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APRIL 1979

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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

APRIL 1979: Volume 56, No. 4

ISSN 0015-7279

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

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

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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.

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For subscription to the JOURNAL, one year (12 issues); \$7.50; two years, \$12.00. For subscriptions going abroad, except Canada, add \$1.00 annually for overseas postage.

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

©American Foreign Service Association, 1979. The Foreign Service Journal is published twelve times a year by the American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington D.C. 20037. Telephone (202) 338-4045

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

BRADLEY V. VANCE

AFSA welcomes the Supreme Court's February 22 decision that mandatory retirement for the Foreign Service is not unconstitutional.

The decision clearly recognizes that the Congress had in mind a rational purpose when it created the Foreign Service Act with its distinctive package of obligations and rights for Foreign Service personnel. In this respect it supersedes the language of the District Court decision which tended to obliterate the real distinctions between a career in the Foreign Service and Civil Service, and thus our claim to distinctive legislative treatment.

By restoring the mandatory retirement date established for the careers of senior Foreign Service people—most of whom are not subject to selection-out—the decision offers the prospect of renewed opportunities for promotions and assignments for people at earlier stages in their careers. These opportunities will give the Service greater hope of retaining its best employees—those who could do well elsewhere—and of attracting the best people into careers in the Service.

AFSA did everything it could to bring about this result. We urged the Department to seek an appeal of the District Court decision to the Supreme Court. We urged the Solicitor General to appeal the case. And we filed an amicus curiae brief supporting the appeal. Many of the arguments presented in our brief were picked up by the eight-member majority opinion. The credit goes to our brilliant but undercompensated legal counsel, Catherine Waelder, who should be appointed to the Court herself.

We recognize that not all our members agree with our view on this case; that mandatory retirement at any age may not, as the Court recognized, necessarily be a perfect instrument to carry out the national interest in an excellent and vigorous Foreign Service; and that many colleagues at or near 60 are still both excellent and vigorous. Nevertheless, in our career Service, one person's retention in duty is another's missed promotion or even selection-out; annuities for those at the top may be as good as salaries at the middle; in their earlier years our present senior colleagues benefited from the career package which included mandatory retirement. We therefore believe the decision is not only likely to strengthen the Foreign Service, but is equitable for the people of the Foreign Service.

SPIKE

Spike Dubs's murder was not only tragic, but senseless. He was kidnapped by a group of guerrillas, and held hostage to bargain with an Afghan government which, despite his best efforts, was not notably sympathetic to American concerns, in a country in which only a relatively moderate security risk to American personnel was estimated.

If there is any consolation, it is in the actions of the Administration, which made every effort to save Spike's life by urging restraint on the part of the Afghan government and their Soviet advisors. The US efforts failed; but the president's and the secretary's firm and stirring

statements about Spike and about the career Foreign Service at Andrews Air Force Base, and Marshall Shulman's eulogy, offer us some comfort. We intend to follow up with the administration and will report fully to the membership on future actions aimed at preventing the recurrence of such tragedies.



A great many of Spike's friends and colleagues have already expressed interest in perpetuating his memory and ideals through some kind of AFSA memorial, as requested by his widow. The precise form this memorial should take remains to be determined. There should be some association with excellence in Soviet affairs within the Foreign Service, something Spike put great store by, and some way to further the ideals that Spike exemplified during his career in the Service. A committee is being formed, for which Marshall Shulman has graciously agreed to serve as chairman, and AFSA's treasurer, Jim Wilkinson, as executive secretary, to consider the resources available and to decide how best to act in remembrance of Spike. Those who are interested are warmly invited to send to AFSA contributions, which will be tax deductible, in the name of the Spike Dubs Memorial Fund, as well as suggestions on how we may best honor Spike.

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Memories are made of this, but **NOT MEMOIRS**

S. I. NADLER

Three: Language and/or Communication

Whoever pursues a foreign service career is concerned with some aspect of diplomacy, defined by the Oxford Dictionary as the "management of international relations by negotiation." While it is generally understood that communication is what makes negotiation possible, there is considerably less awareness that language and communication are not synonymous. Language is but one medium of communication and not always the most effective. It will be recalled that, not too long ago, a president of the United States "sent a message" to the Soviet government by placing American armed forces on worldwide alert.

In his classic *The Silent Language*, Edward T. Hall

warned: "We must never assume that we are fully aware of what we communicate to someone else. There exist in the world today tremendous distortions in meaning as men try to communicate with one another." This unpleasant fact comes with the territory for those who contribute to the management of international affairs by negotiation. It nevertheless shocks one the first time one discovers, in attempting cross-cultural communication with only language as an instrument, that sometimes you really cannot get there from here. In my case, it happened when I found out that you cannot say in Chinese, "Answer yes or no," because there are no words in Chinese for "yes" or "no." Also, in my experience, a new dimension of frustration is added when the absence of an equivalent word in another language reflects the absence of an entire cultural concept (e.g., a number of languages—such as Italian, Japanese, and Spanish—have no word for "privacy").

The inherent dangers in the situation, from precipitating an international crisis to serving as target for cheap shots from the press, comprise an occupational hazard for interpreters. The incident during President Carter's 1977 visit to Poland was a relatively minor case in point. Anybody who wishes to hot up the Cold War generally refers to the boast of the late Nikita Khrushchev, when Premier of the USSR, that "We'll bury you." He was merely using a Russian expression to predict that the Soviets would outlast the Americans, but it was translated, and published in the US press, literally. On the other hand, the same Khrushchev was observed to flush angrily during his June 1961 meeting with President Ken-

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nedly in Vienna, whenever Kennedy cautioned that he should not miscalculate the strength of will or the intentions of the American people. It was later found that, with no Russian word to convey the precise meaning Americans give to "miscalculate," the Russian interpreter used a Russian expression meaning "inability to count," implying extreme stupidity. Sometimes, mistakes in translation can have funny, rather than serious consequences. I remember an occasion on which an interpreter outsmarted himself. Translating for a distinguished foreign speaker before an American audience, he decided that, for the American audience, the fox and cat in the story being used by the speaker for illustrative purposes would make more sense as a fox and a dog. He made the change. Moments later, he realized that, the way the story was going, the dog would soon have to climb a tree! He solved the problem wisely by halting the proceedings to confess his flawed initiative, not only giving rise to some binational merriment, but also permitting both audience and speaker to feel superior to him.

Being a native speaker of a language, however, may not always fully qualify one to speak to one's countrymen. I asked a British colleague in Singapore why the BBC then hired foreign language announcers on two-year contracts, as compared with VOA's long-term employment. "It's not that they tend to start wearing bowlers and carrying umbrellas after two years in London," he explained. "After that much time away from home, they are using outmoded expressions and are not au courant with the latest slang, the current idiom, the fashionable words, and this detracts from their credibility."

Given today's shrinking world and the growing interdependence of countries, the decline of foreign language study in the United States is especially to be regretted. Only one in ten Americans can speak a second language and, in most cases, that is Spanish or English. Probably the saddest development, for obvious reasons, has been the precipitous decrease in the number of high school students taking Latin (down in one five-year period, 1965-1970, from just over 626,000 to under 272,000). A young USIA (as ICA was then, and will probably again be, called) associate of mine in Ankara a few years ago sent a memorandum to the embassy addressed to: "William Burdette, a.i." The acting DCM, Dave Cuthell, returned it with a note gently advising that "Mr. Burdette is *Chargé d'Affaires*, ad interim. He is Mr. Burdette all the time."

An ambassador, who shall be nameless, taught me what may have been my most valuable lesson about communicating—the imaginative use of alternative channels. It was at a weekly staff meeting at a post in the Far East that a junior officer complained of not having received any response to a despatch he had transmitted to Washington some two months before. Ambassador Karl Nameless bestowed a kindly glance upon the junior officer. "Young man," he said, "When you have been in the Service [somehow, the way he pronounced "service," it had a capital "S"] as long as I, you will realize that nobody in Washington reads despatches. They read telegrams, but seldom pay attention to what is reported or requested." He paused. "When I want the Department to take heed of what I report, or to act upon what I request, I call in [naming the correspondent of the *New York Times*] and 'leak' to him. Next morning, it appears in the *Times*, which everybody in Washington reads. And believes. And obeys."



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Taking a Walk with Robbie

DIONIS COFFIN RIGGS

One of my best friends in Turkey was an English woman named Shirley, a ballet dancer in the Turkish State Opera Ballet Company, married to a Turkish opera singer. She was petite and pretty, with dark hair, blue adventurous eyes, and a wide generous mouth. She had lived in Ankara with her husband for at least ten years, so she knew the language and customs of the Turks.

Shirley and her husband had a dog, a Great Dane named Robbie (short for Roberta), who was much too big for the small apartment they occupied. So she came to our house often to ask us, or one of us, to go with her to

take Robbie for an outing. My children dreaded to see them coming, for the cats all took to the trees and Robbie dashed around and around under them, barking and stamping down the tulips. The rest of my family had no time during the week for walking, but I loved to go out with Shirley.

"Grand-dinny," she called me, as my grandchildren did. "I'd like to take you to a lovely park, not far from here. Atatürk used to spend hours in a little cabin there. His big marble mausoleum is one thing. This is quite another."

So I put on my overshoes and a warm coat, for one never knew what might turn up when taking Robbie for a walk.

We went for quite a distance along the busy thoroughfares around the city, beyond Bahçelievler, frequently calling Robbie to heel. She minded fairly well along the highway. Cars, unlike cats, she realized, one had to look out for.

Mrs. Riggs, born on Martha's Vineyard, has traveled widely and has spent the last three winters in Ankara. This past winter she taught English to young Turkish men, two classes each afternoon in courses sponsored by the Turkish-American Association. Her published works include: From Off Island, a biography of her grandmother who married a sea captain and went on a five-year whaling voyage with him (McGraw Hill); and two books of poetry, Martha's Vineyard and Sea Born Island (Wm. L. Bauhan).

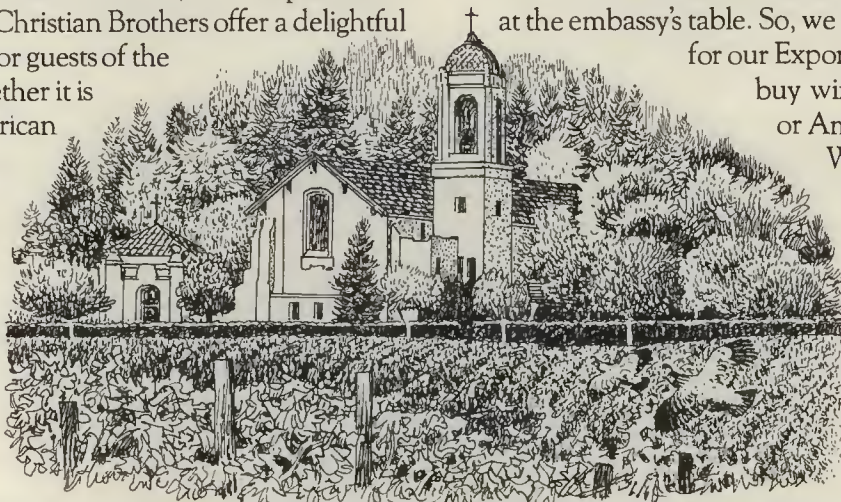
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"We turn off here," Shirley said, "for a shortcut. It's a pleasant walk through the park."

But a new guardhouse at the gateway blocked our passage. Shirley talked to the guard at length in Turkish, and came back to me. "Bother! We have to go all the way to the Konya Road, then follow that for a kilometer or so, probably two, before we come to the other entrance. It would have been so much nicer to walk through the park and Robbie could have run freely. Further on, he said, there's a gate unattended this time of the year."

The edge of the road was wet from recently melted snow mingled with slippery mud. On the main road between Ankara and Konya the cars whizzed by. Shirley made Robbie stay by her side, even putting on her leash.

At last we came to the main entrance, and went inside. Atatürk's cabin, surrounded by tall trees, was not far away. "One of Atatürk's dreams," Shirley said, "was to reforest Turkey. He planted these tall poplars himself."

We walked along the path, beside a brook that was rippling over stones, and there beside the brook, where he could have heard the music of it, was the rough wooden cabin where Atatürk spent quiet hours. We peeked through the single window and saw a pot-bellied stove, a rocking-chair, a couch, and a few books on a low table.

All over Turkey the people fairly worship Atatürk. He is not only their George Washington who led them in battle and who was their first president, but a leader who brought them out of the Middle Ages and the corruption of the Ottoman Empire into a modern world. He gave them surnames, freed women from their low position,

tossed aside the veil that had covered the faces of women, and the fez that men wore. He gave them a new language and just laws, separated church and state. His statue stands in every village square, his photograph is prominent in every office, school, every home. They almost worship him.

When I had first visited Ankara, much earlier, I went to the great mausoleum on the hill. An avenue of double lions, symbol of the days of the Hatti and the Hittites, leads to the simple, but impressive marble monument. Tourist-fashion I had posed sitting on one of the lion's backs. A vigorous whistle from the soldiery ever guarding the tomb made me get off in a hurry. Later I said to a Turkish friend, "I guess I wasn't supposed to sit on the lion." "You aren't supposed to *sit*," she told me, "near Atatürk's presence."

Here was another side of the man. This little cabin in a wooded niche of the vast Anatolian plain that he loved, was dedicated to his memory, and kept as he had left it. We stood there reverently.

It was growing dark in the woods. We looked across the brook at the distant hills that were catching the last light of the sunset. "It's getting late," Shirley said, "and I have to dance tonight."

"Tonight?"

"I don't have to be at the Opera House until eight," she reassured me. "If we could cut across this field—See, Ankara is just across there. You don't mind rough ground, do you, Grand-dinny?"

"No-o."

Continued on page 37

AA TO EEE MASSEY MEN'S SIZES 6 TO 15 AA TO EEE MASSEY MEN'S SIZES 6 TO 15

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How *Collier's* Won World War III

On July 22, 1953, the United States finally atom-bombed Moscow. The decision to destroy the Soviet capital was taken only with great reluctance and under strong pressure of public opinion, after the Soviets had atom-bombed Detroit and New York in 1952, had bombed New York again in 1953 and had also destroyed most of Chicago, Washington, and Philadelphia.

If you are unaware of this sequence of events, it must be because you were either too young to have seen, or have forgotten, the special issue of *Collier's* magazine of October 27, 1951. Entitled "Preview of The War We Do Not Want," it described in great fictional detail how World War III had been fought and won—as seen from the "future" vantage point of 1960.

There one could read, with copious colored illustrations, how the war had started (of course, the USSR had started it), how it had brought great initial successes to the Russians, and how it had ended with their defeat, occupation and generous rehabilitation. Today most people have forgotten even the name of *Collier's* magazine, but its special issue on World War III was not a small event. The print order was 3,900,000 copies and most of them were sold.

It is hard to believe that anything printed in such quantity could have become rare, but like Hitler's *Mein Kampf* the October 27, 1951 issue of *Collier's* has become a collector's item. It is also a memento of one of the great scandals of American journalism during the height of the Cold War, an escapade that

Martin Herz entered the Foreign Service as an FSO-Unclassified C, "than which," he says, "there has never been a lower rank in the Service." Despite certain setbacks due to unwillingness to conform, he eventually served as senior deputy assistant secretary for IO and then as ambassador to Bulgaria. Other posts included Vienna, Paris, Tehran, Phnom Penh and Tokyo, plus several tours in the Department. He is currently professor of diplomacy at Georgetown University.

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12 FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, April, 1979

SCARING THE HELL OUT OF EVERYBODY

MARTIN F. HERZ

cost the United States dearly in terms of public opinion support especially in Western Europe.

