pressures exerted by the Dutch and American adoption groups. Members of the Washington unit wrote many letters to GDR officials calling for Wilhelm's release, appealed to the GDR Embassy, and tried, unsuccessfully, to contact the GDR mission to the United Nations. A possible contributing factor was a "buy out"—the practice of West German authorities to "buy out" GDR citizens who seek emigration to the FRG. Whether this was done in Wilhelm's case apparently has not been established.

On August 29, twelve days after his release, he said in a letter to his benefactors: "I write you as the former prisoner Ernst Wilhelm, now a willing citizen of West Germany, thanks to the support of helpful friends, including you and your Group 34 of Amnesty International. First of all, I want to thank you cordially for the efforts you and your group have made for my release from detention . . ."

Group 34 works on behalf of prisoners along with more than 85 adoption groups throughout the United States. Group 17 in Great Neck, Long Island has the case of a current prisoner, Mark Nashpits of the Soviet Union. A dentist in his middle twenties, Nashpits was sentenced to five years of internal exile for "disturbing public order" in a tiny demonstration in Moscow on February 24, 1975 for the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate. His sentence was harsh—five years' exile to Tshita, Siberia.

Since adopting him two years ago, Group 17 has sent over 100 letters to various officials in the Soviet Union and the United States inquiring about his condition. The

group also asked friends in other parts of the United States to write as well. Religious organizations and dental societies were contacted to inform them about the case. The group is also sending mail direct to Nashpits in Siberia—so far over 175 postcards.

Although communication with prisoners of conscience is often made difficult by governments and prison wardens, Group 17 has received three replies from Mark. One thanked them for a package which was delivered, and informed them he had been getting at least some of their considerable correspondence. On June 12, 1976 he wrote to the group: "... everybody asks what do I need and what they can send me. I need freedom."

Freedom may not come for Nashpits before his sentence expires, if then. But he and others like him are kept going in the knowledge that someone on the outside cares enough to do something about their plight. AI's intensive international campaign against Uruguay's violations of human rights did more than make an impact on the government. It also boosted the morale of Uruguayan prisoners, as indicated by a letter from an exiled prisoner released shortly after the campaign began:

"Information about this sort of action does get into the prisons, and it is of immense value to raise the prisoners' morale. Even isolated acts of solidarity are received with enthusiasm and hope, but when it is a major campaign causing an hysterical reaction from the government, it helps tremendously. Prisoners can then endure much better the military's hostility, or even disregard it and feel strengthened in spite of the circumstances."

During the final days of World War II, a captured resistance fighter sat alone in a black prison cell—tired, hungry, tortured and convinced of approaching death. After weeks of torment, he was sure there was no hope, that no one knew or cared. But in the middle of the night the cell door opened and the jailer, shouting abuse in the darkness, threw a loaf of bread onto the dirt floor. The prisoner tore open the loaf and found inside a matchbox. Inside the matchbox were matches and a scrap of paper.

On the paper was a single word: **CORRAGIO!** The incident gave the name to a quarterly publication of AI's American section: *Matchbox*.

In addition to its regular efforts for prisoners of conscience, Amnesty devotes special attention to the problem of torture. AI annually receives thousands of substantiated allegations of grotesque maltreatment of prisoners. Many governments develop sophisticated, ingenious techniques to intimidate and silence imagined or real opponents of their regimes.

In response to this systematic, rapidly spreading cruelty, Amnesty is stepping up its Campaign for the Abolition of Torture (CAT), begun in December 1972. AI has initiated urgent appeals, monthly letter writing, publicity about torture in particular countries, and direct approaches to governments. A cornerstone of CAT is an Urgent Action (UA) program to help named victims or potential victims of torture.

Urgent Action cases are initiated by the International Secretariat and channeled through CAT. Cases mainly concern arbitrary arrests

and torture of prisoners of conscience who have committed no act of violence. UA is also used where the death penalty has been passed, to press for the transfer of a prisoner from solitary confinement, and to appeal for bringing untried prisoners to trial. For prisoners in extreme danger, immediate action is most effectively taken through an Urgent Action Network composed of persons throughout the United States who have agreed to send telegrams and letters. Worldwide, the Network operates in close to 20 countries.

In the past year, UA has concentrated on certain Latin American countries, especially Chile, Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina. AI cites three factors to explain the great amount of attention given to them. First, anyone detained there for political reasons is liable to be subjected to torture soon after arrest. Second, political persecution in these countries continued unabated or was intensified. And third, AI continues to receive reliable information about arrests there quickly enough to be able to intervene.

These countries were among 116 UA campaigns started during the



Cartoon from *La Mañana*, Montevideo, Uruguay, 20 February 1976, two days after Amnesty International launched a worldwide campaign against the use of torture in Uruguay.

period from June 1, 1975 to May 31, 1976. Other countries, with some 500 Amnesty cases of torture or potential torture, included Tunisia, Dominican Republic, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, Colombia, Spain, El Salvador, South Africa, Taiwan, Soviet Union, Nicaragua, India, Bolivia, Haiti and Paraguay.

AI regularly sends to members active in UA campaigns updated reports on UA actions. Some pertinent extracts:

Argentina: "The children of playwright Carlos Creste were released on 14 January 1977."

El Salvador: Two ten-year old boys, Perez and Martinez, were detained 3 January 1977 for distributing "subversive propaganda." Authorities are urged to give information about the boys' place of detention and to ensure that their rights are protected. There is concern that the boys might officially "disappear."

Tunisia: "Nejib El-euch was among 20 students imprisoned for their political beliefs who were amnestied on 14 October 1976, the 14th anniversary of the evacuation of the French base at Bizerte. It is hoped that now, after his release, Nejib El-euch will be able to recover completely. His health had seriously deteriorated as a result of torture, and in early 1976 he was reported to be in a state of near-permanent delirium."

In a recent Urgent Action prompted by the death of Ugandan Archbishop Luwum, AI has recommended that church groups and other organizations urge President Amin to "give guarantees for the integrity of all detainees and to intervene to stop reported killings in northern Uganda." AI also submitted to the UN Human Rights Commission a document detailing human rights violations in the country.

One of AI's most effective weapons is publicity—and the international public opinion it creates around a case. Sometimes, however, behind-the-scenes negotiations are called for. In such cases, Amnesty groups are advised that publicity can be harmful to a prisoner, and AI officials engage in direct negotiation with the government involved.

A new series of AI "briefing papers" covers torture, capital punishment or political imprison-

those so treated last year are Singapore, Rhodesia, Yemen, Taiwan, Guatemala, and Malawi. The introduction to the Malawi paper summarizes human rights problems in that African country as of particular concern to AI: a) widespread use of prolonged detention without trial as a means of political control, intimidation of potential opposition, and punishment of suspected dissidence; b) suppression by force and harassment of religious groups not conforming to government dictates; c) intermittent reports of the use of torture against political detainees and the incidence of deaths in detention due either to sickness, maltreatment or extra-judicial execution; and d) use of the death penalty to punish criminal offenses and violent political crimes after insufficient judicial process.

Still another Amnesty attack on torture and other forms of gross maltreatment of prisoners is through its human rights investigatory missions. Members of a mission make inquiries, observe trials, testify at hearings, attend conferences, and talk with diplomats and government officials. On the basis of mission findings and with further research, AI releases statements to the world press and publishes reports and background papers. In 1975-76 Amnesty dispatched missions to 32 countries.

The work of the AI mission to the Philippines is instructive. Imposition of martial law by President Marcos in September 1972 caused a marked increase in the number of political prisoners and subsequent allegations of torture and other maltreatment. The mission was undertaken in 1975 from November 22 to December 5, and its findings were released September 15, 1976 along with actual testimony of prisoners and AI's recommendations to the Philippine government. Mission members were Wen-hsien Huang, head of Asian research at London headquarters, and Thomas C. Jones, a Washington, D.C. lawyer and member of the Board of Directors of AI's American section.

A major objective of the mission was to study the problem of detention under martial law and the degree to which those detained without trial were denied human rights.

ment in single countries. Among Marcos granted permission and, in general, allowed satisfactory access to prisoners—despite difficulties encountered by the mission at detention centers.

After exhaustive investigation, including interviews with more than 100 prisoners, the mission issued a detailed report. It was delivered by Jones last September to the Subcommittee on International Organizations of the House Committee on International Relations. Summarized, the report found that the "evidence establishes a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights, including systematic and severe torture, and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment during the interrogation process; indefinite detention, in many cases for several years, without being informed of the charges and without trial of the issues; a systematic denial of the right to bail on the grounds that suspension of the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* suspends the right to bail; and other flagrant violations of the rights which are said to be 'enshrined' in the Bill of Rights."

Mission recommendations included creation of fully independent commissions to make immediate inquiries into all cases of torture; immediate release on bail, pending trial, of all prisoners listed in the AI report; and correction of all abuses of prisoners' civil and human rights in accord with recognized international standards.

The Philippine government's responses to the mission report—up to this time of writing—have failed to address the merits of AI's case or to meet substantively the report's recommendations. AI has received no substantial evidence to contradict or alter the basic conclusions of the report.

Amnesty International has declared 1977 "Prisoner of Conscience Year." It has launched an all-out global offensive on behalf of human rights. Also in 1977, the United States is making itself heard in the cause of human decency. Together, they may just move this world a little closer to what AI's founder Peter Benenson called for 16 years ago: make governments relent!



"From hence, let fierce contending nations know
What dire effects from civil discord flow." — Joseph Addison

Summer Day-1967

JEAN DUPONT MILLER

Sitting across the table from Dave, Ann drank coffee, emerging slowly to face the day. It was shortly before seven o'clock, already warm with the heavy air on the oncoming rainy season. A subdued rattle from the kitchen was reassuring. Festus was still aboard. An Ibo, he threatened almost daily to leave and join the fighting in Eastern Nigeria.

Dave gathered up the papers he had been reading and stuffed them into his briefcase. He did not ordinarily read official papers at the breakfast table but they had been up late the night before talking with Molly Penfield who with her youngster, Chris, had been evacuated from Port Harcourt that day.

Standing up, Dave remarked gloomily, "A real mess. It could go either way."

Ann understood that he referred to the current civil war. Fully awake now she looked at Dave, thinking, "He's tired. He's ready for home leave."

They were due to go in about six weeks. Each time they went home Ann wondered how in thirty days

they were going to shop, visit families and do other things they wanted to do like seeing a few shows in New York. This leave would be complicated by a golden wedding anniversary at Dave's home in Connecticut and two days later the wedding of Ann's younger sister in California. Following Dave to the door she was aware of the letters from home lying on her desk requiring answers about their plans. They would have to make decisions this evening.

At the door, Dave asked, "When does Molly leave?"

"Eleven o'clock this morning on BOAC to London."

"How will she get to the airport?"

"I'm taking her."

"Yes, but—" Dave frowned. "You'll probably run into a road block somewhere along the Ikeja road. Be sure to take your identification card." Still troubled, he told Ann, "I'd come home and take her myself but we're having an all-hands meeting this morning—AID, USIS, everyone."

An American car appeared down the road. Dave bent over and kissed Ann who was not prepared for it. Long ago they had mutually decided against the morning farewell peck on the cheek.

As the car drew up, Dave warned, "If they stop you keep cool. Don't give them any hassle." He hurried to the car.

Now the day moved on

schedule. The Boardman youngsters, Joel, aged eight, and Bobby, five, were joined at the breakfast table by Molly and Chris. Molly Penfield was the English wife of an American petroleum engineer working at Port Harcourt. Good friends since meeting years before in Iran, it was natural that the Boardman home would be a refuge for these two evacuees. Ann was troubled by Chris. While her boys kept up their usual lively banter, she noticed that he was quiet, withdrawn, ate very little.

Festus came in with the market list. "Do you think you can get some fresh shrimp today?" Ann asked.

"Maybe not, madam. There be no boats come from the East for many weeks."

Festus was a thin, wiry man of medium height and indeterminate age. According to his "papers" he had worked for many years in Lagos mostly for British officials long since gone. His family stayed on in Umuahia in the East where his wife was a market woman.

Consultation finished, Ann had a frightening thought. Suppose she was detained at the airport and Bobby came home from play school at twelve o'clock to a locked house? Joel came home later.

"Festus, can you get home before twelve? I'm taking Mrs. Penfield to the airport and I may not be back in time for Bobby."

The steward's thin face assumed

Mrs. Miller has done a wide variety of professional writing, including books and short stories. She wrote several pamphlets and articles on the Point Four program for State and subsequently edited The Multiplier which was distributed worldwide through AID programs. She served six years in USAID/Lagos before retirement.

a worried expression. "I will try, madam. I do not travel Military Road these days. The way to market be longer."

Ann understood that he was detouring around the army barracks and around possible check points. Ibo officials and professional people who stayed on in the capital had little trouble so far. But some stewards and other workers were sometimes harassed, beaten. Festus had an identity pass as a member of the Boardman household but obviously he did not put too much trust in this piece of paper.

Ann nodded, "I understand. Do the best you can."

Time was pressing now. Molly finished packing. Joel left for the American school. After Bobby had been picked up, Ann and her guests left for the airport, normally an hour's drive. But nowadays there seemed to be more traffic—heavy trucks, mammy wagons—all the way. Once Ann had to pull off the Ikeja road to let a column of troops march by. They were recruits, black faces glistening under the sun, their movements stiff in their new khaki uniforms and unaccustomed boots.

The airport was heavily guarded but inside the main building the scene was normal. For each departing African there were several members of his extended family come to say good-bye. They brought their children, baskets of food and a variety of bundles which seemed to have little to do with the departing passenger.

Ann found a place to stand with Chris and the luggage while Molly went off to get tickets. The boarding call came over the loudspeaker before she returned with a porter. He put on the identification tags and started for the takeoff area. The trick now was to follow him closely to be sure the bags went on the right boarding bus for the plane they were taking.

Molly looked at Ann, her eyes saying more than her words. "Thanks for putting us up. A real life saver, my dear. If you hear anything from the East you might drop me a line."

Ann nodded. "I will." She spoke heartily to cover her conviction, which she knew Molly shared, that little personal communication would be coming out of

the East in the near future.

Chris started to go along with his mother, then unexpectedly turned back, "Will you see my daddy, Mrs. Boardman?" he asked.

Molly cried, "Chris, come along, we'll miss the plane."

But Chris was not finished. His face as he looked at Ann was strained and she knew, from knowing her own boys, that he was fighting tears. "If you see him please tell him where we are."

"Chris, he knows where you will be. He knows how to find you," Ann reassured him.

Molly put her arm around Chris's shoulders and turned him toward the exit. Ann watched them follow the porter out of sight. Back at the car she found that her hand was trembling as she unlocked the door.

She made good time on the bumpy two-lane Ikeja Road. But at the last main turn before the city a check point had been set up. Ann looked at her wrist watch. It was twenty minutes to twelve. Cursing under her breath, she swung into line and pulled out her identification card. When she finally edged up to the two soldiers conducting the inspection the perspiration was running down her face.

The first soldier reached in and she placed the identification card in his outstretched hand. Behind him was another soldier holding a rifle across his arms with great nonchalance. It turned when he turned his body, the barrel aimed sometimes at the horizon, other times toward her. On beyond, there was a third soldier interrogating men in a car which was pulled over to the side of the road.

The man with her card, Ann saw, was studying it intently upside down. He returned it to her and spoke in what she recognized as the Hausa language, of which she understood only "Good morning," "Good evening," and "How is your health?" She shook her head.

Her interrogator spoke again, impatiently. His companion moved closer his rifle leveled toward her chest. Both of them gestured at the car keys. Down the road, the soldier at the side-tracked car looked over at them, frowning. Ann was heartened to see that he was a sergeant. She handed over the car keys.

Number One went to the front of

the car and lifted the hood while Number Two kept his eyes and his weapon firmly on Ann. His companion examined the engine for several dragging minutes. He put the hood down finally and went around to the trunk. Ann heard the lid go up and wondered what, if anything, was in there. Number One came back to his original position, returned the keys and picked up her handbag which he opened. Both soldiers became fascinated by what they saw in the depths of her bag.

Dave's warning notwithstanding, Ann cried in exasperation, "What in heaven's name are you looking for?" The high pitch of her own voice startled her.

Number Two leaned forward into the car, his rifle preceding him. His large brown eyes had a reproachful look as he instructed her, "Bad men. Ibo men."

Suddenly, a miracle! Both soldiers stood back making way for the sergeant. "Do you have your pass, ma'm?"

He took it, gave it a quick inspection, said "Thank you," and handed it back. Retrieving her handbag from Number One, he gave it to her and waved her on. As she sped away, Ann saw the road momentarily through a blur of mingled perspiration and tears of frustration.

When she came into the driveway at home, Bobby was sitting on the doorstep watching a procession of leaf-ants go by. "Hi, mom," he greeted her. Then, reproachfully, "I'm hungry."

Festus had not returned from market. Preparing lunch for the three of them, Ann wondered about him. Had he tried to make it home the short way and been roughed up, beaten? Or had he been "detained for questioning?"

When he still hadn't appeared after lunch she was really concerned. She thought of calling the police station to see if there had been an accident report on him. But that could do more harm than good. If he had decided to make a bolt for the East it might alert the authorities.

Unable to solve this dilemma she decided to take the boys to the Ikoyi Club for a swim. The idea was greeted with enthusiasm. But before Ann could reach her room to put on her swim suit the doorbell

rang. Standing on the screened veranda was Patience Mbanefo, one of her favorite Nigerian friends. Ann hadn't seen her for many weeks.

As they went into the living room Patience handed her a small gift package. They sat down and Ann untied the ribbons. Patience was married to a young Ibo who was Assistant Director of the National Museum. He was also an artist who made fine lino-cuts using modern techniques to depict Nigerian village scenes.

Out of the little box Ann lifted two strings of the green-blue turquoise beads found near Nsukka. Each bead was about half the size of a grain of corn. They were roughly polished, a village girl's adornment of little intrinsic value, but bright and attractive. Ann remembered admiring them one day when Patience had worn several strings of them.

"Oh, Patience, how kind of you."

"Once you told me that you liked them."

"But you shouldn't rob yourself, I know they're not easy to find."

"These came up recently—for you."

Ann recognized the polite lie to put her at her ease. Very little had come up from the East since April. Patience was of medium height, small-boned, with a round face that in the past had been smiling and cheerful. She had taken Ann on short trips to Ibadan and other nearby towns. Ann had taught her some needlework stitches, finding her enthusiastic and full of fun. Looking at Patience now she saw a change. Patience' face was thinner, her expression harried.

"I'm so glad to see you, Patience. We thought perhaps you had both left Lagos."

"Peter will not go. He believes this is a foolish war that will cause great loss."

Ann recollected that Patience had already suffered loss—a brother and an uncle—killed in one of the massacres of Ibos in the North.

"It is our families we worry about," Patience continued, "we've had no word from them for over two months."

Ann considered the plight of her friend. Patience and Peter were young professionals, artist and

teacher, who had come to the city to make their way. For them the pull back to the family was very strong. Peter might decide that Ojukwu's rebellion was ill-fated, as other more important officials who were staying on in Lagos had done, but would their families ever understand? Would they be outcasts from home for the rest of their lives?

"I'm sorry," Ann said for want of anything else she could say.

Patience nodded, accepting the statement and all that it conveyed. "We heard last night that the Americans are leaving the East."

"Many of the women and children were flown out."

"The fighting must be bad then."

when are we going?" Joel cried, then saw Patience. Quieted down, both boys greeted the guest politely, but it was obvious they wanted to be off.

Patience rose immediately. Ann would have liked to say, "Maybe it won't be as bad as you fear." But she could not bring herself to do so. Given the circumstances, she knew it was bad and so did Patience. Instead, she thanked her for the beads and added from her heart, "I'm so pleased you came to see me. Do come again."

"I'm glad that you were home." Patience hesitated, then said wistfully, "The old days before all this unhappiness were better."

"Yes, they were. They will

"Electricity, water supply, police protection were breaking down. There had also been massacres of non-Ibo people. This was the second time in Ann's married life that she had seen the fabric of a nation torn by civil strife. You had to be a neutral bystander to appreciate the havoc and destruction."

Did your friends tell you how it was when they left?"

"The friend who stayed with us came from Port Harcourt. That's some distance from Enugu where your family lives."

"But Americans came from Enugu, too, didn't they?" Patience persisted.

"Yes," Ann admitted.

She determined to evade telling Patience what Molly had told them the night before. Food, most of which had been commandeered for Ojukwu's army, was getting scarce. Electricity, water supply, police protection were breaking down. There had also been massacres of non-Ibo people. This was the second time in Ann's married life that she had seen the fabric of a nation torn by civil strife. You had to be a neutral bystander to appreciate the havoc and destruction.

"The government army will reach Enugu someday and it will be very bad for our families," Patience said flatly.

Ann could not deny this.

Joel and Bobby burst into the room in their bathing suits, "Mom,

come again."

Patience smiled, but shook her head, "Perhaps," she said and went on out and down the walk.

When they came back from swimming, the good aroma of curried shrimp met Ann at the front door. She went to the kitchen still in her swim suit. At first glance everything appeared normal—meat patties laid out for the boys, lettuce soaking in solution, little dishes ready for the curry condiments. Only when she looked at Festus did she realize that they were not as usual.

Instead of his white uniform Festus wore a long, loose shirt of African print cloth over dark trousers. This was the dress for special occasions or when, as he did occasionally, he made a trip home.

"I am sorry over lunch, madam. Many things have happened this day."

In a corner of the kitchen, Ann noticed for the first time a large bundle tied up in a bedspread she had given him. He followed her glance. His face became solemn.

Continued on page 39

The Sultan and the Baseball Game

WILLIAM R. (RED) DUGGAN

The second time I met His Highness Seyyid Khalifa bin Harub, Lion of Islam and Sultan of Zanzibar, was at a baseball game. It was, in fact, the first baseball game ever seen on the fabled Isle of Cloves. In honor of that extraordinary event the Sultan had decreed that his Sultana would come out of purdah for the first time and, with the Sultan's family, would attend the game.

This strange mixture of ancient and modern custom, of sport and diplomacy, resulted from a United States Naval visit to Zanzibar 18 years ago—a courtesy call to the Island Kingdom by the *USS Bigelow*, under command of an American Admiral. The author, who arranged the visit, was then serving as American Consul General in East Africa. His bailiwick embraced Tanzania (then Tanganyika) and Zanzibar. Aboard the destroyer we sailed from my post in Dar es Salaam to the nearby Sultanate (and British Protectorate) which included the Islands of Zan-

zibar and Pemba. It was a beautiful clear day—sun glinting off an aquamarine sea—when we entered harbor at Zanzibar City.

There, after completing the formalities of official calls, we all headed for the central attraction—the baseball game. This was staged on a local cricket field. The two competing teams were drawn from officers and men of the ship's crew. The game was a "sellout." Stands and sidelines were filled with a medley of cultures and colors—black Africans, brown Indo-Pakistanis, tan Arabs, white Britishers and Americans. Sitting together in the small VIP grandstand were the starched British Governor (known as Resident); the affable American Admiral and his aides; the genteel Sultan, his Sultana, the Crown Prince and myself. For the first time, the people of Zanzibar were seeing their Sultana, face unveiled, at a public function.

First the celebrities, local and visiting, were introduced via a portable public address system. Each in turn, Sultan and Sultana included, stood and bowed to warm applause. Then came a brief description of the game of baseball. This was translated, sentence by sentence, from English into Arabic

and Swahili. Thereafter the game began—His Highness the Sultan tossing the ball to the catcher in approved big-league fashion. The game lacked only hot-dog vendors. The players provided plenty of sandlot chatter and the visitors distributed free Coca Colas to the spectators.

The audience enthusiastically applauded each spectacular hit or catch. Sultan and Sultana beamed on the proceedings, the latter obviously infected with the zest of the event as well as the gift of her unexpected freedom from the confines of purdah.

The Sultan, a small, round, bespectacled man, wore his 80 years lightly. His cheery countenance was surmounted with a jeweled white silk turban. He wore a long brown gold-embroidered cloak. The Sultana, dressed in a black bubu, had a face brimming with kindness and compassion. Her fingers were bedecked with gold rings, her arms with gold bracelets. British officials wore white shirts and shorts—tropical "kit" of the Colonial Service. The Admiral was resplendent in dress whites, tunic emblazoned with ribbons and gold braid.

In the presence of Arab royalty,

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younger ship's officers were surprisingly shy. Reserved, too, were the British officials who were not quite sure of the results of this blithe intrusion of American modernity into their medieval colonial preserve. Tactfully, senior Americans explained the intricacies of the game to the Sultan's entourage and British officials. Gradually the reserve of the group disappeared and took on the contagious zeal of the players.

By the end of the game, when the players joined in a loud cheer for the Sultan, the event had shown its worth. It had sparked a warm feeling of international friendship. The Sultan, in a short speech in English, demonstrated that with his thanks to the visiting Americans. Finally, in approved fashion, the Admiral presented an autographed baseball and bat to the Sultan and a baseball cap to the Sultana.

From that moment, a very special relationship was to grow between the Sultan and me. For me, henceforth, the Sultan was to become the epitome of Chaucer's Canterbury character— "... a verray parfaite gentil knight. . ."

Those fabled Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba—the Sultan's minuscule dominions—contained 300,000 citizens and an area of one thousand square miles. Set in an iridescent sea, they were lush with tropical vegetation. These islands lie 30 miles off the coast of East Africa and six degrees below the Equator. Their tranquil harbors have long provided voyagers with fresh water and fruits—and sometimes slaves and ivory. They have ever been magnets for travelers through monsoon seas to the mythical Land of Zinj.

In prehistoric times there came to these Islands the people of Africa—from the Nile Valley and the Olduvai Gorge, from the Mountains of the Moon and the high plateaus of Ethiopia where dwelt the sons of Solomon and Sheba. Later came the great sailors of the Mid-East—Phoenicians in their galleons, Arabs in their dhows. Then came Persian, Indian, Chinese traders. Later still came the colonizing Portuguese, Dutch, Germans and finally, the British. Then came American clipper ships and European missionaries. There came famous

explorers—Livingstone, Burton, Speke, even the ubiquitous Henry Stanley. These used Zanzibar as an outfitting station for their African exploits.

The Arab rulers of these islands have shared the vicissitudes of the 1001 Nights. For they emanated from the Caliphates of Oman and Muscat and Arabia itself. They held suzerainty over this part of Africa— island and seacoast—for more than a thousand years.

In these days of post-colonial nationalism and revolutionary fervor, it is difficult to describe just how tranquil—even euphoric—were those twin islands during the reign of this Sultan of whom I write—Seyyid Khalifa. Though there was poverty, disease and too few educational opportunities, there seemed to be food and shelter for all on Zanzibar. Fishing was good. There were coconuts, pineapples and papaya in plenty. When the cloves were ripe there was work for all who wished it. The Sultan, by personal magnetism and devotion, inspired loyalty and affection from all his subjects. Even then, however, the fires of nationalism were being stoked in Nigeria, the Congo, on the East African mainland. Zanzibar would not long be immune to those fevers. In my many later talks with the Sultan and his son, the Crown Prince Abdulla, I could sense that they foresaw great tribulation for their subjects. Yet, at that moment, Zanzibar was a mini-paradise.

The first time I saw Zanzibar I was struck by the quaint configuration of the city. Its center was dominated by the white stucco and red-tile roof of the Sultan's palace. This building recreated scenes from *Beau Geste*. Next to the palace was a six-story wooden monstrosity called Beit al-Ajaib (House of Wonders). That building, erected in 1883 by Sultan Bargash, was first a ceremonial palace then a seraglio. It was reputedly the first building in the Arab world to boast an elevator. Downgraded from its exotic days as a harem, the building now served as an administrative center for British colonial servants. Each Dickensian office was occupied by a white man attended by an African or Arab messenger-clerk.

Just behind these two focal centers of government lay the crowded

Arab quarter known as Stonetown—narrow twisting lanes churning with bearded old sheikhs; swashbuckling younger Arabs in desert dress, silver daggers in their belts; veiled Arab ladies in black bubus; children and dogs and donkey carts and dilapidated taxis. These narrow streets led past open shops containing silversmiths, tobacconists, hairdressers and food stalls. There were vendors of live poultry and dead fish—of wondrous Zanzibar brass chests and carved elephant tusks. There were hawkers dispensing hot fragrant coffee from giant samovars and vendors peddling shoelaces, manioc and Coca Cola.

The British sector of the town, which ran along the sea beyond the Arab quarter, contained the elaborate homes of senior officials—including the Island's governor. These houses were placid transplants of English country life—formal gardens behind each—fronts facing seaward.

Objects of attention in Arab and English sectors were the so-called "Zanzibar doors." These were teak, brass-studded, traditional status symbols, sometimes inscribed with quotations from the Koran.

Beyond Arab and British sectors and away from the seacoast lay the Black African township of Ngambo (meaning "on the other side of the creek")—thousands of mud and wattle huts—roofs of corrugated iron and thatch. Between Arab and African quarters still lay terrible reminders of the days of the "black ivory" trade. Now used for produce vendors, these areas contained posts where humans had been manacled and pilloried. Here slaves had been held in bondage awaiting shipment from Africa to Asia. Near those shocking reminders of man's inhumanity to man rose the spires of the Anglican and Catholic Cathedrals—Victorian monuments of successful efforts to abolish slavery.

Again beyond the African village lay the dockyards with warehouses for copra, cloves and ivory tusks. The latter awaited the hands of skilled craftsmen in Cathay, Ceylon and Zanzibar itself.

The cloves, awaiting shipment to spice merchants in Baltimore, London and Southeast Asia, are Zanzibar's lifeblood and it pro-

duces 90 percent of the world's supply. These tiny buds come from trees which grow 50 feet high. The spice is the unopened bud, when dried they are exported for use in scented cigarettes, medications and flavorings. Collection of cloves is seasonal, involving thousands of pickers and covering two months annually. Thus, the owner of a clove orchard can work 60 days a year, spending the rest of his time fishing, sitting under a mangrove tree or gossiping with friends in the bazaar.

Zanzibar's port area harbored yet another novelty. Beside the few freighters lying at anchor were dozens of graceful, single-masted, square-rigged vessels, the famous dhows—wooden boats averaging 60 feet in length, high in bow and stern. They were richly ornamented with carvings in the manner of Chinese junks or ancient galleons. Amidships were the living quarters—maelstroms of crewmen, shippers, visitors, livestock and cargo. Traveling southwestward on December's monsoons such vessels brought out of Asia rich rugs from Bokhara and red tiles from Bangalore. Returning from Zanzibar on April's southerly winds, they carried cloves, copra and mangrove poles. Such sleek vessels have plied their trade across these monsoon seas for a millennium.

As mentioned at the outset of this tale, it was the precedent-shattering baseball game which provided the opening of my special relationship with the Sultan and his family. It was only a few weeks prior to the game that I had paid my first protocol visit on the Sultan. That took place in the Sultan's rural summer palace which lay on the northern shore of Zanzibar.