Collier's offered its readers "eye-witness accounts" by respectable American journalists who, in the guise of documentaries, gave their fictional accounts of how it all had happened. Here, for instance, is an excerpt of such reportage by Edward R. Murrow, the famous radio and television reporter and commentator, entitled "A-Bomb Mission to Moscow":

The flak started again, as though the gunners knew we were carrying the second punch. The bombardier was looking through the clouds. It was a radar job and very impersonal. Now it was quiet. No fighters. No flak. We were alone with only the steady voices of the engines and the not quite intelligible voice of the bombardier. Then he said, suddenly and clearly: "It's gone."

Jack took over, turned 45 degrees to port and rammed the throttles home. As we looked down through the overcast, I saw it: something that I can only describe as the flame of a gigantic blowtorch filtering through dirty yellow gauze.

We felt nothing. It was the most professional, nerveless military operation I have ever seen.

One might think that the survivors of the Moscow holocaust would have held some grudges against the Americans, but the US occupation troops (wearing United Nations helmets, for the US was assumed to have fought as an agent of the UN, as in Korea) were cheerfully welcomed by the Muscovites. The Russians welcomed even more what the Americans brought with them: political freedom, capitalism, and western consumer's goods.

Among the wares displayed and eagerly sought out by the Russians were, in fact, American magazines in their Russian translations. A color picture in *Collier's*, with such detail that it almost looked like a photograph, showed a newsstand in Moscow displaying the Russian versions of *Time* (*Vremya*), *Life* (*Zhizn*), *Newsweek* (*Novosti Nedeli*), the *Reader's Digest* (*Chitatelskoye Obozreniye*), the *Saturday Evening Post* (*Subbotnaya Kyechemnaya*) and *Collier's* (*Kolliers*).

As Alexander Werth reported from Paris (*The Nation*, December 1, 1951), it was difficult for Americans to realize the impression the



Preview of the War We Do Not Want

Robert E. Sherwood Hanson W. Baldwin Lowell Thomas Arthur Koestler Walter Winchell
Allan Nevins Edward R. Murrow Hal Boyle Stuart Chase Bill Mauldin Red Smith
J. B. Priestley Senator Margaret Chase Smith Erwin Canham Marguerite Higgins
Philip Wylie Howard Brodie Walter Reuther Chesley Bonestell Oksana Kusenkina

special *Collier's* issue had made in Europe: "Months of intensive Communist propaganda, millions of dollars of 'Moscow gold,' could not have done half as much to make the United States—if I say unpopular, that is putting it *very* mildly." Why?

"The general resentment," reported Werth, "springs in part from the fact that millions of Americans are given the idea that World War III will be a good and just war, and that the Russians 'want to be liberated'—a more than debatable point—even at the price of seeing all their cities destroyed and 32,000,000 of their men, women, and children killed. . . Nor do people here care for the assumption that the height of bliss for the New Russia—and, I suppose, the New Europe—will consist of read-

ing translations of the *Reader's Digest*, *Time*, *Life*, *Newsweek* and 'Kolliers,' and in having leg shows in place of the Russian ballet and the Moscow Art Theater. . . What is the evidence that American—or UN—forces invading Russia will be loved any more than the Germans were last time?"

Conceived and executed in great secrecy as "Operation Egnog," the special issue of *Collier's* had been ten months in the making. It was reportedly the brainchild of associate editor Cornelius Ryan who was also in charge of supervision and assembling of the various contributions. And who were the contributors? They were some of the most illustrious names in American journalism and public life, and some equally respectable

foreign artist-intellectuals, including the following:

Robert E. Sherwood, four-time winner of the Pulitzer Prize, personal friend and biographer of Franklin Roosevelt, playwright and onetime top official of the Office of War Information, described the origins and the course of the war in the keynote essay.

Hanson W. Baldwin, Pulitzer Prize-winning military editor of the *New York Times*, contributed an "authentic analysis" entitled "How The War Was Fought."

Arthur Koestler, the novelist and (then) anti-Communist activist, himself a former member of the Communist Party, wrote about political developments in postwar Russia. "From Koestler's contribution, *Freedom At Long Last*," wrote the editors, "came the sparks which ignited the imaginations of all those connected with Operation Egnog. It was he who conceived the UN's full participation in rehabilitating Russia through such agencies as UNI-HOPE, UNITOC and UNI-PROD."

Allan Nevins, twice Pulitzer Prize-winner and Columbia University's De Witt Clinton professor of history, contributed a chapter on the "unshackling of Russian minds" through their liberation by the Americans.

Stuart Chase, the writer and economist, and Dr. Harry Schwartz, a Soviet expert for the *New York Times*, combined to describe the problems of reconstruction and the burgeoning of free enterprise in Russia after the war.

Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers of America (CIO), wrote of the resurgence of the trade union movement in post-World War III Russia. Senator Margaret Chase Smith wrote "Russia's Rebirth."

Edwin D. Canham, the highly respected editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*, and in 1951 also chairman of a State Department-sponsored Advisory Commission on Information, described the spontaneous flowering of a free press in postwar Moscow.

J. B. Priestley, the British dramatist, novelist and essayist, contributed an article about the arts in post-liberation Russia. Cartoons were created by Bill Mauldin, also a Pulitzer laureate, who for the

Collier's venture resurrected his unforgettable World War II GIs, Willie and Joe.

Marguerite Higgins, Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter of the *New York Herald Tribune*, wrote about "Women of Russia." Hal Boyle of the Associated Press "described" the evacuation and atom-bombing of Washington. Philip Wylie, the best-selling novelist, wrote about a romance between an American officer and a beautiful English-speaking Russian woman who had been trained for the Soviet military government of the United States. Walter Winchell, the print and radio gossip columnist, had a column addressed to "Mr. and Mrs. Russia," which presumably was carried in all the free Russian newspapers.

In addition to Edward R. Murrow, who has already been mentioned, the equally prominent and respected Lowell Thomas contributed an "eye-witness account" of the daring parachute operation ("I Saw Them Chute Into the Urals") by which American troops and nuclear scientists in a suicide mission in 1953 neutralized the last remaining Russian A-bomb depot in a narrow and well-fortified mountain valley.

Commenting on the prominence of these contributors, D. F. Fleming, the revisionist historian, remarked at the time (in 1951) that *Collier's* "could have easily assembled a galaxy of radio commentators, columnists, and others who have for years been steadily preparing the American people for war with Russia. Yet with the exception of Walter Winchell, this group is not represented. Instead, the table of contents shows a long list of people of moderate views, of progressive, non-belligerent instincts, people who have not joined in sounding the war drums. As one reads, one wonders how each author came to take part in the enterprise, and whether any of them really understood what the impact of the whole would be. If many of them did, then it is much later than we thought."

Actually, as we shall see, the whole was really much worse than the sum of its parts, as some of the contributors acknowledged when they saw the context in which their articles had appeared. Others, however, were unrepentant. This is

perhaps explained by the way the concept had been stated to them by the editors, and by the way the sequence of events had been posited.

As the *Christian Century* commented in December, 1951 after the various contributors had been polled, "the issue of *Collier's* was planned as a journalistic sensation. The letters [of the contributors] show there was a sensation, all right, but that some of those who helped produce it now wish they hadn't. . . Ever since the *Collier's* article appeared, papers all over western Europe have been asking, 'Are we tied to a war-mad power which has no conception of what this war would do to us?' An illustration of American journalism at its most sensational—and irresponsible—has boomeranged to hurt us most where we most need friends. It has convinced even anticommunists that our minds are obsessed with war."

World War III, according to *Collier's*, broke out on May 10, 1952 with an abortive attempt on the life of Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia which was followed by a pre-planned phony "uprising" and the invasion of Yugoslavia by Soviet-satellite troops of Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary, plus powerful units of the Red Army, who claimed to be responding to an "invitation" by the Yugoslavs. The United Nations called for withdrawal of the invaders, Moscow said they had a right to be in Yugoslavia because it was "the will of the Yugoslav people," and World War III was on.

Almost immediately, there was American "saturation A-bombing" of the USSR—but only of "legitimate military targets" to the exclusion of all population centers. This A-bombing continued for several months. Meanwhile, however, the Red Army advanced on a broad front "from the Baltic to the Middle East," due to the numerical superiority it enjoyed on the ground and in the air. As a diversion, the Soviets also invaded Alaska. And they atom-bombed London and "United Nations bases overseas."

Before the year was out, according to the *Collier's* scenario, the Russians managed to destroy most of Detroit and a good part of New York by one-way bombing mis-

sions (also "the A-bomb plant at Hanford, Washington"). In the Far East, a "Dunkirk"-like operation took place when US troops, "under unremitting air and submarine attack," withdrew from Korea to Japan. "The turning point of the war's first phase was reached on Christmas Day," *Collier's* summarized, when American atomic artillery, deployed for the first time, "smashed the enemy offensive in Europe."

In 1953 there were further atomic bombings of American cities which the United States stoically endured before the provocation became unendurable and the agonizing decision was made to destroy Moscow. Psychological warfare began to play an important role, as propaganda emphasized that the United Nations was fighting a war of liberation for the Russian people; and leaflet raids and broadcasts warned the Russian people to evacuate areas scheduled for attack. Later in 1953 the American suicide task force destroyed the last Russian A-bomb stockpile. Underground forces in satellite countries received arms and materials in UN plane-drops. "Highly trained guerrilla fighters" were parachuted into the USSR to aid resistance movements.

Finally, as the tide of battle turned in Europe, the Red Army began to disintegrate. There had already been signs of dissension in high quarters in the USSR, where Stalin had reportedly disappeared and been replaced by Lavrenty Beria, the head of the dread secret police. As United Nations forces crossed Poland and landed in the Crimea (from Turkey, from which they had ejected the Russians), and as American marines captured Vladivostok in the Far East, the Red Army and the whole Communist apparatus simply crumbled. The social and political structure of the Soviet dictatorship disintegrated into anarchy, and the United Nations forces occupied the former satellite nations of Eastern Europe, the Ukraine, and established a headquarters in friendly, non-Communist Moscow in which people were busily building a better and freer future.

The spontaneous disintegration of the Communist dictatorship was one of the most cheering aspects of the *Collier's* scenario. There were

no UN war crime trials because the surviving Communist leaders were simply turned over to the "Russian people" whose basic instincts were for democracy. (Not always and not immediately, though, as Arthur Koestler wryly reported: In elections in Kharkov, given the choice between some twenty political parties, over half the voters wrote *da—yes*—on their ballots, to the consternation of foreign observers who didn't realize that democratic habits do not come overnight.)

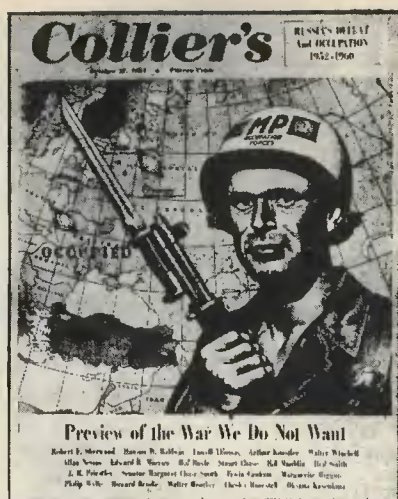
In what purported to be a diary entry in Moscow on July 14, 1960, Koestler wrote:

What happened to Communism in Russia? The reason why everybody here yawns with boredom when a visitor asks this hoary question is that the answer is so obvious to every Russian. The answer is that there never was Communism in Russia; there were only Communists. When the Communists disappeared, Communism disappeared.

Why is this so self-evident to every Russian and so difficult to understand for people abroad? Because people outside Russia never understood the true nature of the Communist regime. They thought of it as a political movement in the western sense; or as some miscarried attempt to establish social justice; or as a kind of secular religion. It was, of course, nothing of the sort—except for a short period in the beginning, long since forgotten. For the last 30 to 40 years—that is, as far back as the memories of the present generation can reach—it was simply a rule of terror.

It must be remembered, of course, that this was written at a time when Stalin was still alive and when vast numbers of Russians were still consigned to concentration camps for "reeducation" merely for the crime of having had too close contact with, or interest in, Western or Central European ideas of justice and freedom.

If Sherwood's scenario of the spontaneous collapse of communism in Russia as a result of war, and Koestler's view that "there never was Communism in Russia; there were only Communists" seem a little bizarre today, it is well to recall that George Kennan, America's foremost expert on the Soviet Union, had written in his famous "X" article in 1947: "The present generation of Russians have never known spontaneity of collective action. If, consequently, anything were ever to



Consacré à une guerre imaginée contre l'U.R.S.S.

UN NUMERO DE "COLLIER'S" (magazine américain à grand tirage) fait sensation dans le monde

CE numéro peut changer le cours de l'histoire », annonce fièrement l'éditorial du magazine à grand tirage « Collier's » daté du 27 octobre. Il dépeint, en effet, sous la plume des meilleurs journalistes, écrivains, économistes et syndicalistes d'Amérique, la « Défaite et l'occupation de la Russie, 1952-60 ».

La couverture nous montre un G. I. le casque orné des drapeaux de l'O. N. U. et des U. S. A., balayette au canon. Moscou est indiquée comme « Q. G. de l'occupation » et où on lit : « Pétrograd (anciennement Leningrad) ».

« Nous sommes opposés à une guerre préventive, dit l'éditorial de « Collier's ». Nous ne croyons pas que la guerre soit inévitable. « Le gouvernement soviétique doit changer. Il doit changer sa conception et sa politique. Sinon, le jour viendra où il disparaîtra de la surface de la terre. Sinon, le gouvernement soviétique doit savoir que l'Occident se battra si c'est nécessaire. Il se battra et vaincra. Car on ne peut détourner le cours de l'histoire. La tyrannie est par sa nature même vouée à la destruction. « Le but des auteurs est de donner à Staline « un avertissement » et un « appel à la raison ». Voici en effet « ce qu'il attend ».

Les péripéties de la guerre

« Le plus inutile, le plus absurde et le plus meurtrier de toutes les guerres » a éclaté exactement à 13 h. 58, le samedi 10 mai 1952 », nous apprend l'écrivain Robert Sherwood.

Elle a été déclenchée par un attentat manqué contre le maréchal Tito, suivi d'une rébellion indienne qui a mis en branle les armées soviétiques et l'armée rouge. Washington demande au Kremlin de retirer ses troupes. Le Kremlin refuse. Alors la majorité des nations de l'O. N. U., y compris l'Inde, la Suède, l'Inde et la Suisse (il déclarent la guerre à l'U. R. S. S.).

Le premier année de guerre est marquée par « l'atomisation » des objectifs stratégiques russes et l'exclusion de tout objectif civil, tandis que les Russes envahissent et occupent la presque totalité du continent européen. La bataille fait rage en France; Londres s'évapore

From the front page of Paris-press l'intransigeant, Nov. 2, 1951.

occur to disrupt the unity and efficacy of the Party as a political instrument, *Soviet Russia might be changed overnight from one of the strongest to one of the weakest and most pitiable of national societies.*"

What shocked critics most, both in Europe and in the United States, were some things which *Collier's* said only incidentally, some which it seemed to play down deliberately, and some pronouncements of the editors in introducing the issue to the public.

In the first category was a remark by Robert Sherwood that, when the war had come, "the first reaction of the American people was one of relief. Whatever might

be the horrors to come... the long period of waiting was over."

An example of the second category was the way in which the *Collier's* reportage managed to overlook the human suffering engendered by an atomic war—for emphasis was placed on the cheerful outcome of the occupation of a friendly Russia eager to reform itself, suggesting a millennial peace.

The third category—how the editors introduced the special issue—requires the quoting of some excerpts. There were two such introductions: One was a statement of the purposes of the special issue; the other a lengthy editorial introducing it.

The statement declared the purposes to be: "(1) to warn the evil masters of the Russian people that *their* [emphasis in the original] vast conspiracy to enslave humanity is the dark, downhill road to World War III; (2) to sound a powerful call for reason and understanding between the peoples of the West and the East—before it is too late; (3) to demonstrate that if The War We Do Not Want is forced upon us, we will win."

It is clear, from today's perspective, what was most wrong with this approach: It implied that the very nature of Communism ("their vast conspiracy to enslave humanity") was regarded as making World War III inevitable. This represented a profound misunderstanding of the perspectives and policies of the United States government in Washington where the chosen approach was one of "containment" of Soviet expansionist tendencies. Yet the editors of *Collier's* claimed that: "our overall conception of this issue was confirmed in study and consultation with top political, military and economic authorities—including high-level Washington officials and foreign affairs experts, both here and abroad."

This, and the eminent backgrounds and associations of such people as Sherwood, Baldwin, Reuther and Canham, who had ready access to policy-makers in Washington, created a dangerous presumption, which the editors strove to reinforce, that *Collier's* came close to reflecting official American policy.

On the other hand, today's reader must remember that the *Col-*

lier's special issue was produced at a time when American public opinion was still profoundly shocked by the Communist attack in Korea in 1950, an unprovoked aggression which had been beaten back with great cost only to lead to a widened conflict with Communist China, a country which at that time was still regarded as a close ally or even a satellite of the Soviet Union. In 1951 some particularly bloody and inconclusive battles were being fought in Korea, and there was widespread fear that the war in the Far East was only a prelude to Soviet aggression somewhere in Europe.

Still, to the critical reader—and in jittery Western Europe many were especially critical—the editorial “The Unwanted War,” which set forth the philosophy of the *Collier's* editors and (presumably) writers of the special issue, was bound to be jarring. “We do not think that war is inevitable,” the editorial said, but it included this peroration:

The men in the Kremlin must make the choice.

They can roll up the Iron Curtain. Or they can start a war and have it shot down. . .

They can cease to subjugate their captive neighbors and still maintain close economic and cultural relations with them. Or they can start a war and see those countries' independence restored by force.

They can rejoin the family of nations, open their doors to the outside world, free the channels of trade. . . Or they can continue their present course of suspicious, intransigent belligerence, and risk their own destruction.

This was just the beginning of the “peroration.” So far, it was only assumed that by the very nature of the Soviet Union, if it did not change its ways it was bound to “start a war” which would end in its defeat. But some readers read phrases like “Or they can start a war” as hypocritical readiness to throw the blame on the Russians for an American-initiated war. Unfortunately, the keynote editorial did lend itself to such an interpretation, for it ended on a note that clearly implied that war was inevitable if the Kremlin did not change the very nature of its government: In other worlds, World War III would come *whether or not the Kremlin started it*, simply because of the nature of the Communist

system. In the view of many critics, this came uncomfortably close to preaching a US-initiated preventive war. Here is how the editorial ended:

The Soviet government must change its outlook and its policies. If it does not, the day will surely come when that government will disappear from the face of the earth. The Kremlin must decide. And if the Soviet rulers refuse to change, then they must realize that the free world will fight if necessary. It will fight and win. . .

An appeal to the reason of Joseph Stalin and the men around him is the ultimate purpose of this issue of *Collier's*. We believe that it is the most important single issue that any magazine has ever published. Robert E. Sherwood has told us that “It is quite conceivable to me that (it) may have an effect on the course of history.” We sincerely hope that he is correct. And we earnestly pray that its effect will be to help establish and maintain an enduring peace.

What gave the editors of *Collier's* the right to address an “appeal to reason” to the second most powerful man on earth and in such peremptory terms? Did they perhaps know something that others didn't? Could it be that they reflected the thinking of the “high-level Washington officials and foreign policy experts” whom they claimed to have consulted? Those questions arose quite naturally in the minds of some of their readers. (The State Department later, when the uproar wouldn't die down, made it known that it had indeed been “consulted” but had strongly urged *Collier's* to desist from its enterprise.)

Some of the suspicions and accusations of heedlessness and arrogance on the part of the editors of *Collier's* were expressed in a letter of protest addressed to that magazine by 400 British writers, which was published in *Les Lettres Francaises* (Paris) and *The Nation* (New York), datelined London November 17, 1951:

We feel bewilderment that people who could so glamorize and cheapen the tragedy of the fresh world war they envisage could at the same time so piously protest their desire above all else to avoid it. . .

You have chosen the method of presenting us with a *fait accompli*. Evidently you did not wish to harrow your readers unduly, since on not one page, in not one picture, is there more than the merest hint of the wastes of human suffering that such a war must en-

tail. . . Nor do you mention the widely held conviction that such a war, even such a victory, might only end in the communism it seeks to extirpate. . .

Your correspondents have as much right to their private wish-fulfillment fantasies about the fall of communism as anyone, but by presenting these in the manner you have, you have incurred a public responsibility which no journalist in this country will envy you and which, we hope, few would wish to share.

So much for the criticism by the four hundred, but even more telling was their judgment of the effects of the *Collier's* issue on public opinion in England and generally in Europe: “If you aimed to produce an effect, you have certainly done it. We cannot recall any previous publication which has caused such widespread alarm and indignation. Not only have you frightened and offended your friends, but you have put a God-given weapon in the hands of everyone who hates or distrusts your country, and dealt a crippling blow to those of us who do not equate peace with militant anti-Americanism. If that has been the effect in this country, and we can assure you that it has been, what do you imagine has been the effect in Russia, where you have already been widely quoted?”

The Russians, in fact, made the most of their propaganda opportunity. In *Pravda*, *Izvestia*, and in a host of other publications in their own country, in their satellites, and abroad, they claimed that the “aggressive” nature of the United States had been revealed and documented by *Collier's*. They also tried to use *Collier's* to discredit the Tito regime in Yugoslavia, as if Tito had inspired the fantasy about a Soviet assassination attempt against him and an unprovoked attack by the Soviet Union and its satellites against Yugoslavia.

When the Yugoslavs asked to have an item on (actual, not fictional) “hostile activities” of the Soviet Union and its satellites inscribed on the agenda of the UN Security Council, the charge was ridiculed by the Soviets and the Poles, who were in 1951 also represented on the Security Council. As reported by the *New York Times* of November 11, 1951.

The Polish representative [Manfred Lachs], alluding to the October 27 issue of *Collier's* magazine—whose account

of a victory of the Western Allies over the Soviet Union in an imagined war is providing Communist delegations with material for constant attacks on the alleged aggressiveness of the United States—pointed out that *Collier's* had declared the war started with an attempted assassination of Premier Marshal Tito. He asked whether the editors of *Collier's* had inspired the Yugoslav charges or vice versa.

But it was not what the Communists said that made the *Collier's* production so damaging to the United States and to Western collective security generally. It was, rather, what non-Communists, who were suspicious about the aims and intentions of the United States, were saying. In England, France, and many other European countries, there was a strong neutralist tendency which believed that association with the United States in NATO and in other defensive enterprises against possible Soviet aggression would make war more, rather than less, likely. It was this neutralist ten-

dency which obtained a windfall and proceeded instantly to put it to effective use.

One of the most brilliant aspects of the *Collier's* issue of October 27, 1951 was its graphics: The front page showed an American MP, with a white helmet displaying an American flag and the device of the United Nations, standing guard in front of a map of European Russia. He was symbolizing the "United Nations" occupation of Moscow at the end of World War III. The map showed the Ukraine overprinted "OCCUPIED," and had United Nations flags stuck into Moscow (labeled "Occupation Headquarters") and the Ukraine.

Other pictures showed atom-bombed Washington, the Kremlin at the moment of an atomic explosion, and episodes of the war—for instance, the imaginary capture of Stalin's son, Red Air Force General Vasily Stalin, who was supposed to have been shot down dur-

ing a reconnaissance flight over the Saar and was shown being interrogated by American soldiers. The picture of the American suicide mission in the Urals, depicting the drop into the jaws of death of intrepid American parachutists aiming for the tunnels at the base of the mountains which housed the last undestroyed Russian atomic stockpile, was also brilliantly executed by *Collier's* artist Richard Deane Taylor. So was the picture of a postwar Russian newsstand (showing, among others, the Russian *Kolliers* magazine) which has already been mentioned.

The United Nations lodged a formal protest with *Collier's* in December, 1951, over unauthorized use of its emblem. According to the *New York Times*, the protest was directed specifically to "the use of the United Nations emblem on the editorial page, where it appeared not on the uniform of a fictitious army but as the seal under an editorial entitled, *The Unwanted War.*" Dated Paris, the story went on to say:

This issue of the magazine, profusely illustrated with pictures of cities ruined by atomic bombs, has shocked many people in Europe who see it as an indication of war consciousness in the United States. The effect has been augmented by the issue's roster of contributors which included some of the best-known figures of the United States literary and journalistic scene. . . Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt on December 9 devoted much of a broadcast over the French, Swiss and Belgian radio networks to what she called this "most unfortunate" magazine issue. She said that the only effect in Europe had been to create a "hostile feeling" toward the United States.

No publication focused that kind of feeling more effectively than the French neutralist weekly, *l'Observateur*, which had the idea of manufacturing the frontpage of a fictitious issue of the Soviet magazine *Ogonyok* showing a Red Army soldier standing guard over the Atlantic, with red flags stuck into Washington and Paris. It asked its readers, very simply, what their feelings would be about Soviet intentions if they were confronted with such a Russian magazine. (Somewhat less effectively, *l'Observateur* also reproduced the picture of General Vasily Stalin being interrogated by American soldiers, and then produced a fake picture of

(Continued on page 39)

CE DOCUMENT EST UN FAUX



Vous saurez pourquoi nous avons « fabriqué » cette première page de la revue soviétique OGONIOK, en lisant l'article que nous consacrons au dernier numéro spécial du magazine américain COLLIER'S (voir en page 11).

Le directeur de la publication :
Maurice LAVAL.

l'Observateur
politique, économique et littéraire

"No man who values his future can afford to do anything or think anything that may look like a mistake seven years later."—Elmer Davis

ASSISTANT AMBASSADOR

GARY MAY

In February 1941, [John Carter] Vincent boarded the S.S. *Pierce* bound for Shanghai. Everything seemed to conspire to make his journey exceedingly gloomy and depressing. The weather was terrible: There was "ice all over the ship. . . . flurries of snow," and only "glimpses of sun" to warm him as he stood at the shipboard railing staring out to sea. Twenty-eight feet of water poured into the ship's holds, slowing her down to barely eleven knots instead of the customary seventeen. "The Captain thinks there is a jinx aboard," the steward informed Vincent confidentially.

"I reckon we are going into this

war blindly trying to preserve something that is already spoiled in half the world. . . ." he told his wife. "The issue is drawn in the Far East and it seems to me that only a miracle can prevent a conflict, a conflict springing fundamentally from the same causes as that in Europe. . . . Japan . . . no less than Germany, is operating as a destructive force and the United States as the conservative force. . . . We find ourselves, without consciously having pursued that path, the heir and defender of the British system in the Far East. . . . Japan has thrown off the [democratic] facade to challenge the century old western position in Asia. Japan has nothing constructive to offer. . . . neither has Germany."

His tenure in Shanghai was brief. In the spring, changes in American representation in the Far East brought him at last into a position of real influence in the development of American China policy. Nelson T. Johnson, ambassador to China for eleven years, was transferred to Australia and replaced by

veteran China expert, Clarence E. Gauss. Gauss had known Vincent for many years and invited him to become first secretary of the American embassy located now at China's war torn capital in Szechwan Province. Vincent accepted, and in early June left Shanghai by way of Hongkong for Chungking.

"Chungking," he wrote his sister upon arrival, "is indescribable." He saw it first from the air at sunrise, having left Shanghai after dark, "a necessity imposed by the Japanese [who] considered Chinese commercial planes legitimate military prey." As the plane descended to the airport ("a runway and a few bamboo huts on a little flat island in the Yangste [*sic*]") he caught a glimpse of the majestic rocky cliffs on which Chungking was built.

Once a minor trade port on the upper Yangtze, isolated from the outside world and under the domination of various warlords, Chungking was now the capital of China. But unlike the beleaguered cities of London or Paris, it was a city unloved, especially by its own inhabitants. "What is the matter with Chungking?" one Chinese official wondered in the summer of 1941. "Everything!"

The weather was insufferable. Summers were hot and sticky, winters cold and rainy. On an average day the temperature might fluctuate between one hundred degrees at noon and forty degrees at midnight, causing one Chinese to describe the weather as "four seasons in one day but one season throughout the whole year."

While the weather sapped the strength of its citizens, it gave vitality to the flies, mosquitoes, and rats that populated the streets and alley-ways. The "rats run around everywhere in broad daylight with full impunity," one writer remarked, "and at night they take complete possession of darkened rooms. Local yarns have it that in Chungking cats are oftener afraid of rats than vice versa. It must be the good grace of providence, that has kept the bubonic plague from breaking out here." But the grace of providence was not complete, because malaria and dysentery were frequent disabilities and it was only the very strong who did not suffer a daily attack of "Chungking tummy" caused by

This is excerpted from Chapter II of China Scapegoat, The Diplomatic Ordeal of John Carter Vincent, by Gary May, to be published in May by New Republic Books. The author is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Delaware. China Scapegoat has been awarded the coveted Nevins Prize from the Society of American Historians.

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putrid water and food that spoiled quickly in the summer sun.

Such were the defects of nature; those produced by man were worse. A wartime inflation ran rampant, wiping out salaries and life savings overnight. A loaf of bread cost a dollar and twenty cents; milk, two dollars a pint; eggs, three dollars per dozen; meat, two dollars a pound. By mid-1941, the cost of living in Chungking was up one thousand percent.

Japan's invasion of China also brought her bombers into the skies over Chungking, especially during the months that stretched from April to November. To Vincent, the bombing of the city was "disgusting." They "fly over usually about noon," he noted, "or on moonlit nights, late in the evening, so arrogantly and so safely; [they] bomb this ugly city of gray brick, plaster, and bamboo, trying to break the people's morale but only destroying little shops and huts with collected possessions of a lifetime. . . . Afterward, the poor people stolidly, unemotionally, go . . . about trying to find things in the debris. Gangs very efficiently clean . . . up and repair . . . telephone and light wires. What a LIFE."

His home for the next two years was the American embassy, a dilapidated building that reminded him of a Japanese brothel. Unlike its European counterparts, the American embassy was not located in the city proper but on the south bank of the Yangtze. To reach the center of the city, Vincent and other officials had to walk down a "steep staircase alley," cross the river "on the ramshackle passenger ferry," and then climb laboriously up another "long flight of steps," a journey that usually took an hour.

If Vincent was in luck, a car would be waiting at the top of the stairs to transport him to his destination, but he was rarely so fortunate. The embassy had no personal vehicle and the ambassador often complained to State Department officials that he had to "beg a ride from the naval . . . or the military attache," to whom the Chinese had given "five or six Fords." Without a car, one traveled on foot or by rickshaw, a necessity that inflation had made a luxury. Traveling about Chungking, Vincent quickly learned, was "something like the

movements in Dante's *Inferno*."

Vincent's choice of analogies was more accurate than he first supposed. Relations between American officials in Chungking, he discovered, were strained to the breaking point:

The cause of the crisis was the ambassador's inability to coordinate American efforts to assist the Chinese. New agencies sprang up daily, complicating procedures and enlarging the responsibilities of the embassy. There were officials in charge of commercial relations, cultural relations, industrial relations, and most importantly, military relations. Here there existed no clear chain of command but a variety of competing organizations all under the nominal direction of Brigadier General John Magruder's American Military Mission to China (AMMISCA). Americans also worked for the Nationalist government, bringing to bear on the problems of Chinese economics and politics their own special knowledge and experience. And, to exacerbate tensions further, there were the frequent visits of American dignitaries sent to Chungking on investigative missions for President Franklin Roosevelt.