The meeting with the Sultan was held in a pleasant upstairs living room, its French doors opening seaward. Despite the sunny setting, the meeting was given cold formality by the presence of the Sultan's British military aide and the Islands' Governor. The latter was a typical Colonel Blimp; the former a stiff young Sandhurst graduate. The protective British reserve succeeded in drowning the natural courtesy and cheeriness of the Sultan. Though he and I tried valiantly to break through the walls

of that reserve, the meeting was a "dud." The baseball game, however, had done what officialdom could not—provided a breakthrough for abiding friendships.

When I first met the Sultan in 1958, he had sat on the throne of his tiny kingdom since 1911. In that half-century he established a unique place as the longest reigning ruler in the British Commonwealth. As Crown Prince and Sultan, he had been present at the London Coronation of five reigning British

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monarchs—from Edward VII to Elizabeth II. Though his Highness's constitutional powers were few, by character and example, he exerted an important influence among his subjects. He was esteemed, even venerated, by Zanzibaris of all racial hues. In those days of swiftly-declining British prestige, it was the Sultan who provided the warp and woof of authority—binding together his disparate countrymen. On Zanzibar there was but one ruler—His Highness Seyyid Khalifa. It was he who kept constantly demanding that the British overlords help his people to diversify their economy and develop social programs. Unfortunately few of his demands were ever met.

Britain, troubled at home and abroad by diminishing riches and influence, was disinclined to endow this tiny corner of their farflung empire with either the money or manpower it sorely needed. Thus, in the years of which I write, there lay over Zanzibar a disarming calm—but an underlying sense of foreboding. The rich perfumes of cloves, of jasmine, of frangipani

only disguised the tragedies that lay ahead.

In the months which followed the famous baseball game, the Sultan revealed to me his deep concern over the real condition of his people and told me of his unsuccessful efforts to obtain help from the British. The Sultan expressed the hope that my own country, America, might step in to aid the people of Zanzibar. I made valiant efforts to assist. Washington, however, instructed me to inform the Sultan that America would not intrude on what was viewed as a continuing British responsibility.

My conversations with the Royal Family ranged from problems and prospects of Zanzibar to the theology of Islam and the civil rights struggle in America. The Sultan was especially intrigued by the life of Abraham Lincoln. I had given His Highness a copy of Carl Sandburg's biography of that great American. Each time I saw him thereafter he recounted, with the avidity of a schoolboy, anecdotes about the Great Emancipator. It was evident that, from Lincoln's life, the sagacious old Sultan was trying to find a key for freeing his people from the economic and political fetters which bound them.

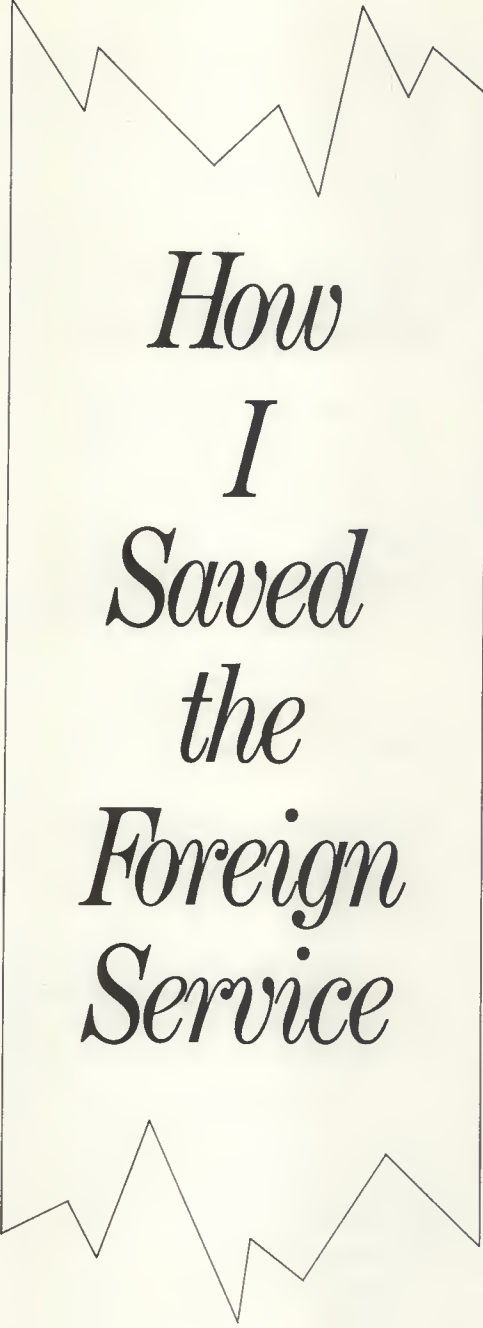
Impressed by my description of America's public school system, the Sultan used these ideas to prod his British Administrators. He succeeded in establishing on Zanzibar the first secondary schools; a teachers' training college and bursaries permitting bright young Zanzibaris to study overseas.

The five times daily calls of the muezzin from the minarets of the Sultan's city had long whetted my curiosity concerning Islam. In those moments the Muslim faithful bowed toward the sacred city of Mecca. Even on the poopdecks of the busy dhows these holy moments would be honored. Hawkers and taximen would not bestir themselves at this sacred time. Only the raucous mynah bird would sacrilegiously dishonor those moments of pious prayer on Zanzibar.

I was particularly interested in Islam's founder, Mohammed, and his text, the Koran. Both Sultan and son were scholars of Islam and fond of expounding on these matters to me—a "Christian infidel."

Continued on page 36

"... A man who by nature is strange, inconstant, and ruled by his own humours and passions, should not enter the profession of diplomacy."—de Callieres



How I Saved the Foreign Service

JAMES MAXSON

I sort of liked the son of a bitch. And Sylvia, his secretary—pardon me, executive secretary—I sort of liked her too, and not only for those green eyes, that forest of auburn hair and that Cleopatra conformation. They were, both of them, all instinct and spontaneity, and they bounded back at you like a golf ball off a brick wall. And for me, who had but lately escaped from the squalor of the academic world, dealing with them was rather cleansing and refreshing.

So naturally I hated to do it. It was pure blackmail, a stab in the

back, a Mafia operation, and I felt soiled and immoral. But a higher imperative stilled my compunctions and pushed me on. It was the only way to save the Foreign Service.

I don't know about Sylvia, but I think he sort of liked me too. Never mind that down deep he probably admired my book learning and that the big words I occasionally used, usually of Latin origin, seemed to calm the storms raging in his

breast. There was something more fundamental. It was simply that, as Cultural Attaché, I was really on the fringes of the Foreign Service and therefore, unlike the genuine article, I was not there to spy on him, knife him or otherwise thwart his ambassadorial mission. He was himself not cut of the traditional cloth; short, round (with notable abdominal frontage), fortissimo in speech, constantly puffing or mangling a cigar, despising incertitude and reflection (which he equated), he was the aboriginal man of the hour. The President, he often reminded us, was a friend of his from way back.

And he wasn't going to let his President down! He was going to be the best goddamned Ambassador this country ever had. Only people stood in his way—lazy, inefficient, treacherous people. Foreign Service people.

Foreign Service people. Like

James Maxson (his pen name) began this piece for the 1976 Bruce awards but couldn't make the deadline. Since retiring a few years ago, he tells us, he has attempted some occasional "scribbling." This attempt, he swears, is pure fiction and all conceivable resemblances to situations and persons are entirely coincidental.

Henry Williams, the DCM; Political Counselor Randy Townsend; Commercial Attaché Bill Ryan; Consul General John Taylor; Administrative Officer Rocky Antonelli; others. All heads of section when he had arrived a year and a half before and now long since departed. "Fired," he called it. No matter that they had only been transferred to other posts—for him they had been fired, and by his hand. He had brought in replacements, "career officers" yes, but acquiesced in after the most rigorous inquiry. But he still felt exposed. To ensure his impregnability he had hired, after booming insistence, several "local Americans" to serve as his special assistants and emissaries. It made sense, didn't it? They knew their way around, spoke Spanish fluently, had buddies in the government of their adopted country, knew what bars and clubs and—why not?—brothels to hang around, knew how to come up with inside information. They also knew what ears to whisper his will into.

"He's destroying the Foreign Service," the Foreign Service people muttered.

"What can we do?" the DCM said. "We've got to play along."

Funny thing, it was those very local Americans the Ambassador walloped the hardest. I discovered that on my first day of duty.

I had gone up to pay my respects, taking along, at his suggestion, the director of the binational cultural center Jim Martin, my only American subordinate. ("He hardly knows me," Martin had pleaded. "It'll remind him I'm alive.") The Ambassador eyed me coolly, apparently decided that my threat was minimal and immediately launched into a disquisition on a speech he was giving that night at the American Club. Suddenly he stopped, pressed the lever on the intercom and ordered Sylvia to get Walters up there right away. A few minutes later Walters, one of his local mercenaries, broke in. "What about the podium?" the Ambassador demanded. (He meant "lectern.") "They got one or not?" Walters said he hadn't found out yet. The Ambassador exploded. "You were supposed to know this morning!" Walters stammered that he hadn't had a free moment—he would have the

dope in half an hour. "Get out!" the Ambassador bellowed. Walters got out, but broke in again shortly to report that there was indeed a "podium" at the American Club. "Get out!" the Ambassador yelled. Walters got out.

Two weeks later the Ambassador departed for Washington. A tightly held departure, and only the DCM knew beforehand. "Consultation," the DCM said, and nobody asked any questions. All was

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quiet in the sea around us, or appeared to be. But who could tell? This place was always at a simmer and there were always enemies around, internal and external. The less said the better. Highly sensitive diplomatic secrets were revealable only at the highest levels.

He came back about a week later, and around noon I received a summons to his office. "Say," he said, "what about this guy Wilson?" In a flash I recalled: I had heard that George Wilson, vice consul at Santiago, my only previous post, was being assigned to us. "Hard-working fellow," I said. The Ambassador snorted.

I was still rather innocent. "Don't they work hard downstairs?"

"You know goddamned well they don't." He pointed to a despatch sitting lonely on his desk. "What do they do but sit on their duffs and read the papers? Then they write despatches on what they read. Real hot stuff, isn't it?"

He got up and paced the floor, his cigar a smokestack. He wheeled around. "Not only that, they undermine me! I go away on

an important deal and they undermine me. I spend two years keeping the peace in this goddamned lake. I go away, and they're at each other's throats again."

The Ambassador crumpled into his chair, an icon of disenchantment.

I felt helpless to ease the Ambassador's pain. And superfluous. So I moved softly to the door.

"Hey, come back."

The Ambassador had recovered, miraculously. He now seemed relaxed, at peace. "Look here," he said, "I've got a job for you."

It was like this: After his talks with the President, he had dropped into the State Department. There he had been informed that they were pulling out the director of the binational center, bringing him back to Washington. Weren't satisfied with his work. Didn't have enough initiative—that sort of thing. He personally didn't have anything against him. But what could he do? He couldn't interfere with the Department's wishes, could he? The machinery of government had to follow its course, didn't it? "Your job," the Ambassador said, "is to tell the guy he's through. And get him out of here quick."

Fire the director of the center? Chop off the head of that pillar of international understanding? Of that perky little establishment that gave English classes, presented lectures, movies, exhibits, ran a library—all portraying the life and culture of the United States, from which the natives wouldprehend that American foreign policy proceeded from a moral and spiritual base? A mover of minds and hearts, Washington said. Fire Jim Martin, who was at the bottom of the Embassy heap? Correction: he wasn't on the Embassy rolls at all. He was just a "grantee," a hired hand of Washington's, watched over and helped by the Embassy, responsible to the Embassy, but no more than an Embassy stepchild.

He hadn't been there very long, less than a year. Had done a good job, people said. Scholarly, soft-spoken, no ugly American, respected by the cultured of the society, by officials. Popular with students and teachers, had the confidence of his Board. Conscientious? There he was every day from mid-morning to almost midnight—

teaching, organizing, supervising, keeping the accounts; a thousand and one chores. Why had he left his small college, those nine hours' teaching a week? Simple: He'd had enough of the grubbing to make ends meet. That present schedule of 12 to 14 hours a day was worth it. Was now making about \$5000 a year more, not counting the housing allowance or the tax-free liquor and the other "diplomatic" perquisites to which he was technically not entitled but tendered as a courtesy. It was still a grind, with a wife and three kids. But now he had a comfortable house, a "courtesy" membership in a beach club, a housemaid. More than that: In what other job could he feel so important, know Ministers, professors, artists, writers? This was living.

I pretended. "Jim," I said, "it's finally come through."

He looked at me blankly.

"You know, your transfer to Washington."

He was thunderstruck. I was kidding.

Didn't he know it was in the works?

The first he'd heard of it. Where did I get the word?

The Ambassador himself had brought it from Washington.

Why? Why? He kept pointing to his excellent record, the support he got from the Board, his plans for expanding his program once the new building became a reality. And what about the personal side—did anyone ever think of that? They had barely settled into their house, had finally rid it of the beetles, the scorpions, the baby lizards. And his poor wife. She was only now beginning to get the hang of things, to speak the language, was buying some new clothes. At last seemed content. And the kids—they were only now becoming accustomed to that crazy half-Spanish, half-English school, had playmates, didn't whine any more. The family uprooted again, their lives disrupted again, his pocketbook drained again—he was far from finished with the payments on the loan he had taken out to make the move down. Let alone what it would take to move back.

I grabbed for a straw. "Listen," I said, "maybe you could get the Ambassador to stop it." He, Martin, could explain the situation bet-

ter than I at second hand.

He felt better. He would do it.

The next day I went up to pave the way. Sylvia was just emerging from the ambassadorial den. No, not emerging. Stomping, fuming, breathing fire. Slamming her papers down on her desk. "Go on in," she said.

But here was the Ambassador himself sauntering out, as serene as she was furious. "Don't get sore," he said to her. "It couldn't be helped, that's all." Sylvia sniffed—she was in no mood for appeasement. He turned to me. "Lovely Sylvia, don't you think?"

We went into his office.

He wouldn't hear of it. "What the hell does that guy want? I've got nothing to do with it. It's the Department—they want it that way."

When I came out Sylvia was still seething. I asked if there was anything I could do. She didn't answer.

I went back to Jim. He was desolate, bewildered, a hunted animal. Why? Why? He didn't dare face his wife. She hadn't wanted to come in the first place. He'd had to talk her into it: This was the beginning of a new career for him, a new life for both of them. They would have fun, would have a beach practically at their door, would go to parties, take weekend trips, meet new people. Have more money.

He turned on me. As his immediate superior why didn't I go to bat for him, protest?

I grabbed at another straw. "Wait until the thing comes down, officially, on paper. Then we'll have something concrete to protest."

It was a slender reed. Yet—who knew?—something might happen—a hurricane, a political upheaval, an attack on the center by communists. He would be on the spot, he would keep the lid on, he would show his mettle. The dread decision would be reversed.

He loosened up a little. Postponement was welcome.

I was about to leave when the wife appeared. She wasn't at all the tear-stained, withdrawn, nagging type I had imagined. Not at all. My quick impression was of a younger Sylvia, pretty, zestful, fresh. Jim introduced us and I thought I detected in the way she smiled and offered her hand a delicate attempt

to make her mark on her husband's boss. She wanted to know what time he would be home. He listed all the tasks that lay before him. "Around midnight, I guess." He sounded guilty. "That's okay," she said. "I'll be playing bridge with the girls." He offered to come get her. Oh no, she would be home long before.