The resulting bureaucratic confusion was deeply disturbing to Ambassador Clarence E. Gauss, a thirty-four-year veteran of the China Service. The fifty-five-year-old diplomat was "an intense man," noted one who served under him, with a "thin mouth turned down at the corners in [a] near sneer, eyes a prisms blue as they peered out through thick lenses. When one first met him the smile that grimaced his pallid face . . . was as disconcerting as his customary chill gaze." He took his work as seriously as he did himself. When it came to operating the American embassy, Gauss was a "strict constructionist." He was sharply critical of the way American economic and military planners bypassed his office in their dealings with the Chinese. He believed that "matters of high policy . . . should be channeled through the ambassador, the Department of State can inform War and Navy." Consequently, Gauss found it especially troublesome working with General Magruder and Colonel James McHugh, the naval attache who "had come to be regarded as

the assistant ambassador" when he served under Nelson Johnson. Both men were highly respected by the Chinese who often turned to them for assistance instead of to Ambassador Gauss.

The arrival of Presidential Assistant Lauchlin B. Currie in early June also annoyed the sensitive ambassador. Currie was director of lend lease for China and his visits were regarded as a national holiday by the Chinese who believed that this one man controlled the flow of tanks, trucks, and economic loans from Washington to Chungking. "The Chinese are . . . buzzing no end wondering what he will bring," Nelson Johnson had commented on Currie's last visit. "Will it be a lower cost of living for them and their families, [or] more guns to help them in their attack on the Japanese[?]" As on his last sojourn, the Chinese worked to insure Currie's favor by showering him with attention, while Ambassador Gauss remained ignored and isolated in his residence on the South Bank. Surrounded by "advisors and pipe-lines to the states," Gauss felt, according to Vincent, "boxed, bottled, and bitched."

As Gauss's "First Secretary and right hand man," Vincent hoped "to bring about some kind of coordination" among the various American agencies in Chungking. He respected and admired his chief, but found him a "difficult man" to live with and to work for. "I'd bet on him any time as prosecuting attorney and would entrust a million dollar case to him as my corporation lawyer," he wrote Lauchlin Currie in August. "Gauss is . . . a straight shooter but a limited one. . . . I should not want to be stranded with him on a desert island. Chungking comes close enough to it."

He saw his role as that of a bridge between Chungking and Washington over which information and advice might travel unobstructed by personal or bureaucratic roadblocks. He was determined, above all, to "get this place running for the American government—not for individuals—or get out." Given all of the complexities of personal and diplomatic life in Chungking, it would prove to be a formidable task.

Bureaucratic politics did not consume all of his time, however.

Once again, there was much to be learned about China. Except for his three-month stay in Shanghai, Vincent had not been directly exposed to Chinese life for over six years. There were many unanswered questions on his mind: Had China gained economic and political stability since 1935? What were the latest developments in the perpetual conflict between the Communists and the Nationalists? What effect was the war with Japan having on Chinese politics and economics? And, most important, what kind of policy would best promote American interests in the Orient?

In August, Vincent prepared an informal report for Lauchlin Currie which reflected his views after three months in Chungking. The Nationalist government, he had discovered with increasing concern, was economically disorganized and politically unstable. Spending from six hundred million to one billion dollars a month, the government was operating at a deficit of over four hundred million dollars monthly. Shortages of food and commodities plus a rising currency inflation were "driving prices up, way up." There were simply "not enough resources in the country to support the government on its present scale . . . [and] loose economic and political organization . . . will not permit effective price control." Without economic stabilization he did not believe China could begin to solve her problems or maintain an adequate defense against further Japanese invasion.

Developments in politics were equally discouraging. Despite the existence of the "united front" between the Communists and the Nationalists, neither faction was sincerely working toward the public goal of permanent cooperation. "There is . . . a fundamental difference in outlook," Vincent emphasized, "and there is besides deep-seated personal animosity. The Kuomintang leaders . . . interpret united front as unification under the Kuomintang . . . The Kuomintang aspires to a 'democracy' in which everybody votes the Kuomintang 'ticket.' It is shot through with one party . . . ideas . . . [;] they smack . . . pretty much of fascism. They want the Communist group to lose its iden-

tity; the Communists insist on retaining it . . . Chow [*sic*] En-lai, whom I have seen many times, assures me that there will be no break in relations—not now—but also no real cooperation."

The situation in the Far East, he concluded his report to Currie, was only part of a complex global puzzle. It would be disastrous for Americans to focus all their energies on one part but to lose sight of the more important whole. Events in Eastern Europe, where the Russians were fighting for their lives, would probably affect developments in Asia more than anything that the Americans could presently devise or deliver. "I hope we are sending the Russians everything we can," he wrote. "If they lose, there won't be much sense or need

great victory had been won," writer Han Suyin later recalled. With the economic and military arsenals of the United States and Great Britain at his disposal, Chiang could direct his efforts toward achieving that most cherished of goals: the preservation of his own power against his military and political rivals. For him, the war against the Japanese was over. "Pearl Harbor Day in America," a perceptive American noted in Chungking, "was Armistice Day out here."

Chiang moved quickly to assure the democracies that they had his support—and more. On December 8, he called a conference of British and American representatives to propose the creation of a united global front against the Axis pow-

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in sending things to England and China; if they win it won't be necessary."

The Russians held their bloody ground at Stalingrad, but the collision of interests in the Far East that Vincent had predicted seven years before occurred finally on December 7, 1941. America was in the war, and China was no longer the object of disinterested concern. Now she was America's only ally against the onslaught of the Japanese in the Orient. The partnership between China and the United States that was sealed at Pearl Harbor was not an alliance of equals but one of "client" and "patron," the most difficult kind of relationship to sustain without animosity and resentment felt by one side or the other.

But for now there was only jubilation in Chungking. After a decade of war, China was now allied with the great western powers. "Kuomintang officials went about congratulating each other as if a

ers. An alliance consisting of China, Britain, America, Russia, and the Netherlands, he argued, could defeat the Japanese within months, if the allies united to defeat Japan first and deal with Germany afterward. But his Pacific first strategy won him few friends among the British and Americans in Chungking, or Washington, who were committed to a strategy of Europe first.

Vincent and Gauss also found Chiang's strategy preposterous and made their position known in a telegram to the secretary of state on December 14. "Chiang may be unintentionally misleading in his statement on the part that China may be counted on to play in the struggle," Vincent wrote Hull on Gauss's behalf. "His plans seem . . . to have a touch of unreality derived from a somewhat grandiose . . . conception of his and China's role . . . His proposal for a general headquarters in Chungking to plan and direct Far

Eastern strategy is manifestly impracticable . . . The Chinese army does not possess the aggressive spirit, training, equipment or supplies for any major offensive or expedition." Vincent's goals in December were the same as when he had written Currie in August: "Keeping Chinese forces active against the Japanese, bolstering Chinese morale and helping to arrest the trend toward economic chaos."

Vincent and Gauss correctly expected that the Chinese would soon request expanded economic assistance. On December 30, Chiang's formal request for an Anglo-American credit of \$1 billion was unveiled during a meeting between the generalissimo and the ambassador. Chiang was in an expansive mood. China, he announced, would offer the allies "a vast manpower . . . to help in the fight against Japan." In return, Chiang asked formally for "a substantial political loan" of about \$1 billion—both to meet financial difficulties and as a sign that Britain and America believed in the ultimate victory of the democracies.

Gauss agreed to inform his government of Chiang's request and went on to give the generalissimo some good advice about the realities of American politics. Only the Congress could grant the president such funds, Gauss noted, and before doing so, would want to know precisely how the money would be spent. As Vincent watched and took notes, the two men sparred with one another over just how exact the Chinese request should be. Chiang insisted on the funds immediately; a detailed description of "requirements and expenditures" could come later. There the matter stood, and the conference ended.

Chiang's request for a loan called for a position paper from the ambassador, and Vincent spent the second week of the new year preparing one. It was to be the most important dispatch that Gauss had sent to the State Department since Pearl Harbor and his first secretary devoted all of his time and effort to it.

In Vincent's view, an Anglo-American loan of \$1 billion was extravagant and impractical. "A credit of no more than half that amount," he wrote Betty, "would

produce the psychological and political effects desired and take care of all conceivable (and perhaps some inconceivable) financial and economic demands. The billion dollar credit desired would be misleading and invite attempts at misuse." Vincent's concern about the loan and the uses to which it might be put reflected his growing hostility toward the government that the United States was supporting in China. En route to Shanghai the year before, he had expressed the fear that the United States might one day be fighting to "preserve and conserve rather than to create a new society of dynamic possibility." What he had feared then, now seemed to be coming true in Asia. Chiang's government, he had concluded after six months in Chungking, had more in common with America's fascist enemies than she did with her democratic friends.

Briefly, he described for his wife the leading personalities in Chinese politics with whom he had become all too familiar during his months in Chungking. First, there were the militarists: General Ho Ying-chin, minister of war, "who, consciously or subconsciously adhere[s] to a type of military fascism through party-domination"; Chen Li-fu, Kuomintang party boss who believed "to a point of fanaticism in regeneration of the Chinese people through a centralized and paternally dictatorial social organization"; Chu Chia-hua, vice-president of the Examination Yuan, "German educated, committed to the principle of rigid . . . one party control over all administrative activity and who is reliably reported as having said . . . that 'we must keep in mind that our friends of today may be our enemies of tomorrow and vice versa'"; and Tai Li, "head of the formidable secret political police system which has the Chinese, including even me and the G-mo worried."

Here, then, was a "cross-section" of Chiang's allies within the government and party whose "common denominator [was] their determination to preserve party control." Ho Ying-chin, Vincent wrote in summary, "wants to conserve military strength to preserve party control. Chen Li-fu wants to control all social activity in order to maintain the party; Chu Chia-hua wants a rigid administrative system

to insure party authority; and Tai Li shoots them or puts them in jail." This kind of politics was a violation of everything that Vincent believed in, and to support it without reservation would be nothing less than a personal tragedy.

"I am an advocate of no particular form of government," he wrote in explanation of his hostility toward the Kuomintang, "but I do believe that the primary function of government is to insure . . . that the people shall live in security and freedom. . . . The Kuomintang, as the governing party of China, has failed in its task. . . . It has been faced with difficulties but it has refused, and still refuses, to avail itself of the opportunities for assuming its responsibilities. And the character of the present government including its leader (who speaks of the masses but thinks of the classes) and his wife, is not such as to warrant hope for the future." But the political problems of China were not totally devoid of solution, and it was here, Vincent believed, that the United States might play its most important role. For if Vincent's liberalism made him a natural enemy of the Kuomintang, it also made him eager to reconstruct it along lines that would make it more responsive to the Chinese people.

He considered the loan an "opportunity for us to influence the course of events out here in the right direction." With the United States government supporting domestic production and, above all, land reform, Chinese liberals, who had for years advocated such reforms, "would be given encouragement and be encouraged to demand more from the government."

These ideas were embodied in the final telegram that was sent to the secretary of state on January 8. Calling for an Anglo-American credit "of at most no more than a half billion dollars," Gauss urged that the money be spent on currency revision, industrial production, and agrarian reform. Vincent's recommendation that the loan be used as a political lever to bring about a reformation in the government was also accepted by the ambassador. To grant the Chinese a "free credit," Gauss told Hull, would be to support the "retrogressive, self-seeking, and . . . fickle elements in and inti-

mately associated with the government" at the cost of alienating the more progressive elements in the country who were sincerely interested in defeating the Japanese.

But President Roosevelt had no intention of tying strings to the Chinese loan, or making the kinds of demands Gauss and Vincent recommended. While his major goal was to win the war in Europe first, he was concerned that China might surrender and leave America without allies in the Far East. If granting Chiang a loan could prevent this calamity it was a small enough price to pay. Since most American military and economic assistance was going to the Russians and the British, no opportunity should be overlooked to reassure Chiang and thus convince him to remain in the war. For these reasons, and with Roosevelt's support, the aid bill passed easily through the Congress without reservations or restrictions.

Roosevelt's rejection of Gauss's and Vincent's position on the loan was one more indication to the ambassador that his views counted for little in the State Department or the White House, and although he had never been a very cheerful man, it increased the gloom with which he usually approached his duties. By the spring of 1942 he had become even more withdrawn than before, avoiding almost all of the important social functions attached to his office. Despite his superior's personality, John Carter worked well, if not happily at his side, but others who lacked Vincent's patience and compassion, were openly critical.

"We have a misfire here as ambassador," one observer had informed President Roosevelt as early as October 1941. "Despite his thirty odd years in China, he has never lived among [the Chinese], does not understand them, and conceals very poorly his dislike of them. . . . He resents it if they invite him out (and has refused several dinners) but also resents it if they don't invite him. . . . Mainly he dislikes crossing the river at night and being with them." Foreign Service officer John P. Davies, Jr. made similar comments in his diary after meeting the ambassador several months later. "I am told that Mr. G. does not enjoy social gatherings," Davies noted, "and that therefore

he has not seen H. H. Kung since November . . . and that he has very few contacts with Chinese and British officials of any description. He will not consider opening an office in the city." In contrast, Davies had nothing but praise for Gauss's first secretary: "John Carter is doing a magnificent job," he wrote Stanley Hornbeck in early 1942. "Everybody speaks of him in the highest terms. He has, despite considerable obstacles, maintained valuable contacts with the Chinese."

His average day was now especially crowded and busy. He would awake early in the morning when the first rays of the red sun struck the house, then rise to watch them creep down the side of the mountain until they reached the valley. After dressing and eating a hurried breakfast, he might put the finishing touches on a dispatch or telegram prepared the night before, show it to the ambassador for his approval, then deliver it to the code room for transmittal to Washington.

Crossing the Yangtze on the rickety ferry, he would begin the torturous climb up the slippery Wang Lung Men steps to make his rounds through the city. Riding in a sedan chair, he would have a few minutes to study papers or just observe the always fascinating Chinese scene. Every morning at a certain spot a small Chinese boy, dressed in a grey gown and black vest, his head shaved clean, would call to him: "Yang Hsien Sheng, Nin hao but hao"—"Foreign gentleman, how are you?" "Fine, fine," Vincent would reply in Chinese, laughing at what had now become a daily ritual. He would pass the vegetable market, crowded with Chinese women with babies on their backs. Along the narrow, crooked streets, he could see the tiny bamboo and wood shops where the Chinese worked and lived. He could smell bread being baked, hear sewing machines clatter as they turned out exquisite clothing, spy men "making funny things out of paper: animals, little houses, carriages." "Everybody seems very happy," he once told his daughter, "even though they are very poor."

Whom he visited on a particular day depended upon his interest at the moment: If Chinese politics

were on his mind, he might confer with T. F. Tsiang, executive director of the Political Affairs Section of the Executive Yuan; if it were economics, Minister Wong Wen-hao, or Dr. Solomon Adler representing the Department of the Treasury in Chungking; a question on foreign policy might take him to Chien Tai or Foo Ping-Sheung, vice-ministers of foreign affairs. If he were concerned about the military situation (as he almost always was) he might see General Magruder to swap rumors or ask for advice. In late afternoon, he would often drop in at the Foreign Press Hostel to "check on what American press correspondents were sending out," and to discuss the current situation with representatives of *Time* magazine or the United Press International. Then he would clamber down the steps and race for the ferry, "just as the last bit of light was fading from the sky."

Frequently an entire day might be spent planning a "monster Chinese dinner," a task which was often as complicated as preparing an important diplomatic dispatch. Vincent was usually in charge of organizing the menu ("eleven dollars a plate") and arranging the seating. To seat the Chiangs and himself was easy, he explained to Betty, "but two generals with wives, two ambassadors without wives, and a former foreign minister, made for difficulties." Vincent also assumed the role of social director and tried to maintain cordiality among the guests who sometimes disliked one another heartily. Ambassador Gauss, who, Vincent noted, "has no love for Madame and shows it," barely spoke to her throughout one dinner party, while the generalissimo observed the scene in stony silence.

At one evening's dinner Madame Chiang "was feeling coquettish and also appeared to have something on her mind." Previously, she had been cold to Vincent (whom she once described as "a very good and a very clever friend of China,") but now as the new "assistant Ambassador" it was his turn to be the "object of the Mayling charm."

"I think Mr. Vincent looks particularly well tonight," Madame Chiang remarked to General John Magruder.

"It's probably that red polka dot bow tie he has on," Magruder re-

plied with a grin.

"No, he looks very well," Madame Chiang insisted, "particularly his 'permanent wave,'" a reference to John Carter's wavy brown hair tinged with gray.

After dinner Madame Chiang continued to ply her wiles. Drawing Vincent aside, she whispered to him, "I want you to know that we understand and appreciate what you have done for us. I realize that it has been difficult but I know that you have done much."

"I have and always have had Chinese interests very much at heart," Vincent told her and then inquired if she had any special problems which she wished to discuss. She did indeed.

She spoke first about Colonel Claire Chennault of the Flying Tigers, her favorite American in China, and urged that the commander "be well taken care of. . . . I cannot let Colonel Chennault down," she said with a smile, "after all, we used to have breakfast together when I was head of the Air Force." Vincent assured her that Chennault's exploits were well known in Washington, but she abruptly shifted focus and expressed her desire to assist Vincent in any way that he desired. "Whenever you want to communicate in complete confidence with Dr. Currie," she told him, "you can do it through me." Vincent thanked her but explained that he always used normal embassy channels when communicating with Washington.

Vincent was not fooled. "It means that I am invited to double-cross the Ambassador. . . . But for what? I don't like General and Madame Chiang's government. To my sensitive nostrils it stinks," he wrote Betty in a burst of anger. "The General Chiang who sold the socially progressive elements down the river in 1927, selling out at the same time to the Shanghai bankers, is still the same Chiang, Methodism, Bible and prayers notwithstanding and Madame is of the same material." His conclusion: "Do everything one can to hold them together during this war, and afterwards, to hell with Kuomintang!"

To be flattered by Madame Chiang was one penalty to be paid by the first secretary of the American embassy in Chungking. But Vincent's burdens were soon to in-

crease, for in late February Gauss recommended to the Department of State that he be made counselor of embassy. If Secretary Hull approved, Vincent would be the second highest ranking officer in the embassy in name as well as in fact.

He was not optimistic that he would be named counselor despite Gauss's encouragement. In early February he had been promoted to Class 3 which was itself a distinction and he therefore did not expect to be promoted so soon again. Moreover, to his knowledge no one in Class 3 had ever become counselor of embassy, so tradition and precedent were also against him.

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Madame is of the same
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"Personally," he didn't care, as he told Betty, "I get along very well as I am."

Mostly, he longed to be with his family from whom he had not heard in nearly four months, their letters another casualty of the haphazard system that delivered equipment and material from the United States. Though blessed with a "disposition which . . . makes me try to make the best of it," their absence hurt him deeply. His "whole life" revolved around the activities of Sheila, and John Carter, Jr. (born in Peking in 1935), Betty had once observed. "He simply won't do anything on weekends but be with them."

His hopes of an early transfer to another post where he might be reunited with his family vanished in mid-March when he received "four

large lovely letters" from Betty in which she described, among other things, her meetings with State Department officials regarding his return to Washington.

Her life without John Carter was as empty as his was without her. There was enough to keep her busy, especially the new farm in Fairfax, Virginia, that she had purchased with John Carter's approval last summer, and the problem of raising alone young Sheila and John Carter, Jr. There were also parties with her friends the Curries, the Thurmond Arnolds, the Raymond Clappers, and the Robert LaFollettes, which filled an occasional evening, but all this seemed only to intensify her loneliness. Finally becoming "fed up" with the separation, she decided to do everything she could to bring him home. But her discussions with officers of the Far Eastern and Personnel Divisions did little to convince her that she might be successful.

She found the State Department suffering its customary lassitude, and the Far Eastern Division isolated and ignored, as the War Department and the White House made foreign policy. "[Hornbeck] doesn't count for much of anything these days," she reported to her husband, "[he's] sort of an old man not registering so much any more." Younger officers complained to Betty about how difficult it was to work for the hard-driving and irascible Hornbeck, and his protegee, Maxwell Hamilton, still chief of FE. Robert Smyth, an old friend, was "beside himself . . . he thinks he is getting stomach ulcers and going crazy both." She did not want her husband to return to the division, and told him so.

He received more definite word about his status a few days later when, to his surprise, he was informed by Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles that he had been appointed counselor of embassy. Now he was sure that Chungking would remain his home for at least another year, perhaps longer. It was not a prospect that he contemplated with much enjoyment, for the problem of maintaining friendly relations between China and the United States grew worse daily as the Japanese intensified their spring campaign to end Chinese resistance.

Continued next month

Who does it the wars more than his captain can
Becomes his captain's captain.—Shakespeare

A STRANGE WAR

HOWARD R. SIMPSON

There was a warm, moist mist hanging over the road. We had to stop for several buffalo carts hauling fresh cut lumber on the outskirts of a village and then we were on the paved highway again, the jeep's engine humming and the Vietnamese army driver chewing on a stick of sugar cane.

The sun made its appearance over our right shoulders, drawing more mist from the damp roadway and throwing a golden light on the top of the tall trees. The young sous-lieutenant who had been sent to find me at the hotel sat next to the driver. He was not talkative. It was just as well. I resented the fact that he'd offered me the rear seat as if he were doing me a great honor. Any jeep veteran knew the front seat was the choice position. Every jolt sent me a few inches off the hard seat cushion. My breakfast was not sitting easily.

The countryside was fresh and green. Blue smoke from cooking fires hung over thatch-roofed hamlets hidden among the palms. We passed guard posts with bamboo and sandbag towers manned by Vietnamese militia dressed in mixtures of military uniforms and black

pajamas, berets and pith helmets. We rattled over a Bailey bridge guarded by a concrete bunker and a thin field of concertina wire. Three naked Senegalese soldiers flashed smiles at us from the edge of the stream where they were bathing, white lather like cream against the ebony of their bodies.

I was dressed in khaki trousers and short sleeved jacket. I was wearing an old, comfortable pair of boots. The jacket had large patch pockets that I'd filled with two notebooks, a ball point pen, a map of the Saigon region, my passport and press card from Paris, a packet of French cigars, matches and sunglasses. Both Lallier and Leighton had assured me I did not have to seek formal accreditation with the high command for the trip to Tay Ninh. That could wait until my return. Leighton had referred to my trip as an outing, describing it as a "piece of cake."

The sun seemed to have risen at a very fast rate. Its rays were filtered and softened by the canopy of trees over the road. Despite this my flesh tingled under its direct touch. The heat was already awakening a chorus of cicadas in the undergrowth.

I was suffering from a slight hangover. Lallier and Leighton had dropped me off at the Continental after dinner. Leighton was obviously going on to more drinking and he had offered to introduce me to the pleasures of a well-run officers' brothel. I had decided that could wait, particularly since I had

to be up and ready at five a.m. I could feel a dry-mouthed, thirst building up as we sped down an incline, honked our way around an overloaded bus and left the highway for a dirt road.

We plunged deep into powdered, red laterite, throwing a wake like the water plume of a racing outboard. The lieutenant pulled his kepi down on his forehead. "This is the plantation," he said indicating the rubber trees ahead of us. We were soon alone among endless corridors of gray-boled trees. We came to a crossroad and the driver paused for a moment, the engine idling as he glanced at the plastic-covered map beside him. There was a metallic grating somewhere ahead of us. The lieutenant ordered the driver forward.

The two armored cars were parked off the road, their hatches unbuttoned and their light machine guns pointed toward the sky. Both crews were gathered around one vehicle. All of them were stripped to the waist. They looked up as we pulled to a stop. The lieutenant jumped out of the jeep, walked over to the group of dragoons and saluted a tall officer wearing a red calot with a dirty towel wrapped around his neck. I couldn't hear what the lieutenant said but the officer looked in my direction and shrugged his shoulders.

With the jeep's engine switched off, the silence of the plantation was oppressive. There was only the crackling of dry leaves curling under the heat of the sun. Someone

Howard R. Simpson served in Vietnam during the French Indochina War and later, in 1964-65, as press adviser to the Prime Minister of Vietnam. A frequent contributor to the Journal and author of six published novels, Simpson is currently Deputy Public Affairs Officer in Paris.

This is a chapter from a work in progress.

AFSA ELECTIONS COMMITTEE 1979
P.O. BOX 57061, WEST END BRANCH,
WASHINGTON, D.C., 20037

The Elections Committee announces that in accordance with AFSA Bylaws, and pursuant to the terms of the 1979 AFSA Election Call, the following members have been duly nominated and have accepted their candidacies for the positions indicated below in the 1979 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 12, 1979. At the same meeting separate

These campaign statements are published in accordance with Article VI(4) of the AFSA Bylaws. In publishing them, AFSA and its Standing Committee on Elections are required by Executive Order 11636 and its implementing regulations, as interpreted by the Department of Labor, to do so without making any modification of their contents. AFSA therefore disclaims any responsibility for the content of any campaign statements made by the candidates. Content is solely the responsibility of the candidates.

drawings were conducted to determine the order in which the candidates' names and campaign statements will appear in the May issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* and on the election ballot.

PRESIDENT	ORGANIZATION
1. Kenneth N. Rogers (Representative)	State FSI/WC
2. Robert F. Pfeiffer (Unity)	State EA/J
3. John D. Hemenway	Retired
4. Kenneth W. Bleakley (Foreign Affairs PROs)	State EA/J
VICE PRESIDENT	
1. Robert H. Stern (Representative)	State EA/PHL
2. Anthea S. deRouville (Unity)	State D/LOS
3. Barbara Bodine (Foreign Affairs PROs)	State NEA/ARP
SECOND VICE PRESIDENT	
1. Frank Dimond (Foreign Affairs PROs)	AID/PPC/DPRE
2. Robert M. Maxim (Unity)	State HA/HR
3. Ronald Witherell (Representative)	AID NE/JLS
SECRETARY	
1. Stanley T. Escudero (Unity)	State IO/UNP
2. Galen Fox (Foreign Affairs PROs)	State S/P
TREASURER	
1. Arlene Render (Unity)	State INR/OIS
2. Elton Stepherson (Representative)	ICA FSI/WC
3. Dale L. Coleman (Foreign Affairs PROs)	AID AAG/W
STATE REPRESENTATIVES	
1. Charles Hill (Foreign Affairs PROs)	State NEA/IAI
2. Marshall P. Adair (Unity)	State EB/ICD
3. John R. Malott (Unity)	State NEA/INS
4. Joseph N. McBride (Foreign Affairs PROs)	State NEA/IAI
5. Ralph Braibanti (Representative)	State ARA/CCA
6. Peter R. Reams (Representative)	State EUR/NE
7. Eva S. Kim (Foreign Affairs PROs)	State EA
8. Robert L. Caffrey (Unity)	State OC/TR
9. John J. Harter	State ICA PGM/PPO
10. Patricia A. Woodring (Representative)	State S/NM
AID REPRESENTATIVES	
1. Raymond C. Malley	PPC/PDPR
2. Ronald L. Nicholson (Representative)	AFR/CAWA
3. James D. Singletary (Unity)	LAC/DR
4. Jonathan L. Sperling (Foreign Affairs PROs)	NE/EI
ICA REPRESENTATIVES	
1. John F. Cannon (Foreign Affairs PROs)	ICA State EA/PA
2. Fred M. Shaver (Representative)	ICA AR
3. Marilyn McAfee (Unity)	ICA NEA
RETIRED REPRESENTATIVES	
1. Archie Lang (Foreign Affairs PROs)	
2. Charles Whitehouse (Foreign Affairs PROs)	
3. Spencer M. King (Representative)	
4. Stanley M. Cleveland (Unity)	
5. Jack Lydman (Representative)	

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 15, 1979, and marked Ballots must be returned by

5:30 P.M. June 29, 1979. If you have not received your Ballot by June 7, 1979, notify the Chairman of the AFSA Elections Committee IMMEDIATELY in writing at P.O. Box 57061, West End Branch, Washington, D.C., 20037.

KENNETH ROGERS, PRESIDENT, REPRESENTATIVE SLATE

Our SLATE offers to the Service a group dedicated to improved professionalism, plus strong protection of interests of all Foreign Service people, and a restoration of the pride and dedication of the past.

We are a balanced and fully representative combination of experienced AFSA workers, plus fresh faces to add new ideas and energy. We have experienced representation from the three constituencies in our officer candidates.

Vice Presidential candidate Bob Stern is well known to AFSA as the courageous person who initiated the recall of John Hemenway as AFSA president. Bob thus played a key and historic role in rescuing AFSA from disaster. Bob is noted for his strength of purpose, devotion to duty, and steadfastness. In recognition of his proven dedication, the AFSA Governing Board recently appointed him to fill a vacancy as State Representative. He immediately displayed his leadership and devotion by taking on some of our most difficult and complex tasks, such as coordinating AFSA's response to the recent management proposals on the restructure of the Foreign Service and massive changes in the Foreign Service Act.

Ron Witherell, our First Vice Presidential candidate, and AID Representative Ron Nicholson, need no introduction to our AID colleagues for their tireless efforts, together with Tom O'Connor, on behalf of AID personnel. They are the proven protectors of their constituency and a great help to the others on Capitol Hill.

Elton Stepherson, an expert in finance, is from ICA, and will be a superb treasurer, one of the most difficult offices to fill. His keen energy and new ideas will be welcome, especially in improving contacts with AAFSW and FSECC.

Our State Representatives Ralph Braibanti and Peter Reams represent and deeply understand the serious career concerns of today's mid-career officers, the group the future needs, who may soon quit in droves. Patricia Woodring is well-known to AFSA loyalists as the lady who restored dignity to the office of AFSA President when the Governing Board appointed her to complete the term of Mr. Hemenway after his recall. Pat is the champion of members' interests. She was a Foreign Service Secretary for years, a mustanger, and now an FSO in the Admin. cone. She is a living symbol of upward mobility, and beloved by all.

We are proud to have two distinguished persons as candidates for Retired Representative: Ambassadors Spencer King and Jack Lydman.

Each of our candidates will tell something personal and comment on their interests in this issue of the *Journal*. I have been in the Foreign Service for 22 years, and have served overseas in Hong Kong, Vietnam, Angola, and Jamaica, and in the Department in PM, AF, ARA, ACDA, and S-IG, currently I am at NWC.

I was appointed to the AFSA Board in 1975 as a State Representative, and elected to that position in 1977. I was appointed Vice President in mid-1978.

To help you make your choice among the many good candidates, we, the REPRESENTATIVE SLATE, list the major items that we support and oppose. More will appear in the next *Journal*.