She tripped away. "See what I mean?" he said.

It was self-evident. She was at home. She was happy. That made him happy. His work would show it, and we would all benefit. I saw my duty clear and distinct: The personal, the human, element—that was only part of it. It was in the national interest that Martin be kept on the job.

A week went by and no word came from Washington, no terse little document throwing lives into torment and frustrating international understanding. No news was good news. I would start building my case.

So I went around to the Board, talked to students and teachers, questioned Ministry officials, culture types, even newspapermen. The verdict was unanimous: an asset, a gem, an indispensable man. Good! At the proper moment I would present my dossier of incontrovertible facts to the Ambassador. There was a sort of bond between us. He would listen.

Weeks went by, and still no message from Washington. And, curiously, the Ambassador had not returned to the subject—and I didn't remind him. He had better things to think about no doubt, among them the restructuring of peace, now so perfidiously subverted.

Then it was announced that the Ambassador was leaving for his summer vacation in the Wisconsin woods. To recharge his batteries for the arduous toils ahead. To be equal to the task set by his President. No phone calls, no letters, no telegrams. Days of fishing, hearty food, late-afternoon slumber. Heart-warming causeries of an evening with chums of yore. He would be back in two months, and he expected everything to be in tip-top shape, his instructions followed to the letter, pending business punctiliously completed.

The Ambassador departed. He left no word concerning the directorship of the center.

I was sure the whole thing had blown over. Martin banished it to a backwater of his mind.

At the Embassy faces shone brightly. Except Sylvia's, which had taken on a dark, clouded look.

In early September the Ambassador swept back in with the hurricanes. He called a staff meeting. He was full of fight after those weeks in the Wisconsin woods. The Administrative Officer was lambasted for not having the construction of the new chancery farther along. Not enough lumber, he said. Why didn't the goddamned builder borrow it? He'd had enough lumber to put up that gambling joint, didn't he? The Consul General was hammered for not having produced a study on the implications of the new anti-communist law. Such an analysis would surely be coming down from Washington, the Consul General said. "That's all you guys know how to do, pass the buck," the Ambassador riposted. He was particularly incensed over the status of the coffee deal. "What's the story?" he stormed at Walters. Walters said that the decree was on the desk of the Finance Minister. "I want it off his desk!" It was a damned shame, this procrastination. He was sick and tired of it. And what was worse, it was encouraged by the yellowbelliedness of his own staff. He would see the Presidentie himself. (The final "e" of the Spanish "Presidente," gave the Ambassador a felicitous opportunity: he said "Presidentie," as one might endearingly say "Johnnie" or "Charlie.") He ripped back into Walters. What the hell was the matter with him? He was becoming just like the others, the "cookie pushers" of the Foreign Service. Walters's mouth took on a fixed, joyless smile and the blood flushed through the layers of his tropical tan.

One after another the staff was jabbed, pummeled, slugged—for action not accomplished, for directives unimaginatively prosecuted. I alone remained untouched. At one point the Ambassador, in a reversal of his usual thrust, wanted to know why Jones, the Assistant Commercial Attaché, was being transferred. Jones was housebroken, wasn't he? The transfer would be stopped. Now my turn was coming. But the Ambassador turned to

another topic.

We filed out, sheep. Even I, who was suffering for the others.

A message was waiting for me at Sylvia's desk. I was to go back to see the Ambassador.

"What the hell's the big idea?" the Ambassador roared. "That guy's still here." He was smoldering.

I ventured the possibility that

"The Foreign Service—that was no profession. What preparation did it take? Where were its standards? Where else could you start at the top? Make your own rules? Thumb your nose at experience? Spit upon advice? And undoubtedly be hailed as a great success by those who crowned you king in the first place?"

Washington had changed its mind.

The venture set him ablaze. "Don't give me that stuff!"

Confidently I pursued the tack. "Actually," I said, "he's doing a very good job. The Board, and many others, think highly of him."

In two consecutive sallies I had crossed the Ambassador.

The second one jolted him out of his chair: "Get that guy out of here! I want him out! Out!"

Then came the thunderbolt: "Or you'll go out with him!"

My turn had come. He had been saving it up. In effect I was being fired too.

"Yes, sir," I said, and I really don't know why I said it. I should have said, "No, sir." I should have stood up for an innocent bloke. Done my patriotic duty.

Instead I had said "Yes, sir." In dumb reaction to an ordinance divine.

"Get out!" the Ambassador yelled, and the walls quaked.

Sylvia had felt the quaking of the walls. As I passed her desk she turned up to me that clouded look she was still wearing. "Having a

little trouble?"

Having a little trouble? I certainly was. I pounded my way into the corridor, rammed the elevator button, then without waiting for the machine to respond, hurtled down to my first-floor office.

What steps was I going to take to get the guy fired? Should I write to Washington? What would I say? That he was running the center into the ground? That he was hopeless as an administrator, a flop as a teacher? That he had trod upon indigenous sensibilities? Impossible. None of that would square with all previous reports. What else? That I phone Washington (at least it wouldn't be on paper) and just say that the Ambassador wanted him out. Out, period. No reasons given. But that would excite grave suspicions: Martin had been pocketing the center's funds, had been found drunk in the gutter, had been surprised in a raid on a household of dubious domesticity. Goodbye, new career. *Vale*, brave new life.

And what about me? Well, I could go back to the academic world. Fine! Martin and I, brothers under the skin, could go back together. The days of the housing allowance and the duty-free liquor were over. I didn't give a damn. At least I would be returning to a career for which I was prepared. Professionally. The Foreign Service—that was no profession. What preparation did it take? Where were its standards? Where else could you start at the top? Make your own rules? Thumb your nose at experience? Spit upon advice? And undoubtedly be hailed as a great success by those who crowned you king in the first place? No, that was not for me. I would go back.

Yet I wasn't satisfied. To go back, to creep back into that other, miasmic world, was no answer. I would be suffocated—fresh air had spoiled me. But that wasn't it alone. Something else held me shackled. I couldn't say what it was.

I went out and walked the streets. It was no good. I went back in and sat at my desk, benumbed by indecision, heavy with impotence.

The phone rang. If it had been the DCM or almost anybody else, it wouldn't have helped. But it wasn't. It was Sylvia. And I felt a

little better.

"How're you doing?" she asked.

"Awful," I said.

"C'mon, it happens to the best of us."

"You too?"

"And how."

"Maybe you're overworked," I said.

She guffawed. "Listen, what you need is a snifter or two. It'll set you up fine."

The prospect promised relief. We would meet at the Hotel Marisol after work. I was not to go away if she didn't show up promptly. He usually got his brainstorm when it was time to quit. Especially on Fridays.

She was already there when I arrived. "Went to see the Presidentie," she said. "Was going to read him the riot act about the coffee deal." She seemed to have come out of her funk, seemed free, released.

We ordered frozen daiquiris. "That's about the only thing they do right in this hell-hole," she said.

I objected. "The place is decent enough. It's the people. The Americans mainly."

"Yeah, the gringos. One in particular."

"Look here, I don't get it. What's got into you? You're supposed to be his fair-haired girl. Picked you himself. Brought you down here, didn't he?"

"Yeah, brought me down here all right. But not fair-haired any more."

"Lovers' quarrel," I said. I laughed. I swear I didn't mean anything. A phrase. A cliché. Just something to say. But the insouciance was gone from her face. Her eyes narrowed. She pressed her lips together.

"How did you know? Are the bitches yapping?"

My God, I had hit upon something, touched a raw nerve, dug out a secret, private, intimate, non-diplomatic. So that was it—a lovers' quarrel! I had seen it, or part of it, had been on the edge of it. That was weeks and weeks, even months, ago. But it was still raging.

Yet she was not embarrassed. Maybe she wanted to talk about it, tell somebody. But who? What friends did she have? The Foreign Service wives, those shoppers of antiquities? The other secretaries,

telling themselves they were thrilled to be abroad? No, neither camp was the stuff of which friendship with Sylvia was made. No, I was the one. I too was on the outside and we were suffering together. She too had been fired and we were fellows in travail.

"I don't believe it," I said.

"How could he fire *you*? How could anyone fire you?"

My flattery didn't work. "It's happened," she said, "cut loose, like everybody else."

"But why you?"

"The usual, I guess. He likes 'em younger now."

"But who?" I hadn't seen anything. No one had so much as hinted.

She had become tense. She was struggling. And I was being cruel.

"Never mind," I said, "that too will pass."

"Huh," she said, "it's already passing."

Then came the blockbuster: "Why do you suppose he wants to get Martin out of here?"

I gulped down the daiquiri. This was wild, other-worldly, a mad dream. What on earth was she saying? This too? Impossible. Yes, she was younger. Yes, she was pretty. But why get rid of him? You'd think he'd want him around. It didn't hang together.

I told her so.

"You bookworms are dopes," she said. "He's getting tired of her, that's why. Or it's getting too complicated. Or something. Anyway, if the guy gets out of here, she goes with him, and the problem goes away too. See?"

Yes, I saw. Saw the whole stage-managed performance—his obliqueness, his deference to the Department, his faith in the workings of governmental processes, maybe even—heaven forbid—that mysterious consultation in Washington. Only something had gone wrong, and *in extremis* he had reverted to type. In the end instinct and spontaneity had prevailed.

And in the playing out of the drama he had fashioned a role for me. But I had dropped the cue.

I still didn't want to believe it. "Are you sure?"

"I'm only putting two and two together. But I've got that sweet little romance from the horse's mouth."

"What! Who?"

"Walters. He's been making all the arrangements for months."

But why would Walters tell her?

"He's getting even. The old man's cut him down one time too many. In front of others."

I protested. "He's not the *only* one."

"Yeah, but he's practically a Latino. He's sensitive. His honor's been wounded."

And the deepest wound of all was being inflicted that day, maybe at that very moment. Walters and the Presidentie had been drinking companions for years.

Not for a minute during that interminable weekend did I find peace. My crisis had been sharpened. I had seen the truth, been handed the truth on a platter, and the truth had enslaved me. I grappled, I tugged, I wrestled, flew off the handle over trivialities, sank into bottomless pits, sought wisdom in the works of my classical masters and found only discontinuous words. I was trapped. I was now not only being called upon to defy sense, rationality, sanity. I was also being ordered to be an instrument for evil.

It was all debate—and no conclusion. That is, until about ten o'clock that Sunday night. Then it struck: It was no longer just Martin, no longer simple patriotic duty, no longer merely a fight to the death with a satanic force loose in the Embassy. It was me, James Maxson, PhD, pedant, half-assed diplomat, who was being tested.

Let's face it: I was no savior, no crusader, much less a deranged Don Quixote. Far from it. For years I had stood aside, observed, talked about what others had done or written. I had been an escapist, an expatriate—in my own land. Even during the War, blue in winter, white in summer, I had sat immaculate at a desk in the Navy while others were out being blown up or drowned. Yet when it was over I had scrapped a lifetime guarantee, thrown away a profession. Why? Not really because of the miasma. It was something more. It was out of the compulsion, obscure but persistent and gnawing, to act, to be full and whole. Now I had been given the chance to act, to be, to be something beyond what my former and present jobs said I was. To say "no" rather than "yes." To play a role, not one

imposed on me by a woodsman from Wisconsin, but one which had been created for me from the beginning.

It was intoxicating.

I had to do something fast that Monday morning or the intoxication would soon wear off. But it wasn't enough to storm his fortress, half-nelson him to the floor and, with my knee on his chest, demand that Martin stay. That would indeed be action, but untidy, not in keeping—and self-defeating. I needed a framework, a cause. Right wrongs? Stamp out injustice? That was too grand, too inflated, not my style. I needed something more manageable, more concrete. But more than that, I needed a banner, a tangy and digestible phrase, in brief: *words* for a cause. I groped. To no avail.

Yet I couldn't wait. So as soon as I got in I called Sylvia: I had to see the Ambassador right away. She called back quickly: if it had anything to do with Martin, the Ambassador wouldn't see me.

I didn't realize it at the time, but it was a perfect reply. Perfect because it enraged me. And rage sparked my articulation, gave me the words for a cause. "Tell him it's an emergency," I yelled into the phone. "The Foreign Service is being destroyed!" Then the exhortation: "Save the Foreign Service! Save the Foreign Service!" She called back: "He says you're off your rocker. But he'll see you. At 2:30. And make it short."

He was playing into my hands. If I had gone up at 9:00 a.m., all emotion, with no controlled scenario, he would have put me to his overseer's lash and I would have staggered out, broken, dazed, a drunken idiot. Now he had given me the most precious of all bonanzas—time. Time to prepare my blackmail, my stab in the back, my Mafia operation.

I went to a sidewalk cafe across the street and there, undeterred by the merciless honking of the automobile horns and the relentless yowling of the lottery vendors, or, more likely, inspired by their riot and blatancy, I schemed and plotted, working out, then rehearsing, form and substance. It was the third act of the play.

I was there at 2:30 on the dot.

"What's this crap about the Foreign Service?" he said.

"To hell with the Foreign Service," I said. "That's only words."

He looked confused.

"It's about Martin," I said.

"What about Martin? What're you doing about it?"

I gave my answer in one word: "Nothing."

"You're not doing anything?"

"That little addition was a stroke of genius: I had covered my credibility gap. He didn't throw anything at me. And he didn't yell 'Get out!' or 'You're fired!' Instead he was downright self-composed. Tight, perhaps, but in perfect control. . . ."

"No, sir." There it was. I had said it. "No, sir." I felt whole, redeemed, born again. I had passed the test. "And I'm not going to."

He was ready to burst, so I plunged right in, calmly, methodically, in command of my lines.

"Sir," I said, "I don't think it's a good idea."

He glared at me.

I launched into my discourse. I was indignant, lyrical, remorseless, Ciceronian. I piled fact upon fact, example upon example, rhetorical question upon rhetorical question, argument upon argument. Even on practical grounds alone, the man should stay. It was wrong to pull him out just at the moment when he had reached his maximum usefulness. It was worse: We should tell that witless Department, those gray-faced personnel officers, that it would be damaging to the image of our country, prejudicial to the national interest.

"National interest," he interrupted, "that guy?"

I pressed on. "Besides, he has a number of personal problems." One by one I recited his trials, compared with which the tortures suffered by the bound Prometheus, the agonies endured by the wandering Aeneas, were as nothing. Nothing human was alien to us as Americans—witness the bountiful hand we were extending to the dis-

inherited of the earth. Could we fail to pour forth the milk of human kindness to one of our own, so close to us, a member of our own family? To a man whose only thought was to serve his country, selflessly, humbly, with no thought but to carry out his charge unmolested and secure?

It was a rushing, cascading torrent, and I guess he didn't stop me out of amazement at my effrontery—and my book learning. No one had argued with him before, certainly no one with so much passion and with an authority so deeply grounded in classical lore.

I was approaching the high point. "Another thing," I said, "his wife isn't well."

"What's the matter with her?"

"The doctor says she shouldn't be subjected to any strain."

"What the hell's the matter with her?"

I must admit I hesitated. I couldn't quite say it. It was unconscionable, a low blow. But I had reached the crossroads. Was I finally to act, to be fully me, respond to the impulse within me? Or was I to slink back to a life of incompleteness, of self-hatred? Yet, you know, it was almost as if, at that moment, I didn't have any say. I had made my decision at the séance in the sidewalk cafe, had uttered and re-uttered the words so often, that the thought and words had developed a compulsion of their own. And there was no turning them back. "His wife's going to have a baby."

He didn't budge or flinch or pale. He only took a deep puff on his cigar.