WE ARE DEDICATED

WE SUPPORT:

1. Building a better Foreign Service for today and for those who follow us.
2. The positions taken by the current SSC on the restructure proposal of management.
3. The establishment of ten annual within-grade steps for all FS grades in all pay plans.
4. Legislation to restore overtime for FSOs, and for labor-management relations.
5. Additional AFSA staff to address labor/mgt. concerns.
6. Continued improvement of the *FS Journal* and the Club.
7. Restoring AFSA as exclusive bargaining Agent for ICA.
8. Vastly improved security and protection of our people overseas. We have lost many wonderful people to terrorism.
9. Improved health care insurance through AFSPA including optional dental coverage.
10. Equal opportunity for all employees and their families.
11. Better communication with the Washington Membership through a new framework agreement and expanded committees.
12. More emphasis on protection of the interests of AID employees, including a Humphrey-type bill for AID Personnel system, and creation of a permanent Agency status for AID.

WE OPPOSE:

1. The proposal splitting Class 3 on any basis into two grades.
2. The proposed creation of an additional FSO/R grade as an extra hurdle.
3. The proposed abolition of annual, within-grade step increases for all to pay for "incentive" pay for a select few, or on any basis. Instead, we call for more 625(B) merit steps.
4. Discriminatory, unfair or unequal treatment of any person or group, or special privileges.
5. Limited time for FSO-3s in promotion considerations for FSO-2.
6. Neglect of the concerns of consular officers.
7. Massive re-opening of the F.S. Act as proposed by management.
8. Neglect of Staff Corps interests, especially those overseas not on diplomatic lists.
9. GS-AD (administratively determined) and other non-FS personnel in policy-making decisions in AID.
10. Abuse of outside appointments to the Service to the disadvantage of the career service.
11. The continuation of obsolete time-in class rules for staff personnel, which ensure firing for the best.
12. Unilateral imposition by STATE/AID/ICA mgt. of any personnel policies or procedures not fully supported by the employees.

Above all, we are committed to creative forward planning, not just reaction to management's initiatives.

Whatever you do—Please VOTE—The Service you save—is your own.

Because we believe:

- that we of the Foreign Service are *all* members of a distinct profession and need to stand together to preserve and defend our interests;

- that the Service, already battered by successive "reforms" and Departmental mismanagement, is now threatened with politicization and its members with further erosion of their legitimate interests;

- that AFSA—*our* organization—must meet the threat to the Service firmly and constructively;

We have formed a representative group of the people of the Foreign Service into a Unity Slate. We ask for your support, to mobilize the full resources of AFSA to preserve our Service and actively promote the interests of its members.

All people of the Foreign Service belong to a single, definable profession, not a branch of the civil service or a set of "personnel systems." Our profession requires qualities of character, and professional and technical skills gained through training and experience, which call for separate and special treatment. Because this is little understood outside our ranks, if we don't stand up for ourselves, nobody else will.

For twenty years or more, management of the Department and the foreign affairs agencies has repeatedly sacrificed the integrity and effectiveness of the Service and the interests of its members to political manipulation, "personnel-management" doctrine and administrative convenience. These successive "reforms" have been largely promoted and carried through from outside by "managers" who understood little of the nature of the profession or the needs of its people.

The results are a confused welter of "personnel systems," "cones" and "skill codes"; an increasingly impacted promotion system at all levels; a constant erosion of benefits, especially in the field; growing divisions in what should be a unified Service; and rock-bottom morale at all levels. Management's response is yet another half-baked proposal for comprehensive "structural reform" which would shake things up again, expose us to more political influence and manipulation, and strike at the individual interests of most of its people.

Only a revitalized AFSA speaking for the interests of the Service and *all* its people, can meet the challenge.

But for AFSA to do the job it needs more than legal status and moral standing: we must make it truly what we voted for in 1972—an employee organization dedicated to protect and promote the interests of individuals, and a professional association dedicated to the interests of the Service, preserving the best of what sets it apart from others.

In particular, this means:

- AFSA must take the *initiative*, not simply to respond to proposals and actions of management, but to put forward its own proposals and solutions to our many problems.

- AFSA must be truly *representative* of and responsive to the people of the Service—in all levels, functions and posts. This means broader representation on the Board, greater dialogue, and an effort to reach Service-wide consensus on major issues.

- AFSA must mobilize and dedicate its *full resources*—financial and human—to conscious priorities. This means seeking 100% membership and participation,

reordering expenditures and calling on *all* members for active participation in its efforts. It also means seeking external allies and associates where this will promote our objectives.

- Not least, AFSA must unflaggingly fight for *fair treatment* for the Service, its component groups and its individual members—on promotion, classification, allowances, retirement, and any other issues where management's administrative convenience conflicts with the requirements of the profession or the reasonable interests of its members.

The Unity slate pledges itself to this task and asks for your support now and after the elections. No Board can do the job by itself.

These are the issues to which we will give priority:

- An immediate, clear and united "no" to management's sweeping "structural reform"—not simply an attempt to attenuate its worst features. This requires an unequivocal mandate from the membership. If management insists on sending legislation to the Hill this spring, as it says it will, we will circulate a petition to the Congress in opposition, and ask every member of the Foreign Service to join us;

- An end to the "meat-ax" approach: cutting positions without regard to the functions involved or the professional standards required of the Service;

- A separate Foreign Service pay schedule appropriate to the requirements of the Service itself, not tied to a civil service scale designed for different needs;

- Upward reclassification of jobs by people who know the real requirements. This should be based on criteria which reflect required qualities as well as skills, and provide a basis for future promotions;

- Recording (and payment) of overtime and standby duty. This is necessary to justify upward reclassification of jobs and an appropriate staffing pattern, as well as to stop management's reliance on free labor;

- A "cap" on lateral entry into the career services. We will negotiate limits to Schedule C political appointees and seek consultation on all other lateral entry. Most needs can be filled from within our ranks by training and reasonable incentives. We need upward mobility—not more lateral entry;

- Greatly expanded training programs to enhance professional competence, support appropriate career patterns and promotion rates, and provide upward mobility for women and minorities from within the ranks;

- A medical program based on preventive care;

- Compensation for expenses incurred because of lack of diplomatic privileges. There is no reason why staff and junior officers should subsidize their employment.

To give AFSA a sense of direction and priority, we will set up task forces to draft a statement on "Foreign Service for the Eighties" which will articulate the professionals' view of the agencies' missions, appropriate career and staffing patterns, and incentives. The final text would be presented to the membership before publication. A special task force will focus on the immediate problem of the "impacted" senior levels.

To improve AFSA and better serve the membership, we will:

- Hold frequent open meetings in Washington;

Continued on page 24P

ELECT FORMER AFSA PRESIDENT JOHN HEMENWAY

**SICK OF FLABBY LEADERSHIP IN AFSA? ELECT HEMENWAY PRESIDENT
IT WILL MEAN A MAJOR FIGHT, OF COURSE,
BUT THIS TIME YOU WILL BE THE WINNER
THE ALTERNATIVE? YOUR FOREIGN SERVICE CAREER MAY BE OVER, THANKS TO AFSA'S PLANS TO "REORGANIZE" THE F.S.**

Shed no tears for the AFSA so-called leaders; many have already taken care of their future.

YOU were the equity traded in; in the past three years, AFSA was confirmed as a company union, rubber-stamping management decisions, to the shame and detriment of us all.

The Hydle/Rogers clique concealed betrayal of your interests and have suppressed a balanced view.

IF YOU THINK AFSA LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN POOR, YOU MAY NOT BE WELL INFORMED

Actually, it has been appalling and, even, in violation of the law. Surely you did not believe that the present Hydle/Rogers clique has been struggling valiantly for three years now merely to rectify the "evils" of Past-President Hemenway? That same group is now cooperating with management to write your future out of the foreign service.

Did you know that in April, Hydle and the AFSA leadership face a formal hearing to answer charges of wrong-doing brought forward by an AFSA member? Two years ago? Those responsible for of the recall petition against AFSA President Hemenway have legal actions outstanding against them for libel and for violating *YOUR* rights as a member entitled to a legally-run organization?

THE AFSA MEMBERSHIP HAS BEEN MISLED BY DELIBERATELY FALSIFIED REPORTS

Neither the Hydle/Rogers clique nor management wanted an independent-minded AFSA President who responded only to the welfare of the membership and the mandate upon which he was elected, so they conspired to remove him. For example:

Through communication channels paid for by you and the Department of State you were told that Hemenway, as AFSA President, assaulted an elderly Board Member. **TOTALLY FALSE.** Following a Board meeting at which he had been drinking, Glenn Wolfe assaulted Hemenway. (It was the meeting at which Hydle admitted he had possession of mail stolen from the pouch room.) AFSA President Hemenway, hoping to prevent incidents such as this, instructed the Club Manager never again to serve the elderly Board Member alcoholic beverages during meetings and informed Wolfe of his action in *writing*. For the record, at the time, Hemenway also reported the assault to the D.C. Police, but chose not to press a personal suit against the Board Member. The story did not read like that when you received it, did it?

You also were told by the Hydle/Rogers clique that Hemenway wanted to weaken AFSA. **TOTALLY FALSE.** Following the USIA representation election (which AFSA lost badly), the President of the USIA Union (AFL-CIO, which won) stated that the only fear he had going into the election was the prospect of newly-elected AFSA President coming to USIA with real and believable reforms to clean up the AFSA act there. The AFSA Board, responding to the self-serving interests of

the "in charge" AFSA-USIA clique did not permit AFSA President Hemenway to involve himself in any way in that election. They personally were mostly interested in returning to STATE, anyway, and greeted the STATE/USIA merger for the opportunity it presented them, career-wise.

You also were told that AFSA President Hemenway used AFSA facilities to further his own interests. Has any member or non-member *ever* received *any* letter from Hemenway that can be described in these terms? This lie was designed to cover-up the theft of mail President Hemenway tried to send to you, the member, while the Hydle/Rogers clique conspired with management to remove Hemenway.

While making untrue charges against Hemenway, this clique accused Hemenway of what they were guilty: "Character-Assassination" in a foreign service very sensitive to McCarthyite tactics.

AFSA MAY NOT HAVE MUCH TIME LEFT AS AN ORGANIZATION. YOUR CAREER NEEDS PROTECTION. ONE HOPE FOR AFSA IS TO ELECT A FEARLESS INDEPENDENT, TO LEAD THE ORGANIZATION.

That may well bring on a few confrontations, but Hemenway's record in the past demonstrates that issues of controversy will be decided by the membership in accordance with the AFSA Bylaws, and not by consultations with management at which your future is carved up.

The Foundation is solidly laid. It would not be possible, a second time, for a clique to obstruct constructive moves made by AFSA President Hemenway to restore AFSA to the membership.

ELECTION OF ONE SMALL CLIQUE WILL DEPRIVE YOU OF REPRESENTATION:

Remember that it was the Hydle/Rogers group over the past two years that made the deal with the corrupt Wayne Hays to gut the best opportunity in years to pass a Bill providing Justice for the Foreign Service. Remember that Ken Rogers has been the Board member primarily responsible for the increased complications of the promotion structure that pretends to be all things to all groups. AFSA President Hemenway refused to sign unfair, involuted precepts, and at Rogers' request Hydle signed the document "in the name of AFSA"—a signature which a frightened State Department management would not have received from Hemenway until AFSA membership interests were protected.

Have you learned that a new wave of forced retirement and selection out *without benefits* is being planned? Recall the tragic suicide of Charles Thomas, who killed himself in despair over such a situation?

When President, John Hemenway tried to consult the membership via referendum. Ken Rogers conceived of the scheme to defeat this aspect of our Bylaws by declaring it valid to use coupon "ballots." By this device, the Bylaws now are restricted and all proposed Hemenway reforms for AFSA defeated by a vote of less than 200 members.

THE APPEARANCE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IS LIMITED TO THIS ONE SEASON. IF YOU WANT TO CONTROL YOUR ORGANIZATION FOUR SEASONS OF THE YEAR,

ELECT JOHN HEMENWAY, AFSA PRESIDENT

(Captive of no bloc or clique.)

foreign affairs PROs

INTRODUCING THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONAL RENEWAL ORGANIZATION KEN BLEAKLEY—PRESIDENT

1st VP: Barbara Bodine: Revitalized State Standing Committee, Membership
 Second VP: Frank Dimond: Supercharged AID Standing Committee, Membership
 Treasurer: Dale Coleman: Fiscal Responsibility and Growth.
 Secretary: Galen Fox: Creative Alternative to Management Proposals.
 State Rep: Joe McBride: More Powerful State Negotiating Team.
 State Rep: Eva Kim: Action on Staff Corps Concerns.
 State Rep: Charles Hill: Professionalism in FSO Corps.
 AID Rep: Jonathan Sperling: Effective AID Negotiating Team.
 ICA Rep: Jack Cannon: Publicize Role of Foreign Service.
 Retired Rep: Archie Lang: Attention to Retired and Minority Interests.
 Retired Rep: Charles Whitehouse: Strengthening Foreign Service Community.

Support Committee

Tom Miller: Campaign Coordinator
 Tony Allito: Overseas Rep Network
 Mike Lemmon: Domestic Rep Network
 Anne Swift, Mike Hager, Dave Kenney: Congressional Relations Advisors
 Tom Macklin: Publicity
 Stephanie Smith Kinney: Family Concerns
 Phil Habib, Ken Quinn, Christine Monroe, Skip Purnell: Advisors
 Dick Hecklinger, Charles Freeman, Doug Kinney, Bill O'Rourke, Ken Hill: Professional Issues.



Pictured above are members of the slate and its support committee: seated, l. to r., Jonathan Sperling, Galen Fox, Joe McBride, Barbara Bodine, Kenneth Bleakley (standing at head of table), Archie Lang, Eva Kim, Charles Hill, Frank Dimond and Jack Cannon. Standing in background are support committee members including Dick Hecklinger, Ken Hill, Mike Lemmon, Charles Freeman, Tony Allito, Bill O'Rourke and Tom Miller.

Now more than ever the women and men of the Professional Foreign Affairs Community need a leader who can marshal all their resources in vigorous and coordi-

nated pursuit of their interests and the nation's. Ken Bleakley organized the PROs to do the job. There is a place for every one of you in our wide-open organization. Contact any of us with your views and for details of our program.

Our overriding objective is the development of the finest Foreign Service possible—a Service able to attract, retain, develop and reward the best women and men available representative of all segments of American society and a Service that will again assume the leading role in the formulation and conduct of US foreign policy.

Ken knows the foreign affairs community. Over the last 15 years—always an active AFSA member—he has been the Administrative Officer in a hardship post in ARA, Consular Officer in EUR and ARA and Political Officer in the Department and overseas. Now Special Assistant in EA, his negotiating skills have been hardened early on the Panama Canal negotiations and in the successful conclusion of the Philippine base negotiations. He has served with other foreign affairs agencies and on the boards of various community organizations including the presidency of the nation's only professional foreign service fraternity. A disillusioned veteran of the massive 1970 Task Force effort to reform foreign affairs, Ken was a leader of the movement which attracted over 500 signatures to bring our professional concerns to Secretary Vance's attention last year and followed this up with specific recommendations including alternatives to the current unacceptable structural proposals. With a Masters degree in Public Administration and extensive graduate work in economics, Ken has a theoretical base to match his practical approach to managing a large diverse organization with a significant budget.

Ken needs the entire PRO team to accomplish the program outlined in their individual statements, especially:

- A renewed sense of purpose and of the role of the Foreign Service.
- Use of expanded membership before Congress, the public, OMB, and Management to restore expectations of a productive career and collateral rewards.
- Heavy emphasis on career development and upward mobility, particularly for Staff Corps and security personnel.
- Recognition that we, the Foreign Affairs Professionals, have better solutions to structural and minority issues than the small cadre in Management.
- Creation of working groups to produce positive alternatives.

THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION IS MORE THAN JUST A UNION. SUPPORT AND PARTICIPATE IN IT. VOTE.

The Foreign Affairs PROs



**ROBERT H. STERN, VICE PRESIDENT,
REPRESENTATIVE SLATE**

Although I have been an AFSA member for most of my career, actual involvement came somewhat late as a reaction to the appointment of AFSA as exclusive bargaining representative. To my mind the issue was clear—this was the organization that would, for better or for worse, influence my career, my earnings prospects and the welfare of my family. Accordingly, I plunged into committee work in such areas as promotion and selection-out precepts. This period coincided with the chaotic reign of John Hemenway. I watched with increasing dismay the inability of AFSA to cope with him and, with a few like-minded members, drafted the articles for recall and played a leading part in the campaign to gather signatures and stimulate the actual recall proceedings. I take great pride in the overwhelming support the membership gave to the recall effort and view it as the moment in time when AFSA came of age, cleaned its own house and got down to the serious business at hand.

If elected as Vice President, with its concomitant appointment as Chairman of the State Standing Committee, I will devote the greater portion of my time in two areas: first, management's proposal to restructure the Service must take priority. My feelings on this subject are already known to you as I was a co-author of the AFSA paper sent to the field and Washington.

Secondly, and to my mind just as important is the current centrifugal movement of the Foreign Service in which we have ceased to be a united and cohesive organization but rather have fragmented ourselves into a bewildering number of single interest groups. Such "Balkanization" can only be harmful in that by dividing ourselves we lose strength and provide Management with an easy way of playing us against each other. I intend to find ways to build bridges from AFSA to all other interested groups within the Service so that we may all benefit from the collective wisdom, while retaining the useful specific knowledge each group may have to offer.

Since the appointment of Ken Rogers as Chairman of the Standing Committee, in 1977, AFSA made some sense and order of the Department's Affirmative Action Program, and with help from others, gained the enactment of ten items of legislation for the benefit of our people, including the High-One, unfortunately, short-lived, and other sections of the Foreign Relations Act, FY79: 401—Employment of Family Members overseas, 402—Special Allowances, 404—Voluntary Retirement Assistance Program, 407—R and R in the US, 413—Review of Personnel Requirements (including pay comparability study) and 706—use of Foreign Air Carriers overseas. We opened the State Standing Committee to COA, WAO, TLG, Sept 17, JFSOC and other groups, and maintained dialogue with the "Group of Concerned Officers." (They are not our rivals and were always included.)

You will note that I am running on a "balanced" ticket. We have consciously tried to represent the range of cones and skills within the Service. This was not a typical political vote-seeking device, but an earnest of our intention to represent all the men and women of the Service and to see that their feelings, problems, concerns and, most importantly, their strengths are available to us. The next two years will, as always, be difficult ones. With your support they can and will be meaningful. Vote for the Representative slate.

**THEA DE ROUVILLE, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT,
UNITY SLATE**

Too many in the Foreign Service consider AFSA—and the choice of who governs it—irrelevant. They are wrong. Each of us will be affected throughout our career, regardless of rank or pay plan, by the actions of AFSA and its officers.

For this reason, and because of the importance of the issues presently at stake, this will be a crucial election for AFSA.

As a member of the State Standing Committee I have worked on, among other issues:

- Precepts for Selection Boards
- The revision of the Foreign Affairs Specialist Program
- Revised efficiency report procedures
- Affirmative Action
- Length of tours of duty
- Excursion tours/Skill Code Change Procedures
- Structural reform

I have participated in Foreign Service Day activities, helped run membership drives, answered correspondence, dealt with complaints and given recruiting speeches. I am thoroughly familiar with how AFSA works, and I have nothing but admiration for the small group of men and women who have fought so hard to keep AFSA afloat. But I am equally convinced that as it is presently constituted, AFSA is neither responsive to the needs of its membership nor capable of meeting their expectations. The extraordinary rise of the special interest groups is clear and highly vocal evidence of this. It is also an indication that while employees may be apathetic about AFSA, they are far from apathetic about the issues. We need an "AFSA for the 80s." I am convinced the Unity Slate can provide one.

In its role of employee representative, or "shop steward" AFSA has fallen down badly.

Our people want help with day-to-day problems, and solid backing in time of trouble. They don't want to file grievances, they want someone to go to bat for them. They want answers to their letters; advice and guidance. They want to feel that the organization they belong to and pay dues to is behind them, backing them up, fighting for them. The special interest groups want to be listened to, and adequately represented within the framework of a larger organization.

On another level, our membership wants to feel it has a strong, aggressive, leadership in Washington, negotiating on behalf of all members of the Foreign Service—including in the field—planning ahead, ready to tackle potential problems before they become actual calamities.

The Association should be a group of people held together by mutual ideals and aspirations, working together for their mutual advantage. These ideals and aspirations must be determined by the members themselves, not imposed upon them, and the elected Board is mandated to achieve them. AFSA accepted this responsibility in 1972: the Unity Slate is ready to carry it out.

foreign affairs PROs

—VICE PRESIDENT

Barbara Bodine's role in the PROs centers on:

Revitalized State Standing Committee

- Institute a reinvigorated representative system under which Bureau representatives would hold regular meetings with their elected representatives and two-way communications would be maintained with overseas representatives.
- Create Ad Hoc working groups drawing on the broadest possible spectrum of Foreign Service resources to deal with major issues and proposals.
- Utilize the Congressional, public and professional contacts of the PROs to reinforce State Standing Committee positions.

Expanded Membership

- Instill a sense of unity and common purpose throughout the foreign affairs community which transcends the single-interest group approach.
- Create an open organization which channels all of these interests and energies into a comprehensive action-oriented program and move to achieve it.
- Carry the open organization through a series of important victories on behalf of the membership that will gain the respect of the foreign affairs community.
- Once having demonstrated to the foreign affairs community that AFSA is a viable organization which can make productive use of their talents and achieve their goals, launch an all-out membership drive in all agencies.

Since joining the Foreign Service in 1971, Barbara has done Consular, Political and Political-Military work in Hong Kong and Bangkok, and served a year in the Department's Secretariat Staff. She is currently assigned to NEA as Country Officer for the Yemen and Political-Military Officer for Saudi Arabia.

Barb's goal is to see AFSA reinvigorate itself, to become once again the representative of all elements of the Foreign Service and responsive to the needs and professional concerns we all face.



foreign affairs PROs

—SECOND VICE PRESIDENT

Frank Dimond's role in the PROs centers on:

Reorganized Committee Role, Especially AID Standing Committee

- Review how committees actually spend their time as a basis for deciding how to make the best use of that time, which is one of AFSA's most valuable resources. Dedicate less time to putting out fires.
- Concentrate on long range planning focusing on major issues that are relevant to all membership components (State, AID, ICA, Retired, Associates).
- Strengthen chapter programs in the field, and identify aspects of committee business where chapters can take some or all responsibility.
- Develop collaborative approach using full resources of the Association to deal with issues that affect all Foreign Service agencies, and utilize the AID Standing Committee to perform its assigned part of the total effort.



Expanded Membership

- Identify the problem: overall membership down 16% from 1974-78, State down from 35% to 31% of eligibles, AID down from 49% to 41%, ICA down from 32% to 11%. Only the Retired show an increase, from 1663 to 1739 active members.
- Establish an effective framework for Chapter activity in the field as the key to membership promotion. Active chapters should also be encouraged in Washington offices and among the Retired. This is the way most members relate to AFSA.
- Utilize an active representative network to promote two way communication with the Board and encourage member participation.
- Give recognition to active chapter programs, publicize outstanding programs as a means of encouraging other chapters, and use chapter support for specific initiatives as a key negotiating tool with Agency managements.

Frank is particularly well qualified for the above tasks. He is a professional planner whose emphasis has been on organizational problems. A member of the American Planning Association; Magna Cum Laude and Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Brown University; MCP from MIT; and MA from Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, he has worked in AID development assistance programs for over 20 years with 17 years at field posts in Latin America. Frank is now with AID's Office of Evaluation in Washington.

**ROBERT MAXIM, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT,
UNITY SLATE**

I feel AFSA can and should be an organization that makes clear it understands the fundamental distinction of interests that separate the many who are managed from those few who set personnel policy in the Foreign Service. AFSA must regain the confidence of its members as an organization that is unequivocally and consistently identified with its membership's interests. AFSA must be ready and able to stand up to management both to resist ill-advised reform initiatives and to insist that management policy makers address those issues that it would prefer to ignore. Specifically, AFSA at present should oppose any further movement toward implementation of the new "reform" package pending its full debate and explanation to the Foreign Service, especially to allow members overseas to understand and come back with their views. AFSA should counter by developing a reform package that responds to the real issues that are eroding Foreign Service morale and efficiency:

- inadequate salaries and rates of promotion;
- continued abuse of lateral entry and political appointments;
- inadequate opportunities for training compounded by promotion-policy disincentives;
- steadily diminishing prospects for secure career development and for the likelihood that years of service will obtain for the individual both dignity and respect at the end of his or her career.

There are probably no easy nor fully adequate solutions to these issues, but I believe it essential that AFSA cease being one of the obstacles to their solution. Under Bob Pfeiffer's leadership I feel AFSA will start to move in the right direction.

**RONALD WITHERELL—FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
REPRESENTATIVE SLATE**

I share with my colleagues on the Representative slate a concern with Foreign Service professionalism and the wide range of employee management issues that affect the Foreign Service as a whole. However, my primary concern is, and will continue to be, the personnel problems that afflict AID.

I believe that the representative slate will give us the strong support that AID Foreign Service employees will need if we are to be successful in our endeavors to reform the Agency's personnel system and to assure that it treats its members equitably and humanely.

When Tom O'Connor asked me to replace him, at first I declined, hoping that Tom could continue his able and dedicated work as First Vice President and Chairman of the AID Standing Committee, thereby allowing me to continue serving that committee in a variety of functions, but principally as the drafter of communications to our members and position statements presented to management on the so called Unified Personnel System. When it became clear that Tom could not run I decided to continue his work including the battle for basic structural reform in AID's Foreign Service that finally would give the Foreign Service the role it should have in Washington.

If elected, you can expect my agenda to include:

- A "Humphrey Bill" type personnel system for AID. If we do not get it through the so-called Unified Personnel System, then we will seek Congressional help.
- A Department of State commitment to the safety of all overseas USG employees at all times, including during times of upheaval and anarchy. The Moscow microwave, and Nicaragua and Iran, for example, should cause us all to have greater concern for this subject.
- Constant vigilance over those in AID management who, in the name of flexibility, would weaken and manipulate the personnel system.
- Responding to requests for help from employees being unfairly treated by management.
- Careful scrutiny of, and consultations with management on personnel policy and handbook changes proposed by management.
- The needs of the Foreign Service family, including working spouses and couples.
- Legislated employee relations; the adapting of Title VII of the Civil Service Reform to the Foreign Service, i.e. melding the best features of Title VII and Executive Order 11636.

I don't consider myself a controversial candidate; I was asked to join three of the slates. I am not going to make promises that I don't know that I can keep. My only promises are that I will do my best to serve the interests of the Foreign Service and to seek employee opinions before making major decisions.

For those of you who don't know me, I have been with AID for over sixteen years, nine of which were served overseas at three different posts; the last of which was Santiago where I was very active in AFSA serving as Vice President of one of AFSA's most active chapters. I am an FSR-3 currently serving as Officer-in-Charge of Jordanian Affairs.

STANLEY T. ESCUDERO, CANDIDATE FOR AFSA SECRETARY, UNITY SLATE

The Foreign Service is about to get dumped on again. Management has hatched another of those periodic "reforms" designed to remake our Service along lines which management wrongheadedly believes reflect what the Service really is or ought to be. Earlier programs have come and gone without either solving our problems or doing irreparable damage, so many of you may feel that this one too can safely be ignored. **DON'T DO IT!**

This new program proposes a fundamental alteration of the basic structure of the Foreign Service and, as such, it is fundamentally dangerous.

The Structural Reform Program is not well understood, even by Management, whose representatives have been unable to respond to many of the questions posed to them in open meetings. Yet it is intended to effect a broad increase in managerial control and political intervention through the injection by Management of one's so-called "corridor reputation" into the promotion system and by subjecting especially the senior officers to a variety of controls certain to stifle intellectual independence. Most middle and junior level officers will be told that their careers will be "capped" and they can hope, after devoting their adult lives to the Service, to one day aspire to something approximating an office deputy directorship. Meanwhile, adding a grade in an already clogged promotion system will further disadvantage a presently impacted Staff Corps.

The reform proposal is not without its good points, but they are overwhelmed by the bad. Among its most objectionable aspects is its development *in camera* and its direction toward the satisfaction of Management's political imperatives rather than the interests of the Employees.

It is the vital factor of Employee interests which is at the heart of the Unity platform. We represent the interests and views of all elements of the Foreign Service. Our general statement underlines our commitment to enhanced communication, especially with the field, to enable AFSA to better represent your views.

I am running on the Unity Slate for the position of Secretary. In deciding if you will vote for me, I hope that you will keep in mind the related concepts of communication and responsiveness—they will be the basis of my tenure as Secretary. If you elect us, I will ensure:

- A biweekly newsletter to the Employees on AFSA activities in Washington and abroad, including editorial comments, information on Chapter activities and, whenever appropriate, an "Outrage of Note" column.
- Prompt replies to letters and other communications from the field. AFSA will never be united nor effective if AFSA Washington continues to give short shrift to its overseas Chapters.
- An AFSA effort to institutionalize a greater degree of intellectual independence in Foreign Service reporting. There must never again be "intelligence failures" which result from policies of purposeful ignorance.

The Unity Slate will work for you, with you, and with Management for a truly representative Foreign Service. You have heard that before from others, but hear it now from us. The Unity Slate offers an activist alternative. We mean it. We'll do it.

foreign affairs PROs —SECRETARY

Galen Fox's role in the PROs centers on:

Creative Alternatives to Management Proposals

- Stop simply reacting to Management's proposals and start organizing to take the initiative.
- Use the Open Forum model organizing working groups among all those interested in a particular issue to develop a comprehensive and consistent approach.
- Address the following issues:
 - Role of the Foreign Service.
 - Recruitment and Hiring.
 - Career Development.
 - Staff Corps—Security personnel.
 - Outside Hire.
 - Upward Mobility.
 - Qualified leadership at top.
 - Restructuring proposals.
 - Role of AFSA.
 - Integration of the larger foreign affairs community.
 - Congressional relations.
- Oppose any Management attempt to bring its proposal to the Hill until we have a comprehensive approach to the above issues and understand where we are going.



As elected Chairman of the Open Forum this year Galen launched a series of such working groups to deal with issues of interest to foreign affairs personnel in AID and in the consular, administrative, economic and political fields. Open Forum advised the Secretary in writing of the need for more thorough consultation on restructuring proposals and submitted a serious, detailed counterproposal (to be published in the spring *Open Forum*). But Open Forum is not the foreign affairs community's "exclusive bargaining agent" nor does it speak for the entire community. Galen has joined the PROs to put his talents to use in the main union-management arena.

Galen is an FSO-4 from Hawaii who went to college in California and earned a Ph.D. from Princeton. He has served in Bonn, Hong Kong, Taiwan, INR, EA and S/P and in consular, economic and political assignments.

ARLENE RENDER, TREASURER, UNITY SLATE

If AFSA is to survive, it requires not only a strong commitment but active participation by all of us. Apathy must give way to a united front to demonstrate to management that the Employees must have a prominent voice in determining the shape of their own future.

As a Consular and Junior officer, I am fully aware of our major concerns. I will join with the other members of the Unity Slate to encourage recognition of professionals in every facet of the Foreign Service; express our concerns regarding promotions to higher levels in the Foreign Service; insist that the management aspect of the threshold program be reexamined; encourage a sharp look at starting salaries of junior Foreign Service officers; focus on reallocation of resources, particularly as it relates to increased responsibilities and dwindling staff in our missions, and reemphasize to policy makers the importance of Consular Affairs and the input of Consular and other junior officers in foreign policy planning.