"So what?" he said. "It isn't the first one. They've got plenty of lying-ins in Washington, don't they?"

"Yes, but it's getting there. She isn't as young as she used to be. She's got to be careful. The packing, the lifting. And the mental stress. The worry, the uncertainty. The money it's going to take."

"A guy that doesn't have any dough shouldn't go 'round having kids."

"I'm not sure you can blame him," I said.

He looked at me fixedly. He seemed to be waiting for some elucidation of my oracular remark.

Could I complete the train I had set in motion? Blackmail wasn't my

bag. But the rehearsed words had taken over and here they were catapulting me into the flood.

"There seems to be some question of the paternity." I said it firmly, my nerves steady.

I thought I saw his Wisconsin-woods bronze take on a heightened coloration.

But he was holding on. He was tough. "Who says?"

"Some newspaper friends."

"You've got newspaper friends?"

"Wire-service types and the local brand. I make contacts. Part of my job."

"Well," he said, "I see we've got a scandal on our hands. Good thing the guy's out in left field. Keeps my Embassy's name out of it. Only one thing to do . . ."

"What?"

"Get him out of here—and quick. And it's all your goddamned fault. If you hadn't horsed around so long. . ."

"Trouble is," I said, "they think they can trace it. They think they're on to a big story."

I thought I saw the Wisconsin-bronze turn slightly green. "Who?" he said. Quietly. Almost hoarsely.

I have always lied so badly, so unpersuasively. But there was no time for a dress rehearsal. All the previews were finished. "They say they've seen you with her on occasion." Then to show I didn't believe a word of it, no sir, not one word, I added, "The sons-of-bitches!"

That little addition was a stroke of genius: I had covered my credibility gap. He didn't throw anything at me. And he didn't yell "Get out!" or "You're fired!" Instead he was downright self-composed. Tight perhaps, but in perfect control, as though he were contemplating a move against fierce business competitors or hard-nosed union leaders.

Finally he said, "I won't dignify it by denying it." He thought for a moment. Then, "You deny it. Tell 'em it's an insult to the Ambassador of the United States. *Your* ambassador."

"I have. But they won't let go. They think they're on to something."

For a second he lost his hold: "Get the guy out of here!"

I was determined to play it out to

the inexorable final curtain. "If you permit me to say so, sir, that would be the wrong course. They'll think they smell a rat. They'll blow it up. It'll be in all the papers. It'll be the big lie triumphant. Just like the Nazis."

"Hitler bastards."

"Now if we leave him here, we'll be able to laugh it off. It'll just be a normal, quite proper, quite acceptable, parturition."

I'm not sure the Ambassador had ever encountered the word, but it had a nice Latinate ring and its assuasive properties were triggering the chemistry. He was pondering my proposition.

"You're right," he said. "Best thing is not pay attention to that bull. We'll laugh it off." He shook his head. "God, I didn't even know *those* birds had it in for me. And after the way they've guzzled my booze!"

He had slackened the reins, was his own self again. He had won, consummated a big deal, outwitted his corporate and syndical enemies.

He stood up—he had no further use for his underling. But I wasn't quite ready to be dismissed. There was to be no mistaking the terms of the deal.

"Then Martin stays?" I said.

"Yeah, let the bum stay. It'd be rough on his old lady."

"I'll call Washington."

"Yeah," he said.

It was a perfect dénouement.

I called Washington. You'd have thought I was a visitor from ancient Persia or a man from Mars—they had no idea what I was talking about. Oh yes, come to think of it, months and months ago they had got a call from some clod on the White House staff who said the Ambassador wanted to make a slight change, wanted to transfer back the director of the center. They had been prepared to put up a fight—they knew a good man when they saw one. But they hadn't got a peep out of the Embassy (and had heard nothing further from the White House). So they had decided that the problem, whatever it was, had solved itself. It often happened that way, they said.

I told Martin that his masterful direction of the center had turned the Ambassador completely around. The Ambassador would insist that the Department rescind

its order for his return to Washington.

He was ecstatic. "It'll be a happy home again," he said.

A few weeks later the word got out: the Ambassador was resigning. He asked me to prepare the press release. "Never been so happy in my life," he said. "Glad to dump these dead fish overboard."

"The American Ambassador," I wrote, "has today submitted his resignation to the President of the United States. When he first accepted his appointment, which was at considerable personal and financial sacrifice, it was with the understanding that he would serve for two years. That term has now been more than completed. 'I am a family man,' the Ambassador stated, 'and the time has come for me to make up to my family for the neglect which my heavy responsibilities have made them suffer.' The Ambassador will be returning to Wisconsin, where he will resume the executive leadership of the company which bears his name."

"In taking leave the Ambassador wishes to express his warmest feelings of regard for the President, the Cabinet and the people of this great country. His sadness at departing is tempered by the memory of the friendship, good will and cooperation he has found among all sectors of the population. He has been especially touched by the support that has unfailingly been extended to the binational cultural center, which is contributing so much to that rich understanding that exists between our two nations. For all this he is supremely grateful. He prays that Heaven grant this land the blessings of happiness and prosperity."

"Great stuff," the Ambassador said. "Your newspaper friends'll love it."

Practically the whole staff went out to see him off. I must admit I was a little low. But the air was filled with an aroma of good fellowship and bureaucratic togetherness, and I joined in. Even Sylvia, who was leaving in the morning, was smiling. When the plane took off, we all shook hands and thumped each other on the back.

"That's the best thing he's ever done," the DCM said. "He ought to get a medal. He's saved the Foreign Service."



Freedom From Free Flow?

AMERICA'S MASS MEDIA MERCHANTS
by William H. Read. Johns Hopkins
University Press, \$10.95.

In reviewing Bill Read's book, I must at the onset declare a slight bias. He and I have been good friends for nearly ten years. We have worked together at the Voice of America, and were both VOA Correspondents in Asia where we shared a number of coverage assignments in Indochina. Our most recent collaboration was an article in the February *FSJ* which we entitled "Shall Truth Be Our Guide?—A Proposal for Reforming the Voice of America."

Having said all that, it seems only fair to add that if Bill Read had written a bad book, I would probably have suggested that *FSJ* find someone else to review it. Happily, this is not the case. The book is excellent. Furthermore, it deserves a thorough reading by anyone interested in international communications.

Writing at Harvard during a leave of absence from USIA, Read traces the commercial flow of US information abroad, how it got that way, and what is now being done to diminish it. He describes this latter process as the exercise of "information sovereignty," and he suggests that US policy-makers may want to start paying closer attention to it.

Included in his study are eight American print media, plus motion pictures and telefilms. He shows how AP and UPI started up their overseas operations, how the news services of the New York *Times* and the Washington *Post*-Los Angeles *Times* reached the point where they now serve two hundred leading newspapers abroad, and how "Marcus Welby, MD" ended up in a stuffy hotel lobby at Ipoh, Malaysia.

Indeed, the distribution of American television programs abroad is now so widespread, Read finds it easier to list those nations that *do not* schedule US telefilms in their broadcasts: People's Republic of China, North Korea, Vietnam, Albania and Mongolia. "Everywhere else," he says, "in more than 100 countries—republican and monar-

chic, communist and capitalist, industrial and agrarian—made-in-America programs are telecast at least occasionally, and in many cases daily."

But television is only part of the story. Read explores the market impact abroad of the American wire services, the news magazines: *Time* and *Newsweek*, and the ubiquitous *Reader's Digest* which now has a foreign circulation of twelve million copies monthly.

He notes that there is very little in the way of philanthropy associated with this enterprise. Rather, it is a straightforward bid for access to what has become a global marketplace for information. And it works. Or at least it has up until now. In recent years, there have been some warning signs that the marketplace may be becoming overwhelmed, if not saturated, with American media products: print, film and television.

Read cites the case of Third World nations whose citizens, he writes, "must depend on foreigners to a significant extent for the books they read, the television programs and films they watch and the news stories they read. They rely on foreign foundations for scholarly research grants, depend on universities abroad for better-quality higher education, and indeed, must even learn a foreign language, most often English, in order to avail themselves of desired information."

All of this leads to a state of perceived cultural dependency in which less developed countries consider themselves, as Read describes it, "...culturally exploited in much the same way as they once were politically and, to a degree, still are economically."

Occasionally, the cultural imperialism charge is heard closer to home. Read quotes Canadian-born John Kenneth Galbraith: "Canadians ... talk about economic autonomy—I would be much more concerned about maintaining the cultural integrity of the broadcasting system and with making sure that Canada has an active, independent theater, book publishing industry, newspapers, magazines, and schools of poets and painters ... these are the things that count."

Out of this growing discontent has emerged the phenomenon of in-

formation sovereignty. Barriers go up. Correspondents are denied visas. Censorship is imposed. *Time* is forced to cease publishing a Canadian edition. *Newsweek* runs afoul of the Singapore High Court, is charged with "disrespect," and obliged to pay out more than \$30,000 in fines and legal fees. And at the 1976 UNESCO conference in Nairobi a vote is barely averted on a Soviet-backed resolution making "states responsible for the activities in the international sphere of all mass media under their jurisdiction."

Recently, a new element has entered the argument. US technology has produced the means for direct radio and television broadcasting by satellite. This, as Read points out, has scared the hell out of everybody. He calls it a perfect micro issue for appreciating how foreigners react to American domination of the information export market. "Here," he says, "is a topic that facilitates full venting of latent and known attitudes toward the worldwide dissemination of made-in America mass media products."

The direct satellite broadcasting argument—as debated as recently as April 1977 at the UN—centers on the question of prior consent: that is, should a nation seeking to transmit via the satellite be obliged to obtain permission from the countries where the programs will be received. This has never before been necessary in international broadcasting, but, as Read points out: "... the international community of nations is apprehensive about how the technology of satellite broadcasting, when developed, might be used and for what purposes."

He then notes that the United States, in upholding the principle of the free flow of information, which is enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, was outvoted 102 to 1 the last time the direct satellite broadcasting issue came up in the UN General Assembly.

Increasingly, in Read's view, the debate becomes essentially one of information sovereignty versus free flow of information—with many nations arguing that the flow isn't very free, if the United States is hogging all of the media channels. Does this signal an end to free

flow?

Read upholds the virtues of the marketplace, which—if kept open—can give foreign audiences a choice, thus enhancing the prospects for the free flow of information being kept genuinely free. But one is reminded here of A. J. Liebling's oft-quoted caution that freedom of the press is guaranteed only to those who own one. Add to this the conglomerate corporate structure of present day American news media, and you can begin to appreciate the Third World argument.

Nonetheless, Read contends "... that the free flow of information remains an honorable principle, worthy of being upheld in the interests of humankind." He urges its resuscitation.

—SEAN KELLY

FSJ BOOKSHELF

Japan, with Love and Candor

THE JAPANESE, by Edwin O. Reischauer. Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, \$15.00.

Edwin Reischauer is preeminent in the Japan field as both scholar and diplomat. An authority on Japanese history and one of our most effective post-war ambassadors, he has become the outstanding interpreter of Japan to the United States. This book is a valuable contribution to that effort.

Addressed more to the general reader than to the old hand, *The Japanese* focuses on the social values of the Japanese, their political system, and on how Japan is adapting to an interdependent world. It admittedly contains little on Japanese cultural achievement or economic growth and so is not quite as "richly rounded" as the Harvard Press asserts. But it does have the perceptiveness and balance of an observer who knows Japan well and rightly believes that we have much to learn about the Japanese.

Some of his more intriguing comments, of interest both to the uninitiate and the specialist, deal with social structure: the Japanese pay little attention to class but much to status and hierarchy; because women have recently made "huge advances" and already have a dominant family role, they are not unduly concerned about "liberation"; the Western way of hair-

splitting analysis and great conceptual schemes is not obviously better than the Japanese way of achieving cooperation and harmony through non-verbal understanding.

The political chapters are remarkably detailed. They explain how politics operates by faction and decision-making by consensus, as well as the deep roots of moderate—some say conservative—forces in Japan. The author believes that the reforms of the American Occupation are proving durable because they headed in the same direction forces in Japan were pushing; this applies even to the Japanese constitution, written by the Occupation in one week and adopted by the Japanese with minor changes as a revision of the Meiji Constitution of 1889, which was almost a decade in the making. Speaking perhaps as a former ambassador, he takes on the still delicate issue of the transit of US nuclear weapons in the Japan area, commenting that the problem hangs on the meaning of the word "introduce" as used in the US-Japan agreement. His discussion of Japan's dependence on international trade is balanced and timely in the light of complaints in the United States and Europe about the export surpluses of those de Gaulle once called "*les petits marchands de transistor*."

Although Professor Reischauer is generally considered to be a sympathetic interpreter of the Japanese, this book candidly discusses their problems and shortcomings, such as language deficiency, racial sensitivity, and a sense of separateness in dealing with outsiders. Nevertheless the reader will find much to support the author's judgment that "Japan may well be among the leaders—possibly even the preeminent leader—in finding solutions to the problems that mankind will face in the 21st century."

—RICHARD B. FINN

Unlikely Irish Martyr

THE ZEAL OF THE CONVERT: *The Life of Erskine Childers*, by Burke Wilkinson. Luce, \$9.95.

Each generation produces its own brand of revolutionary. In troubled Ireland the breed has been rapidly going downhill, from philosopher-statesmen like Tone and

Grattan to the poets of the Easter Rebellion and underground fighters of the Troubles to the squalid butchers of modern Belfast who blow up pubs, and kill women and children.

In the long roll call of Irish martyrs, Erskine Childers is one of the most unlikely. In background and education more English than Irish, his principal employment was Parliamentary Clerk, his vocation was that of journalist and military historian, and his obsession was Home Rule for Ireland. Married to a Bostonian girl of typical New England eccentricity, he and his wife applied their talents as deep-water sailors to running guns to Northern Ireland in their own cruising ketch during the Ulster crisis that preceded World War I.

Childers became one of the inner political circle that led the post-war struggle for Irish independence and paid the supreme penalty for his refusal to accept partition at the hands of a firing squad—not British, but Irish! If remembered at all, it is because of his best-selling sailing thriller (*The Riddle of the Sands*) that foretold a German invasion of England. To cap the bundle of ironies his son succeeded de Valera as President of the country that executed his father. As the saying goes, "only in Ireland ...!"

This well-researched biography is the first to cover a neglected historical personality. Another recent effort, not yet published in the US is *The Riddle of Erskine Childers*, by Andrew Boyle (Hutchinson, London, 1977).

—CHARLES MAECHLING, JR.

What Went Wrong

AMERICA IN OUR TIME — *From World War II to Nixon, What Happened and Why*, by Geoffrey Hodgson. Doubleday, \$12.50.

Geoffrey Hodgson surveys the entire period from the self-confident days immediately after World War II to the present, when, in the view of the author, America has lost confidence in itself — and for good reasons which he discusses in this book from the perspective of a European leftist who basically sympathizes with the American counter-culture.

As American correspondent for *The Observer*, Hodgson has accumulated a vast array of facts tending to prove that hubris, "The Establishment," and unwillingness

to see our own problems and to make hard choices, inevitably led to Vietnam, Watergate, unemployment, inflation, monetary crisis, and lack of influence abroad.

Hodgson shows that one turning point was Johnson's ill-considered eagerness, abetted by incompetent economists, to push both the Great Society and the Vietnam war without making the American people pay higher taxes. He also believes that Nixon managed to intimidate the press, and that, contrary to widespread belief, a blue-collar "proletariat" makes up a majority of our working population.

—M.F.H.

Received with Gratitude

DETERRENT DIPLOMACY: *Japan, Germany and the USSR, 1935-1940*, edited by James William Morley. Columbia. \$17.50.

In 1962-63 a group of Japanese scholars, aided by many surviving participants, published a seven-volume inquiry into the origins of the Pacific War from the 1920s on. It has been widely praised and, miracle of miracles, widely read in Japan. Now Columbia is bringing out a five-volume translation of

many of the documents and essays, along with explanatory introductions by American scholars. All English-reading historians are in Columbia's debt as a result.

Of particular interest in this volume, because of the possible analogy to the Sino-Soviet confrontation, is Ikuhiko Hata's essay on the Soviet-Japanese military battles along the Mongolian border from 1934-39. The American public's ignorance of these was colossal. One correspondent had a 1939 battle taking place at a non-existent lake in the flat lands behind the Gobi Desert. Yet, these were large scale battles and their meaning was important to Japan's relations not only with the USSR but with China and the US. Alvin Coox's introduction to Hata's revelations suggests that Indian Justice Pal was correct in his dissent at the Tokyo War Crime Trials to the USSR-instigated verdict that Japan engaged in a conspiracy of aggression in the Mongolian incidents. One anachronism creeps in: Japanese troops using Molotov cocktails in 1938.

Readers will be grateful to Columbia not only for the contents but

also for the type and make-up of this fine volume.

—J. K. HOLLOWAY

An FS Advise and Consent

FSO-1, by Harris Greene. Doubleday, \$6.95.

Harris Greene's novel, *FSO-1*, meets the basic standards for a good, entertaining story. The reader keeps turning the pages to find out what happens next and is reluctant to put the book aside before learning how the tale ends. Although there are a number of surprise twists, the plot does not sacrifice the essential ingredient of credibility. Neither is the OSS (Obligatory Sex Scene) neglected, but it is in soft focus.

FSO-1 concerns the not-so-funny thing that happens to Ambassador-designate Larry Friburn, Foreign Service Officer Class One, on his way to confirmation. An event from the past casts its (distorted) shadow. Others involve themselves or become involved.

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Genuine suspense builds. Along the way, certain expository passages will provide a recognition bonus for the reader who is a member of the Foreign Service, or the spouse or offspring of one. This will, in turn, generate reactions ranging from pride (e.g., first item, following) to a cold chill down the spine (second item, following).

Item: "He read the familiar gold-lettered words: 'Erected by members of the American Foreign Service Association in honor of diplomatic and consular officers of the United States who while on active duty lost their lives under heroic or tragic circumstances' . . . He shook his head as he read the gold-etched names: yellow-fever victims, those dead at their posts from cholera, smallpox, volcanic eruptions, earthquakes . . . Then the uglier modern deaths: 'killed by a grenade' on Cyprus, hit by gunfire in Jerusalem and Caracas, massacred by Arab terrorists in Khartoum. The Foreign Service paid its dues the hard way and the myth of the striped-pants cookie-pusher was obliterated in blood."

Item: "Bureaucracies are quick to perceive when one of their own has slipped and fallen. The reaction varies. One or two bold ones will step forward to determine how badly hurt the victim is. If he is unable to rise, a few pointed shoes will reach out to kick; others will step carefully over the body. But, for the most part, when a peer falls, the instinctive action is to avoid him. Who can tell: perhaps the defect is contagious, infectious? And by approaching the fallen, one can be identified as friend or ally. This is not desirable or practical. Best give the fallen wide berth until his condition and his future are determined . . ."

FSO-I is not without its faults. While the dialogue is urbane and literate, it does not sound the way people talk, even on the seventh floor, but more like passages from well-written despatches. Then, although most characterizations ring true, a few do verge on caricature. All the loose ends, finally, are neatly tied up as the story draws to a close, which is not the way it is in the world of the FSO.

You will, however, hardly notice the novel's few shortcomings, if at all.

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A MATURE AMERICA

from page 13

of bilateral aid in the poorest sectors of the poorest nations.

The President's stated awareness of the necessity of consultation and cooperation in dealing with serious global problems that will not go away presages the possibility that our government may be able to accept Thomas Hobbes's prerequisite for a social contract. That is for the United States to take the lead in bringing nations to make the sacrifices necessary in habits of consumption, for example, so that resources and opportunities for development are shared fairly.

One other factor provides grounds for encouragement that the new Administration may have a chance at promoting world order or a global social contract. That is candidate Carter's perception that a form of racism has characterized our—and the West's—outlook on relations with the less developed countries. Such a perception is the first necessary step in eliminating

racism from our approach. He said in his March 15 speech that we should:

"... treat the people of other nations as individuals, with the same dignity and respect as we demand for ourselves. No matter where they live, no matter who they are, the people of the other lands are just as concerned with the struggles of daily life as you and I. They work hard, they have families whom they love, they have hopes and dreams and a great deal of pride. And they want to live in peace. Their basic motives are the same as ours."

This rhetoric is not the sort of clever, articulate, conceptual analysis to which foreign affairs specialists have become accustomed in recent years. It is, however, accurate. No American of any sensitivity who has lived in the Third World can have helped but experience the same perception.

If there is to be some hope that the nations of this world can cope with the dangerous problems of population growth, dwindling essential resources, and ecological limits—not to mention uncontrolled proliferation of nuclear weapons technology—these na-

tions must acquire the habit of community—to see themselves as members of a species whose survival is in question. There is some hope for a global social contract if the false perceptions of racism wither away. If they do not, and Third World peoples feel alienated from the dominant culture in the industrialized countries, they will react to our abuse of their self-esteem in possibly self-destructive rage.

World order diplomacy—including serious engagement in the North-South dialogue—is not a matter of choice. There is no choice. With the trends as they are, it is hard to see how life will become easier for any nation. There will have to be, as our leaders say, much hard work, sacrifice, and change in our style of living. A maturing America can accept these facts and act as an example for the rest of the world. This seems to be what the new Administration wants; and, given the crucial importance of government leadership in this endeavor, that is cause for some hope.



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SULTAN AND THE BASEBALL

from page 23

They were proud that they had made several "Hadjj" pilgrimages to the Kaaba in Mecca—sacred shrine of Mohammed and Abraham. I was given a copy of the Koran, inscribed by the Sultan, and perused its chapters eagerly. For one with a Judeo-Christian background these conversations created new vistas. One is grateful to the Sultan for opening wide the doors of his mosque and his faith.

The affection which the Sultan felt for his people was returned many fold. When His Highness rode through the crowded streets of his capital in his ancient red Rolls Royce people of whatever race paused, waved goodnaturedly or shouted the greeting "Salamu." When, as was his wont, he cantered through the streets on his favorite white horse, small boys enthusiastically applauded him.

Even through his hobbies, the Sultan managed beneficent thought toward his people. He had been an

avid yachtsman in his youth. Now elderly, he satisfied this penchant for yachting in a practical way. He purchased a 600-ton, 90-foot vessel, combining steam and sail—this christened *Seyyid Khalifa*. For two months each year, it served Sultan and retinue as a royal yacht. During the remainder of the year it carried passengers and freight profitably between islands and mainland.

On a Sunday morning in October 1960, while breakfasting at my home in Dar es Salaam, I received a telephone call from the British Governor of Zanzibar. He informed me that my friend the Sultan had passed away that morning. The Governor said His Highness's funeral would be held that very afternoon—in accordance with Islamic tradition and tropical health regulations.

At once I offered to come to the funeral. The Governor demurred on grounds that the presence of myself and other foreign diplomats would only complicate the hurried funeral arrangements with un-

necessary protocol. Given the fact of my close friendship with the Sultan, the Governor's objection was troubling. I could only surmise that, in the face of growing anti-colonialism throughout Africa, British authorities thus sought to play down their continuing suzerainty over Zanzibar. Reluctantly I acquiesced to the Governor's request that I not attend the funeral—though my heart was heavy.

I went to my office to cable Washington news of the Sultan's death. There, within an hour, I received another telephone call from Zanzibar—this was from the Sultan's brother-in-law. The Crown Prince and Sultana had especially asked that I attend the funeral.

With two other longtime friends of the Sultan, I chartered an airplane. Arriving in Zanzibar we sensed the pall of gloom. Before continuing to the Palace, my companions garbed themselves in rich white robes and gold turbans of their own Islamic sect. When we reached the reception hall funeral services had already begun.

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Quietly we entered the throne room. At the end of that ornate hall lay a catafalque on which rested the black-draped coffin. Giant portraits of Queen Victoria and later British monarchs looked down upon this scene. At the head of the coffin, seated upon a black-draped throne, was the Crown Prince—the new Sultan. On his right, resplendent in his 19th-century dress uniform, sword at side and cockade hat in lap, sat the British Governor. It was he who had forbidden me to come to the funeral. He gave me a dour nod. Seeking some anonymity, my friends and I sought seats in the rear of the room.

Then the new Sultan saw us. Lifting his hand, he stopped the chant of the Imam. Rising, he beckoned us to come forward. We proceeded down the aisle between the mourners, my white-robed friends going first. I took up the rear in black sack coat and pin-striped trousers, looking for all the world like an undertaker or a reluctant bridegroom.

The Sultan gravely shook hands with each of us, then asked that

three members of his entourage vacate seats on his left. As we took these, the British officials looked on unbelievably, sullenly. Then the Sultan directed that services proceed.

My adventures of this day were not yet ended. After the ceremony the assemblage ranged itself in a line, preparing to follow the Sultan's casket. The route between Palace and burial plot was lined with a multitude of mourners. By custom there had been no women at the funeral services. Now, however, fronting the crowd on each side of our route were women garbed in veils. They kept up a constant high-pitched wailing. It was piercing, melancholy—lonely as the cry of the African fisheagle.

I had taken a place in the cortege some distance behind the coffin. As we moved forward a small, wizened Arab fell into step with me. I recognized him as Hamid bin Abboud, the old Sultan's closest confidante, nicknamed "The Rooster" for his bellicose tenacity. He whispered to me of his sorrow. He went on to say that his dear friend,

the Sultan, had held my country and me in great esteem. Because of that, he said, we must move closer to the coffin. Then, grasping my hand in his, we moved forward, taking places just behind the Sultan's family and the British Governor. Clearly, by this gesture, these faraway peoples were saluting the American nation.

As the Sultan's coffin was lowered into the ground, the wailing behind us intensified. It came to a crescendo, like a giant tidal wave sweeping over the island. Then it died into awesome quiet. Only the plaintive call of the African dove could then be heard. All here mourned the loss of this good and genteel Knight. All sensed that the passing of Seyyid Khalifa could only bring bad tidings for Zanzibar. At this moment, the hand of fate was rending apart the fabric of tranquility which—for the 50 years of the Sultan's rule—had blanketed these beautiful isles.

In my sorrow there came vividly to mind the recollection of that first—and last—baseball game on Zanzibar.



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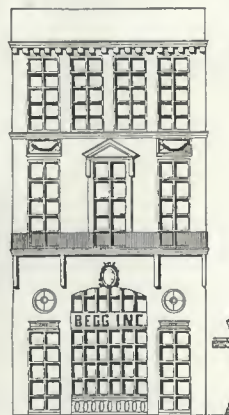


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from page 6

ministrative arrangements for transforming the Legation into a museum and a center for the study of Moroccan-American relations are only now nearing completion. The building has been leased by the United States Government to a non-profit society incorporated in the District of Columbia. Recognized as tax exempt by the Internal Revenue Service, that society is now in the midst of a fund raising campaign which we hope will put the Legation on a solid financial footing. A parallel society has been organized in Morocco to oversee the operation of the Legation as a museum and study center. Moroccan Minister of Cultural Affairs Bahnini, American Ambassador to Morocco Robert Anderson and Moroccan Ambassador to the United States Abdelhadi Boutaleb have agreed to serve as its honorary chairmen. The future of this historic building does indeed look bright.

The Consulate General in Tangier has played a key role in all these developments and is responsible for the restoration thus far of the historic structure. When the decision was made in the summer of 1975 to find ways to save the building, the condition of the Legation was appalling. Walls were crumbling, roofs leaked, windows were broken, floor tiles were piled in corners, in short it was a mess. By November it became apparent that funds for restoration would not be forthcoming soon. We wanted nevertheless to do something special for the Bicentennial. During Thanksgiving week I therefore de-

cided to embark on a do-it-yourself restoration project with the materials and manpower at my disposal. For the rest of the winter every available hand at the Consulate was sent to the Legation to help plaster and paint and carry out other repairs. I had no idea how far we would get but by spring it was evident that a magic transformation was taking place. The momentum became contagious and before the work was completed volunteers from the Embassy were joining us on weekends, buckets of paint and other materials were arriving from US military groups, and cash donations were coming in from individuals and groups to help finish the work. When Ambassador Anderson and Minister Bahnini opened the summer-long Bicentennial exhibits to the public, the ten principal rooms of the Legation, the great courtyard created by Maxwell Blake and the facades along rue d'Amérique had been restored to a glory they had not known since the days of Minister Blake. It was a proud moment for the Consulate General and for all Americans and the rich display of historic prints and engravings from the collection of Donald Angus and historic documents gathered from the Moroccan Royal Archives and the American National Archives by PAO James Tull gave those present a glimpse of what lies in store for the old Legation.

As we move forward with this exciting project our greatest immediate need is the financial support of those who believe in what we are trying to do. Contributions are tax exempt and can be made to The Tangier American Legation Museum Society, 3282 N Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007.



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SUMMER DAY—1967

from page 20

"I cannot stay here in Lagos, madam. I must be home with my family." His voice had the firmness of a man who has come to a hard decision.

"When are you going?"

"Tonight when it is dark. Please pardon that I do not give madam proper notice."

Ann accepted the inevitable. "You have to do what you think is the right thing to do. We shall be so very sorry to have you go."

They looked at each other with mutual respect. This was the end of a good working relationship. It hadn't been easy at first, but they had adjusted and in the end, Ann supposed, he had learned something about Americans as she had learned quite a bit about some aspects of African life from him.

"How are you going to go?"

"Madam wanted shrimp. Today at the market I find from my brother that there be one shrimp boat in the village back by Apapa."

"You went way over to Apapa on your bicycle?"

"Even so, madam."

"How did the boat get through?"

"They be Rivers men from Opobo who know secret ways," Festus explained.

"And you are going back with them?"

"Yes, madam."

It was ironic, Ann supposed, that her random desire for shrimp had resulted in Festus making his big decision. She felt uncomfortable about it. Who wants to be a *deus ex machina*, particularly with the dangers she knew confronted Festus?

"Can you trust these boat men?"

The Rivers people she had heard were not sympathetic to the Ibo cause. They claimed that the Ibos had stolen the oil that was really in Rivers territory.

"I trust in the Lord. All ways to the East be dangerous." Then, Festus added sombrely, "And cost much, too," making a wide gesture with the spoon he held in his hand, "all my savings—all."

They would add something to Festus' last wages, Ann decided, realizing sadly that this could do lit-

tle to make up for the savings of a lifetime of hard work. From the direction of the boys' bathroom came loud shrieks of hilarity. Things were getting out of hand. At the kitchen door she turned to Festus, "We will say good-bye and wish you 'safe journey' after dinner."

As she came out of the dining room Dave arrived through the front door. "Hi," he called to her, "What kind of a day did you have?"

Well, what kind of a day had it been? Ann decided that it was one that couldn't be classified by a short adjective. It deserved later blow-by-blow description, so she threw the question back at him.

Ignoring it, he asked her, "Have you been listening to the radio?"

She replied, "No," patiently. Just when would she have had time to listen to the radio?

"There's a bigger show going on now than Nigeria, and newer than Vietnam."

"What do you mean?"

"The Israelis have attacked the Arabs and there is a full scale war going on in the Middle East."

While Ann hustled the boys into

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clothes and dressed herself, she pondered Dave's news. She thought of friends stationed in Egypt and Israel. But it all seemed very far away, remote from them and the problems in Nigeria.

With after-dinner coffee came the moments of wonderful peace and calm. While Dave fiddled with the radio, Ann related what had happened to her. Dave hadn't had his turn yet and something about his reticence and abstraction alerted her to the fact that he had news concerning them. She had been there before.

The broadcast went on to the Yoruba language hour and Dave snapped it off. "We'll try to get BBC at ten o'clock." He looked over at the letters from home lying on the desk. "You didn't write home, did you?"

Ann shook her head.

"The old man asked me today if I would postpone home leave for awhile."

Ann didn't ask what Dave's reply had been. You didn't say

"no" to the Ambassador. She took a moment to absorb the impact of this change and then went on to the next step. "Postpone it until when?"

Dave shrugged. "Nothing definite now. Probably late November. Maybe Christmas."

Home in mid-winter from the tropics? She did some more silent adjustment, feeling sad about the disappointment they would cause their families. Matters like sending for warm clothing for the boys, who had long outgrown anything they had, would be expensive but not difficult.

"It's a reasonable request," Dave assured her, "the Ambassador wants to keep the team together until we can tell whether this is going to be a short crisis or a long war."

Ann poured them fresh cups of coffee.

"So now I guess you can answer those letters. Anyway it settles the problem of making both the anniversary party and the wedding."

Indeed it did take care of that problem, Ann conceded.

Dave's eyes suddenly lit up. He grinned. "You know something? This time the boys are old enough to leave with mother. She's asked us to do it every home leave. This time we will."

"And what are we going to do?"

"You and I are going to Fiddler's Notch and find out if we still know how to ski."

Ann had a camera vision of the big slope at Fiddler's Notch, fringed with pines, dazzling blue-white under a pale winter sun. So vivid was it that she could almost feel the cold, clear air.

"What do you say, honey?"

"Great!" Then the caution of experience learned the hard way took hold. She qualified, "Anyway, we can dream."

Festus emerged from the kitchen to pull the blackout curtains across the windows. Then he came over to say good-bye.



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LETTERS TO FSJ

With Gratitude to Clarke

 A host of Foreign Service families has learned with real sorrow of the departure of Clarke Slade from his duties at AFSA. It is not that he is undeserving of a rest, but that we, who remember him so fondly and appreciatively, hate to think of him not at the same old stand but off to fresh woods and pastures new.

Recent Foreign Service families may not be as dependent on Mr. Slade and his work as we retirees. Those days in the Foreign Service of thirty-five years ago were what Huckleberry Finn in another context described as rough but interesting. Rough they were indeed: with incredibly low pay, a most undemocratic handling of officers and such an authoritarian treatment of wives as today would give the Victorian vapors to Betty Friedan. Added to all this was an almost complete ignoring of the domestic complications which follow the Foreign Service family as inevitably as the little red caboose follows its engine.

But imagine our amazement, our almost pathetic gratitude, when we discovered Mr. Slade, a Mr. Slade available to Foreign Service parents, a Mr. Slade eager to help and efficient in his advice and counsel. Looking back on the help he gave us, I think it was not so much his encyclopedic knowledge of schools, headmasters, psychiatric testers and tests, valuable as such information was to worried parents of the dyslexic, brain-damaged, mixed dominance, socially retarded, neurotic or plain unhappy child; I think we remember most his kindly wisdom, his advice to build on the strengths of our "problem" children, his (somehow) assurance that maturation does take place, that there is balm in Gilead—in short, that help was possible and that we were not to give up hope.

I think those of us who knew him and whom he helped will inevitably help other young parents more tenderly and efficiently because of his example. I hope he knows that he leaves with the deep gratitude of us all.

ELEANORE R. LEE

Washington

Not for US Wives Alone

 Thank you for printing Margaret Sullivan's excellent analysis of the impact of foreign service life on wives, children and fathers. Hers is a cogent and compassionate study. It should persuade our entire profession that the time is now ripe, if not overdue, for admitting that our perception of the role of the family, and of the spouse in particular, is woefully out of date. Changing times require a whole new approach.

Lest any doubting Thomas try to wish away the problem by saying American foreign service wives are merely querulous, let me share with your readers the fact that diplomatic wives around the world are pressing for change. Canadian, Australian, German and now United Nations wives have been in touch with foreign service women in Washington to report their concerns. Wives affiliated with each of these services have declared their respective situations stressful and sometimes perilously close to "not worth the rewards of travel and diplomatic life for families." They are petitioning, rallying, publicizing and pressuring for three basic changes: 1) more travel for children to be with parents, 2) recognition of wives' contributions and 3) employment opportunities for dependents. Already some foreign ministries have responded with budget and policy changes.

In Germany, to give a specific example of distaff unrest, the wives' organization (partially funded and staffed by the Foreign Office) is requesting: shorter tours of duty in hardship posts, early information on imminent transfers, continued government contribution to retirement funds and rehiring priority for wives who have to leave civil service jobs to accompany their husband to a foreign post, assistance in locating employment on return from abroad, more opportunities for wives to work with husbands, more travel for children to be with parents, and "adequate official recognition of their cooperation with their husbands in foreign posts." There are growing numbers of wives around the world who interpret this support of representation to mean "eligible for remuneration." Some governments are now funding financial incentives for

wives of senior officials.

One German journalist has written that this is the year of the diplomat's wife. Margaret Sullivan more wisely pleads that this be a year for the foreign service and its families. Her plea deserves support. How can we respond creatively? How about a task force to review Department policies as they affect employment of wives and teenagers, support of widows and educational travel? How about a child care facility so spouses can afford to take classes at FSI prior to assignment? How about a family services coordinator in the Department and at posts?

If we are to attract and retain the finest possible in the Foreign Service, a fulfilling life for families is as important as career satisfaction for officers.

JOAN R. WILSON

Washington

A Separate Voice

 The two articles on the future of VOA that appeared in the February 1977 issue raise some interesting questions and offer creative solutions. But the reforms proposed do not get to the heart of the problems as outlined. I write as an FSIO who, over the years, has worked in four different sections of VOA and who has also functioned as *de facto* VOA stringer at several USIS posts abroad.

Taking Grant Parr's "modest proposal" first, he gives no evidence to support his assertion that amalgamation of VOA and PBS would immediately boost VOA's reputation for objectivity. I think it is fair to assume that virtually no one abroad has ever heard of PBS, let alone have an opinion on its standards of objectivity. (VOA's own reputation is rather good, thank you, despite the problems mentioned by Mr. Parr and by Sean Kelly and William Read.) Second, even a casual listener to VOA will realize that it already has access to the material of the US networks and makes extensive use of their news actualities, correspondent reports, and discussion/interview programs. Thus, no organizational changes are required to open VOA up to outside sources of material. Finally, Mr. Parr does not indicate how VOA's "generous financing" could aid PBS were they to merge. Congress would surely earmark certain sums for

domestic and others for international broadcasting. In any event, I cannot see how VOA's radio broadcasting studios and transmitter facilities could be of any use to PBS, which is in the business of producing, but not broadcasting, television programs.

The more serious reforms proposed by Messrs. Kelly and Read also suffer from the basic assumption that it is VOA's organizational location within USIA that is responsible for such deviations from full and fair reporting as occur. Their implicit belief that any structure other than the present one would lead to better broadcasts is not really explained. In fact they overlook the fact that VOA is presently part of an independent organization, USIA. If there are imperfections in the policy system, as there surely are, I still wonder why these problems would disappear were the higher body PBS, BIB, HEW, or any other agency. Ultimately, someone will have to make policy decisions, and that person could just as well be in USIA as in another agency or even in a fully separate VOA.

USIA does after all boast a large number of officers with journalism or broadcasting in their backgrounds, coupled with experience in dealing directly with foreign audiences abroad. These people may possibly be better buffers between VOA journalists and outside pressures than others who lack this broad background. If the system is not working then, it may be that the fault lies as much with VOA as with USIA or State. After all, by common consent, VOA even under a new administrative setup would remain an official radio. State would continue to be concerned with content, ambassadors would still fume about individual items, and plenty of pressure could be brought to bear by those who are of a mind to do so.

If the hypothetical management of VOA under PBS, *et al*, could resist these pressures, it could do so now. The Charter, now ensconced in law, could be a powerful weapon against efforts to muzzle the Voice. The questions to be asked are whether a US ambassador has the right to order a VOA correspondent to break off contact with certain of his sources, and if so, whether he would not also have

that right were VOA part of PBS. If commissary privileges at Embassies interfere with a VOA reporter's professional role, he can refuse to use such privileges even now. (In any event, such privileges are extended to all official Americans, meaning all government employees, including VOA-PBS staffers if such come into being.) If access to classified reading files is harmful, stop reading them (although many journalists seem to know as much without reading them directly). In other words, none of the supposed advantages of ending the USIA relationship really *depends* on ending that relationship.

What would be needed is a determination by State, or preferably the White House, that the proper functioning of VOA under its Charter is not to be interfered with. This must be coupled with leaders at VOA who will resist such pressures as might be applied despite implementation of such a policy from the top. This will be true regardless of where VOA fits on a government-wide organization chart.

I suspect that the real malaise at VOA has more to do with personnel than journalism. The assignment of FSIOs to VOA supervisory positions causes some hard feelings among the Voice's domestic staffers who aspire to those same positions. This issue may or may not be solvable simply by removing VOA from USIA, but one result would surely be loss of a valuable crossfertilization and experience from which I (and I venture to say VOA) have profited. But this is another story, and if it is the real reason for the separatist feelings apparently so prevalent right now at VOA, let the arguments at least be made along those lines. The point that independence from USIA will necessarily result in an improved VOA has simply not been established.

HARVEY I. LEIFERT

Paris

Jumping the Gun

 Professor Bernstein's thesis ("The Week We Went to War," *FSJ*, Jan. '77) that North Korea might have "jumped the gun" on Stalin, as he put it, is one I advanced in an article in 1951 ("North Korea Jumps the Gun,"

Current History, March 1951)—which Bernstein tells me he has seen. I'm glad to see it given respectability by publication in the *Journal*.

In 1954, back in the McCarthy days, the article looked like an obstacle to my admission into the Foreign Service. The interviewing security officer (on detail from another agency, so pressed was the Department's security staff then), with only a vague idea of the article's content, was most suspicious of my partial exoneration of Stalin and assumed it was communist propaganda pure and simple. When he refused to believe my description of the article, I finally suggested . . . that really the best way to find out what was in it was simply to read it.

He—or somebody—apparently did. And a few months later they let me in.

WILBUR W. HITCHCOCK

Buenos Aires

PLO Interview

 Further to the exchange between David G. Nes and David FitzHugh on "Terrorism and Diplomacy" (May *FSJ*), the March 14, 1977 issue of *Newsweek* carried an interview with Farouk al Kaddoumi, chief political officer of the PLO.

Rather than take sides with either David, I quote from the interview without comment:

"The Palestine National Council . . . an umbrella organization for many Palestinian factions, will meet in Cairo next weekend to discuss steps toward a Middle East settlement. The Council has been urged by Egypt's Anwar Sadat and other Arab moderates to revoke the portion of its national covenant calling for the destruction of Israel."

Q. "Will the council (the Palestine National Council) accept President Sadat's urging that its covenant, particularly that portion which denies recognition of Israel be dropped?"

Kaddoumi: "It is not a possibility. It is impossible. And we don't expect any discussion or proposals on this."

My thanks and congratulations to the *FSJ* for printing articles that elicit letters to the editor and for airing both sides of the question. Let's have more "open discussions, openly arrived at" (with apologies to Woodrow Wilson).

JOHN ST. DENIS
American Consul

Seoul

AFSA NEWS



AFSA VIEWS ON USIA REORGANIZATION

On April 26, the AFSA Governing Board approved the following statement on the possible reorganization of the international public and cultural exchange programs of the US government. This statement has been presented to and discussed with the White House and the Congress:

"The Function of Public Diplomacy"

"As a result of modern communications and new mutual dependencies, diplomacy is increasingly a process of adjusting relations between entire societies, one which goes on at many levels, private and governmental. Growing realization that decisions abroad affect lives at home—and vice versa—is leading wider segments of the public here and overseas to seek more information about other countries. Yet differing perceptions arising from profoundly different cultures continue to impede international understanding. We must organize our foreign affairs operation to reflect more fully the changing character of international relations and communication technology—and the central role in modern diplomacy which cultural and information programs should play.

"If these programs are integral to the foreign policy process, they should be planned and executed with the other functions of diplomacy.

"The Issues"

"The separation of international information programs (now under USIA) and exchange programs (now under the Department of State) makes it difficult for either to operate effectively. To fulfill their vital role in modern diplomacy, these programs should be managed within a single government entity.

"While there are short-range purposes to some aspects of information and cultural programs—especially with regard to explaining US government policies—Congress and the Executive Branch must realize that these programs, representing an open democracy and operating in a world of many voices and communication networks, cannot often expect to change opinions. These programs

should concentrate instead on improving mutual awareness and understanding (thus strengthening our foreign relations). They should be based on recognition that achieving this goal is a long-range process which requires not propaganda but dialogue, listening as well as talking. We should fully accept the obvious—that by definition, communication is a two-way phenomenon.

"Effective diplomacy requires that our public and cultural affairs programs be carried out in close conjunction with other elements of our foreign affairs establishment; but a closer, more complementary relationship must not be allowed to weaken the integrity of those programs. They must not be manipulated or distorted for hoped-for, immediate foreign policy advantages. Any new legislation should make this clear.

"Our Proposal"

"An entity—integrating these functions—could be organized within the Department of State under a new Under Secretary for Public and Cultural Affairs, or as an independent agency. However situated, this new entity's mission should be to:

(1) deepen mutual understanding and strengthen cooperation among Americans and other peoples;

(2) encourage respect for American policies and for America, candidly and objectively; and

(3) advise the government on the conduct of public diplomacy.

The problem of program integrity would be especially important for the Voice of America, if the information and cultural programs of USIA are integrated in the Department of State. In this event, a special position within the government should be created for the Voice of America to preserve the integrity of VOA news. The VOA must continue to reflect our society as a whole, and present responsible discussion of foreign and domestic policies.

"If the government's international information and cultural programs are combined into a new, independent entity, the VOA should be part of that entity. Again, special attention must be given to

ensuring the integrity of VOA news.

"Integration of international information and cultural programs should lead to greater interchange of personnel within the foreign affairs community. The status of existing personnel systems should only be addressed later, after a full and careful assessment of the results of other organizational changes.

"USIA and the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs now each requests and receives its own funds from the Congress. The new entity should also seek its own distinct budget from Congress, through new legislation, in such a way that these funds will only be used for international information and cultural programs."

NEW BOARD MEMBER



Ronald Russell was appointed to the AFSA board by a unanimous vote of the board on March 24. He had previously served for a year on the AID/AFSA standing committee and as an AFSA negotiator. He was the AFSA nominee on the Agency task force which studied AID occupational backstop groupings.

Mr. Russell, who has been with AID since 1967, has served for four years in the Office of Housing (SER/H). He is presently Assistant Director, Program Support Division.

His initial tour with AID was in Buenos Aires, Argentina. He then served for three years in La Paz, Bolivia.

Mr. Russell is a graduate of Stanford University and Harvard Law School and a member of the D.C. Bar. Prior to joining AID he served as an aviator in the Marine Corps and was employed by the World Bank as a loan officer. He also spent two years working with the North Borneo government on an Africa-Asia Public Service Fellowship.

MEMBERS' INTERESTS COMMITTEE PUSHES FOR LEGISLATION

Appearing before the State/USIA subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on April 21, during hearings on the State Department's Authorization Bill for FY 1978, representatives of AFSA testified on the question of compensation.

Pointing out that the Federal Service as a whole lags behind the private sector, in particular for those assigned to Washington, and that middle-grade FSOs and senior staff employees have been progressively falling behind their Civil Service counterparts for the past decade, we argued for a two-phased program beginning with this year's authorization bills. We asked that this year's legislation call for basic remedial action no later than early 1978, for inclusion in next year's authorization bills.

We also asked for legislative action on the following matters:

- compensation for standby duty;
- liberalization of the "miscellaneous expenses" portion of the transfer allowance;
- deferral for four years of capital gains tax on sale of principal residence;
- increase in ceiling for USG compensation to retired employees;
- funded transportation of foreign vehicles;

- freedom of choice of schools for FS parents abroad;
- educational travel allowances for children at schools away from post but outside United States;
- protection of all FS personnel against malfeasance suits in the US, as a result of their official acts abroad;
- more realistic representation allowances;
- payment of per diem and travel for families of FS personnel on extended temporary assignments;
- offsetting discriminatory costs to FS staff employees, such as automobile importation and gasoline taxes which diplomatic list personnel are not required to pay.

Parallel to our legislative action program, the Members' Interest Committee presented a series of Employee Benefit Proposals to management. These proposals also covered:

- payment of emergency travel for FS employees to visit relatives abroad even when the travel would cost more than to the employee's separation address in the US;
- authorization of post differential to Ambassadors so as to raise the present ceiling for payments to subordinate personnel at the same post.

PAYMENT FOR STANDBY DUTY?

AFSA/Geneva and several other overseas Chapters have recently questioned AFSA Washington concerning management's requiring personnel to serve "standby duty" in addition to the normal 40 hour work-week without compensation except for periods of time when actually working.

Almost all employees are required from time to time to serve standby duty. However, the Foreign Affairs Manual does not include adequate guidance prescribing how and under what conditions standby duty will be assigned. Standby duty personnel may be required to remain literally in their home near the phone for the entire period of duty. Their opportunities to relax or engage in pri-

vate pursuits are severely restricted.

If standby duty personnel are called and do some work, they are usually entitled to overtime pay or compensatory time-off, but they get no compensation for the long, confining hours of just waiting for the phone to ring.

AFSA Washington has officially raised this problem with management and submitted an Employment Benefit Proposal asking that appropriate regulations be issued covering standby duty and that a compensatory schedule be established. This proposal is supported by a recent decision of the US Comptroller General (Comptroller Decision B-176934 in the matter of Hugh J. Hyde-Standby Duty).

STATE STANDING COMMITTEE

The State Standing Committee proposed to management on April 11 an interim procedure permitting qualified Foreign Service employees to change their primary skill codes into skill codes where there are shortages of personnel.

Primary skill codes, sometimes called "specialties" or "cones," are used as categories for assignments and promotions. When there are, according to the Department's calculations, more people than positions available within a given primary skill code at a given rank, promotions suffer, as the mid- and senior level communicators and secretaries did last time, and many such people must be assigned to "excursion" tours outside the primary skill code.

The Committee's proposal was intended, not to pre-empt procedures for skill code changes which might be part of that package, but to provide some immediate relief during the next promotion cycle to secretaries and communicators.

Management has not yet even been able to clear a reply to our letter.

Precepts?

Management has not yet (May 10) presented the Committee with its draft precepts for the 1977 selection boards. It is now four months after PER officials originally intended to present these precepts. Informed sources report that the precepts are held up somewhere on the Seventh Floor.

AFGHAN ALUMNI PICNIC

Did you ever serve in Afghanistan? In State, USIS, AID, etc.?

If so, then come to our Afghan Alumni Picnic on Wednesday, June 22, 1977 at Carderock Recreation Area just beyond the Beltway outside Washington, D.C., on the Maryland side of the Potomac, and get together with old friends.

Families can come from 4 p.m., working folk as soon as they can leave their offices. The picnic will end when the park closes at dusk. Bring your own food and drink. There's shelter if rain falls.

For details, contact Mrs. Robert (Marlen) Neumann at 3636 16th Street, N.W., Apt. B1231, Washington, D.C. 20010, tel. 483-4400 or 234-9332; or Mrs. Peter (Mary) Brescia, at 5530 Charles Street, Bethesda, Maryland, 20014, tel. 897-8751, office 657-2020.

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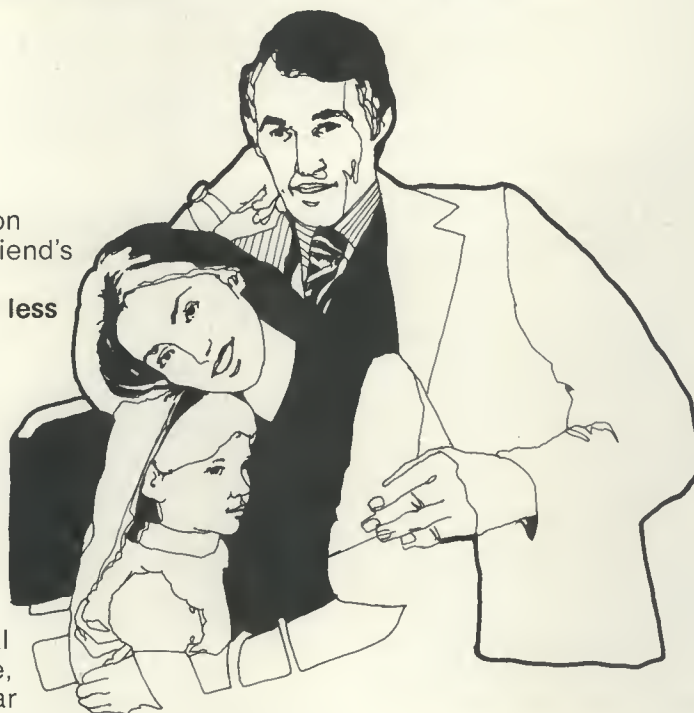
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TAXATION OF ALLOWANCES

Department circular airgram A-1593 of April 7, 1977 alerted overseas posts that the House Ways and Means Subcommittee "Task Force on Foreign Source Income" chaired by Dan Rostenkowski (D.-Ill.) had submitted its report to the full committee on March 8.

The thrust of the recommendations are truly staggering!! The Subcommittee proposes that FS employees be taxed on almost all allowances they receive, including housing allowances, official residence expenses, educational allowances, home leave and rest and recuperation travel allowances, and emergency visitation travel. The Tax Policy Division of the Department of Treasury appears presently to concur and support the Rostenkowski Task Force proposals.

AFSA is fully aware that the proposed plan for taxation of allowances appears to create an impossible situation. We shall advise the AFSA membership shortly on what we believe is the best approach for protecting the legitimate interests of Foreign Service personnel.

AID STANDING COMMITTEE

The Committee reports that it: (1) objected to a recent action by the AID Assignment Board to assign a person who was clearly not qualified to an overseas position. Three Assistant Administrator nominees attended the meeting in an attempt to influence the outcome of the Board's action. Several conferences with AID's top management resulted in the Administrator's decision to cancel the assignment;

(2) recommended to the Administrator that AFSA be given observer status at Assignment Board meetings to monitor the interests of Foreign Service employees. The Agency is currently considering the request;

(3) is currently consulting with management on the PER system, IDI career development and planning, career development and counseling for Foreign Service employees, grievances that are raised weekly by AID employees, and other matters concerning the working conditions of Foreign Service personnel.

NOMINATIONS NEEDED

Nominations are open for the Herter, Harriman and Rivkin Awards established in 1968 to recognize members of the Foreign Service who display outstanding intellectual originality, courage and forthrightness.

The awards are sponsored each year by the families of three distinguished modern statesmen: the late Secretary of State Christian A. Herter, retired Ambassador W. Averell Harriman and the late Ambassador William R. Rivkin. At the 1975 Awards luncheon, Ambassador Harriman praised AFSA's administration of his award and said, "I established it hoping that it would not only stimulate courageous, unorthodox thinking among our Junior Foreign Service officers but also jar the Department into the recognition of originality as a virtue . . ."

AFSA hopes that a number of original thinkers will be nominated for all three of the awards before the August 15, 1977 deadline. While Keymen have a special responsibility, anyone with knowledge of a Foreign Service col-

league's accomplishments can nominate for these awards. Foreign Service employees of all ranks and grades in all three agencies are eligible.

The Herter Award honors FSO 1-2 and equivalents; the Rivkin Award goes to FSO 3-4 and equivalents; the Harriman Award is for FSO 5-8 and equivalents.

NOMINATION PROCEDURES.

Nominations should be sent to:

AFSA Awards Committee

2101 E Street, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20037 in time to be received by August 15, 1977. Please send two copies of each nomination, unbound on regular size paper, marking each page with the name of the nominee. The format for nomination should be as follows:

PART I—Biographic Data: Name, Birth date, Grade, Agency

PART II—Association with the Candidate (Strictly limited to 250 words)

PART III—Justification for Nomination (500-750 words) Summary of specific reasons for nominations. The narrative should discuss qualities of mind and spirit which qualify the nominee for the award AND specific examples of the candidate's accomplishments, particularly evidence of outstanding initiative, integrity and intellectual courage.

AFSA ACTIVITY ON AMBASSADORIAL APPOINTMENTS

Harry Reasoner on the ABC Evening News, the Washington Post, the New York Times, Public Radio, the Atlanta Constitution, the Los Angeles Times and Reuters all picked up our April 26 press release opposing the nominations of Anne Cox Chambers to Belgium and Philip Alston to Australia. The biggest media play AFSA has generated in years also resulted in questions at the White House and State Department news briefings. AFSA opposed these two appointments, regarding them as a failure on President Carter's part to carry out his campaign promise to emphasize appointments of highly-qualified career professionals, along with a limited number of first-rate political appointments to Ambassadorships.

AFSA has testified four times and dispatched several letters to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on foreign affairs Presidential appointments. Most of our messages have been positive. We praised the appointment of Ambassador John Reinhardt as Di-

rector of USIA, Ambassador Terence Todman as Assistant Secretary for Latin American Affairs, Kingman Brewster to the United Kingdom, Robert Goheen to India and Arthur Hartman to France. On the whole, we have been pleased with the trend, especially the assignment of career Ambassadors to such traditional "political pay-off posts" as Paris, Luxembourg, Teheran and Helsinki. On the other hand the media blitz created by our opposition to the Cox and Alston nominations will be followed by similar efforts questioning such "political pay-off appointments as Milton Wolf to Austria and Marvin Warner to Switzerland.

NEW CAREER

Sheldon B. Vance, recently retired Ambassador and Career Minister, writes that he has returned to the legal profession which he had started in Boston before joining the F.S. He is now practicing private and public international law with William R. Joyce, Jr., at 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue.



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Foreign Service People

Marriages

Jones-Homan. FSO Elizabeth Jones, daughter of FSO and Mrs. William C. Jones, III, was married to FSIO Thomas A. Homan on April 9, in Cairo, Egypt. The couple has received a joint assignment to Amman.

Zurhellen-Hepburn. Stephanie Jo Zurhellen, daughter of FSO and Mrs. J. Owen Zurhellen, Jr., was married on April 17 to Dr. Angus G. Hepburn, a plant biologist at Bristol University, Bristol, England, where the couple will be living.

Births

O'Brien. A daughter, Annalee Clair, born to Mr. and Mrs. T. Patrick O'Brien, on February 8, in Manila.

Deaths

Anderson. Walter Stratton Anderson, FSO-retired, died on May 10, in Silver Spring. Mr. Anderson joined the Foreign Service in 1937 and served at Le Havre, Lagos, Accra, Lima, London, Rangoon and Oslo, before his retirement in 1962. He then served as secretary of the Center for International Affairs at Harvard and as vice president and Washington representa-

tive for General Telephone and Electronics, Inc. He is survived by his wife, Mary Betts Anderson, 5310 Albemarle St., N.W., a daughter, Virginia, a son, Thomas S., and his father, Walter S. Anderson.

Batjer. Helene A. Batjer, FSO, died on May 8, in Washington. Ms. Batjer entered the Foreign Service in 1945 and served at Berlin, Sofia, Rome, Athens, Belgrade, Stockholm, Zagreb, Rawalpindi and as DCM at Sofia, followed by assignment as diplomat-in-residence at Reed College and as consul general in Istanbul. She received the meritorious honor award in 1971. Ms. Batjer is survived by her brother, Hon. Cameron Batjer, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Nevada, 7 Circle Dr., Carson City, Nevada and a sister, Grace Williams, of California.

Hoskins. Harold B. Hoskins, director of FSI from 1955 to 1961, died on May 6, in New York City. Mr. Hoskins entered on duty with the Department of State in 1941, then served as lieutenant colonel in the Army from 1942-1944, returning as special assistant to the Ambassador at Tehran. He served as special economic counselor at Cairo, also to Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia and Ethiopia before his resignation in 1945. He also served as a consultant to the Department from 1951-53. He is survived by his wife, Grania O'Malley Knott Hoskins, 170 Water Street, Stonington, Connecticut, and a daughter, Mrs. John W. Ackley III, of New York City.

Sandifer. Irene R. Sandifer, wife of FSO-retired Durward V. Sandifer, died on April 8, in Washington. Mrs. Sandifer accompanied her husband on assignment to Buenos Aires and to Latin America and European countries studying foreign economic aid programs for the Foreign Service and ICA. Mrs. Sandifer published "Mrs. Roosevelt As We Knew Her," a book about Eleanor Roosevelt in 1975. She is survived by her husband of 8304 Oakford Pl., Silver Spring, Maryland, a daughter, Muriel Munroe, and four grandchildren, all of Anchorage, Alaska.

NEW CAREER

William A. Buell, FSO-retired, will become Director of the Radio Free Europe Division of RFE/RL, Inc., in Munich, on August 1. Mr. Buell entered the Foreign Service in 1951, serving at Taipei, Hamburg, Brussels, Lome, Warsaw, Paris and as Director of the Office of Northern European Affairs, before his retirement in 1975. Since then he has been Legislative Assistant to Senator Adlai Stevenson of Illinois.

FSJ SPECIAL SERVICES

In order to be of maximum assistance to AFSA members and **Journal** readers we are accepting these listings until the 15th of each month for publication in the issue dated the following month. The rate is 40¢ per word, less 2% for payment in advance, minimum 10 words. Mail copy for advertisement and check to: Classified Ads, **Foreign Service Journal**, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

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NANCY'S NOOK, owned by retired AID FSR, will give 20% discount on mail orders for fiction and non-fiction in print books. 10% for professional and textbooks. 45¢ mailing and handling charges per book. Write Nancy Dammann, Box 368, Hyden, KY 41749.

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Fact ■ Overseas insurance either replaces your household effects at today's prices or it doesn't.



Actual Cash Value

Most overseas insurance policies cover your household effects for their replacement cost less depreciation. This means that your \$500 stereo system purchased 5 years ago may have an actual cash value of only \$250 today. That's what most overseas insurance policies (or the Claims Act) would pay if it were lost or destroyed—hardly enough to replace the entire system at today's prices.



Current Replacement Cost

The American Foreign Service Association is sponsoring a Package Insurance Program for AFSA members only. The AFSA program covers you for the replacement cost of household furniture and personal effects that are lost or destroyed.

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Take Aim against cavities!