If elected treasurer, I not only offer my time but a willingness to do a sound and effective job. AFSA's financial condition must improve if it is to be fully responsive to its members and goals. We must seek and try new innovative ways of managing our Club and the *Foreign Service Journal*.

I have chosen to run on the Unity Slate because of its strong belief that all Employees must actively join hands to achieve our common goals and interests. It stresses total participation to effect change.

ELTON STEPHERSON, JR., TREASURER, REPRESENTATIVE SLATE

I am pleased to be a member of the Representative Slate. I think that it is important that a member of ICA serve on the Governing Board in one of the officer positions. This will lend strength to our vital goal of restoring AFSA as the bargaining representative for ICA. That agency needs the dynamic strength of AFSA, and not AFGE, which has little interest in the Foreign Service, if any.

AFSA needs a strong and able Treasurer. I would like to see modern bookkeeping techniques instituted, and further improvement of the operations of the Foreign Service Club. Although it has improved, it has some distance to go, as a quality and inexpensive meeting place for *all* Foreign Service people. I have had considerable practical experience in this field.

I am glad to be associated with a slate of such aggressive and dedicated people who have at heart the best interests of all the Foreign Service people, not merely a narrow range of special interest groups.

As Treasurer, I would strive to improve relations with the Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center and the Association of American Foreign Service Women. A bit of repair work is essential in this area.

We have demonstrated that direct involvement with the Congress is essential. While the Agencies are limited by OMB in their presentations we are not.

Under the revised AFSA Bylaws, constituency Representatives have more authority over issues of direct concern to their people. We have nominated strong persons to fill those positions. We will not lose sight of the need to support together the goals of all constituencies, with special emphasis on issues with inter-service impact.

I support the stand taken by my State colleagues on the Representative Slate with respect to management's restructuring proposal and will work to have such policy, as appropriate, applied to ICA. I also support the positions of my AID colleagues on this slate.

My election will serve to provide AFSA with a sound fiscal management, ICA with an experienced board member, and our STATE-ICA-AID constituency with the representation it requires at a critical period of stress, turmoil and change.

foreign affairs PROs —TREASURER

Dale Coleman's role in the PROs centers on:

Fiscal Responsibility

- Maintain a balanced budget and avoid cash flow loans.
- Audit all AFSA programs for cost effectiveness.
- Make succinct reports to the membership quarterly in the *Journal*, listing implications for AFSA programs.



Financial Growth

- Utilize the organizational capabilities of the PROs to expand our financial base through membership growth.
- Identify costs of existing AFSA programs and give the members an opportunity to express their views

- on reducing, continuing or expanding them.
- Cost out new proposals, including the hiring of a full-time labor-management specialist, determine the potential implications for individual members and give them the opportunity to vote if they wish special assessments for any purpose.

Unity:

The Service has been losing ground to its critics in large part because we have been at odds with each other.

Work for greater recognition of and responsiveness to the serious concerns of all elements of the Service—security, communicators, the secretarial corps and officers in every cone and level so that we can strengthen our sense of joint service and our awareness that the most fundamental challenges to our professions are coming from outside.

Dale is a Certified Public Accountant now working in AID's office of the Auditor General. He has extensive overseas experience and has served as AFSA representative while with AID over the last decade.

foreign affairs PROs —STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Charlie Hill's Role in the PROs Centers On:

Professionalism: The Service is under severe attack from outside elements aiming at reducing or eliminating our distinctive responsibilities and benefits. AFSA has virtually ignored its responsibilities to serve as a professional organization, and Management seems to lack full understanding of what the Foreign Service is and why the nation needs it.

Effectiveness: The best way to get the additional resources, responsibilities and rewards the Foreign Service needs to do its job and to keep high quality people is to make the Congress and the public more aware of what we do—to demonstrate that a unique, dedicated and incredibly hard working institution needs greater recognition and far greater incentives.

Charlie has seen service in six different Bureaus and four overseas posts; experience in personnel, management and the seventh floor; lawyer; at present, deputy director of the Office of Israeli and Arab-Israeli Affairs, NEA.



MARSHALL P. ADAIR, UNITY SLATE CANDIDATE FOR STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Successive efforts at reform of the Foreign Service have grappled with a continuing dilemma: the need to assure the input of foreign affairs expertise while applying modern professional management techniques and maintaining sensitivity to current political goals. Current Department management is excessively oriented toward the latter, and little scope is allowed for input for the Foreign Service. The recent "structural reform" proposals and the manner in which they have been presented, highlight this bias.

Whatever the reasons for this situation, it is the responsibility of AFSA to reestablish the balance, defend the interests of Foreign Service employees, and assure their input to all levels of foreign affairs management. Except for a brief period of activism in the late 1960s, AFSA has not fulfilled this responsibility. AFSA must function as a union. I personally believe that it can do so without affiliation with an outside union. However, it must do so forcefully and immediately. I support the Unity slate because I believe that it is the only one which will assure such an effective AFSA for all members of the Foreign Service.

JOHN R. MALOTT, UNITY SLATE CANDIDATE FOR STATE REPRESENTATIVE

- I want an effective, assertive AFSA that will speak out on behalf of all of the Foreign Service.
- I want an AFSA that is responsive to the needs of the Foreign Service, that "does its homework" before confronting Management and the Hill, and that actively promotes and defends the Service.
- I want an AFSA Board, that is representative of the Service as a whole, that actively seeks out new members and new ideas, and that commits itself to openness and a two-way flow in communications with its membership at home and abroad.

This is the kind of AFSA that I and my colleagues on the Unity Slate are pledged to bring about. With your support, we intend to tackle the major issues challenging our Service today:

- Management's unnecessary and dangerous proposal for a new Foreign Service Act, the greatest threat to the Service in 30 years;
- Dealing with the major problem facing us today, the "Impacted" Service problem at the top;
- Seeking an adequate compensation package for the Foreign Service, reflecting the actual costs of serving overseas in an era of inflation and a declining dollar;
- Management's distortion of Zero-Based Budgeting, cutting personnel but not our workload; and
- Meeting the needs of the Service from within the Service, an active defense of the career principle, and removing the need for lateral entry by an upward mobility and training program for people already in the Service.

RALPH BRAIBANTI, STATE REPRESENTATIVE, REPRESENTATIVE SLATE

After overseas assignments in Asuncion and Manila, I returned to the Department in mid-1978 where I am currently working in ARA. I served as AFSA representative at my first post, but dropped out of active participation in AFSA during the Hemenway era. One glance at the Department's proposal for a completely revised Foreign Service Act, however, was enough to get me involved in AFSA once again.

I strongly oppose the proposed changes in the Foreign Service Act. I believe the Foreign Service has been buffeted by too many sincere but misguided reform efforts which have created more problems than they have solved. We have seen the pendulum swing wildly on such issues as specialization vs. generalization and elitism vs. democratization while the truly crucial problems—slow promotions, inadequate pay, and deteriorating working and living conditions overseas—have been sadly neglected. Further, I believe it is no accident that the failure of management to deal with these problems has coincided with a decline in the authority and effectiveness of the State Department in foreign affairs. But the way to solve these problems is not a major structural overhaul; what we badly need at this point is a stable, reliable structure which can be adjusted and fine-tuned to meet changing conditions.

It has become obvious that we can no longer rely on management to look out for the interests of the Foreign Service. We *must* have an AFSA which is broadly representative, aggressive, and outspoken in defending the Foreign Service in the Department and on the Hill.

**foreign
affairs
PROs**—STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Joe McBride's role in the PROs centers on:

A More Powerful State Negotiating Team:

- Decentralize negotiating process so we can "double team" management regularly rather than constantly relying on the same "regulars."
- Push for administrative equality for officers and staff corps. We still have a long way to go.
- Oppose Affirmative Action extending preferential treatment into assignments, evaluations and promotions as reverse discrimination pure and simple. The Foreign Service has no room for unequal treatment which simultaneously stigmatizes EEO candidates and penalizes the rest of us.
- Up-or-Out rising honorable retirement after 50, beats advancement by gerontocracy; most of us are willing to take our chances.



Joe, State Rep since 1977, is running for reelection; past JFSOC President and a current AFSA Negotiating Team Leader for Personnel Policies including J.O. precepts, overseas length of tour policy, and skill/cone conversions.

PETER REAMS, STATE REPRESENTATIVE, REPRESENTATIVE SLATE

Of the difficult issues which confront our profession today, two, in particular, merit strong attention:

• We must defend the concept of a separate Foreign Service—with its own risks, obligations, and rewards—against attempts to equate us with the civil service. This is an area where I feel management has displayed a disturbing timidity vis-à-vis other Executive branch agencies and the Congress, with alarming long-term implications for retention of our own personnel and retirement systems. In this vein, AFSA should continue to oppose the sort of encroachment inherent in the proposal to transfer responsibility for visa policy to the Justice Department.

• Management can no longer afford to neglect the cutting edge of the professional service: the over 2,000-officers, in the middle grades, who entered their careers with high expectations which they are now told they must lower. Management's restructuring proposal predicates retirement at class 3 for all but a few; in a service which recruits from among only the best, such a unilateral revision of the rules of the game would amount to unacceptable treatment of officers who have already made commitments of ten to twenty years' service.

As we address these issues over the next year or two, AFSA cannot afford less than total effectiveness in defending the interests and concerns of the career service. If elected, I would bring that commitment to the position of State Representative.

foreign affairs PROs —STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Eva Kim's role in the PROs centers on:

Action on Staff Corps Concerns

- Focus forceful and continuous attention on staff corps inequities which cause financial hardship to youngest and lowest ranking personnel.
- Concentrate on solutions based on the entire foreign service as a profession we all share.
- As the PROs implement a comprehensive approach to personnel reform, assure that it includes—a uniform provision for compensating all personnel for extraordinary overseas expenses, a career development plan that permits staff personnel to enlarge their responsibilities and satisfy their ambitions, a non-discriminatory language training policy.

Eva has just returned to EA from twenty years continuous overseas service and brings a definite overseas viewpoint to the PRO slate. A former Secretary of the year, winner of Superior and Meritorious awards and AFSA rep, Eva has served in Singapore, Vietnam, Laos and Peru.



JOHN J. HARTER FOR STATE REPRESENTATIVE

AFSA has fallen on hard times. Only a small fraction of our eligible colleagues consider membership worth the cost, and most members have lost faith that their Governing Board can and will represent their interests.

In the early 1940s, AFSA once helped mobilize Congressional support for updating the 1924 Rogers Act. Today the Foreign Service Act of 1946 needs a similar overhaul. The *Journal* could help, by opening its pages to uncensored debate on the critical issues.

Current Management "reform" proposals ignore our most pressing needs—our primitive techniques of evaluating performance, for example, that account for most of the Grievance Board workload. Until we have a better handle on the strengths and weaknesses of our personnel resources, cronyism rather than achievement will unlock promotion and career advancement. As long as this is so career diplomats need better grievance procedures than they now have.

We need a searching look at the institutional effectiveness of our foreign affairs community—at AID, USICA, STR, CIA, and the NSC system, as well as State, and particularly at how the pieces fit together. The President and the Secretary of State will need better support to cope with the problems that will confront them in the 1980s.

The Macomber Task Forces and the Murphy Commission—with AFSA blessing—virtually ignored these fundamental questions.

If elected, I will try to turn our Governing Board around, to face the future instead of the past.

ROBERT L. CAFFREY, UNITY SLATE CANDIDATE FOR STATE REPRESENTATIVE

- I am aware of your frustrations, and doubts. You are asked to do more and more and to expect few rewards. You voice a complaint and are told to file a grievance. Political and special interests dominate behind the scenes while our interests are ignored.
- We are now entering into a critical period for the entire Foreign Service. Many of you have lost confidence in AFSA and don't know what to do.
- There is something you *can* do.

Even if every Unity Slate candidate you vote for wins, things will not change unless you help make them change. More than ever we need to make a strong case that the Foreign Service is different from other Federal agencies. This must be understood by people whose standards are not ours. They have not been there; you have! We need not only your vote but your presence and input. Who can better defend us?

- I pledge that the following issues will be pursued if we are elected:

Reimburse charges levied on non-diplomatic titled personnel;

Increase the FSS Career Counseling Staffs;

Re-establish of former COLA rates for lower-grade personnel;

Re-open of the standby pay issue;

An upward mobility program to identify aptitudes of on-board personnel for training in specialist skills that are now or will be needed as we move into the 80s.

- If you feel as I do, join with Bob Pfeiffer and the other members of our Unity Slate in one of the most important pursuits of our careers.

PATRICIA A. WOODRING, STATE REPRESENTATIVE, REPRESENTATIVE SLATE

What will tomorrow's Foreign Service be like? As we enter the decade of the eighties we pause to think about the changes we have experienced during the seventies. AFSA has been and continues to be an important part of, in fact, initiator of many of the changes that have come about for the Foreign Service. I, Pat Woodring, have been associated with AFSA for several years and have worked to see many of the benefits now available to Foreign Service people become a reality. I first served on the Members' Interest Committee, then as Chairperson of the Committee, then was elected by you to serve as State Representative; I went on to become the first and only woman president of the Association. I have seen AFSA come through some turbulent times—and survive, strengthened. After leaving the presidency I continued to work behind the scenes and recently again assumed the Chair of the Members' Interest Committee.

Why do I want to run for State Representative? Because AFSA is an important part of the Foreign Service community. I have been in the Staff Corps and I am now an FSO which says I've seen it both ways and therefore I am more sensitive to the needs of the Service as a whole. I would like to serve as your State Representative to continue the work of improving the Foreign Service—improved allowances and standards for housing and education; improved employment opportunities for spouses; and greater recognition for competent women within the Service. With the experience and background I bring to AFSA, I hope you will permit me to serve as your State Representative as we enter the eighties.

R. C. MALLEY—AID REPRESENTATIVE

I seek support from AID's Foreign Service personnel to represent their interests on the AFSA Board. I believe that my credentials to do so are substantial. I joined the Agency from private business at its inception in 1961, and since then have held a wide variety of operational and policy assignments in several different geographic regions and Bureaus. My overseas posts include Pakistan, Zaire, and the US Mission to OECD in Paris. My contacts within the Agency are widespread at all levels.

My family and I have experienced the problems and pains, as well as the gratifications, of work and life with this unique Agency both abroad and in Washington. I want to improve the role and stature of our Foreign Service professionals. I am beholden to no election slate or individuals, but only to the total AID Foreign Service constituency. If you feel I can effectively represent you, I ask for your vote.

RON NICHOLSON, AID REPRESENTATIVE, REPRESENTATIVE SLATE

I was appointed to the AFSA Board as AID Representative in May 1978. I hope you will continue me in this capacity under the Representative slate headed by Ken Rogers. There are two major areas on which I intended to concentrate as AID Representative.

New AID personnel system: As of this writing the Unified Personnel System proposal is in serious trouble within the Administration. Its prospects on the Hill are unclear. With the AID Standing Committee I have spent hundreds of hours analyzing the UPS, informing the AID foreign service of its implications and consulting with AID management on the principles which should guide any new personnel system. Our cables and "red tops" on this subject have been universally well received by AFSA members and non-members alike. Whether or not the UPS proposal survives it is almost certain that 1979 will see significant modifications to the agency's personnel which in turn will necessitate months of intensive management-AFSA negotiations to work out the implementing regulations. I believe our experience and success to date warrant your confidence and, your vote.

(Note: C.V. contained in FS Journal of July '78.)

JAMES D. SINGLETARY, AID REPRESENTATIVE, UNITY SLATE

The Unity Slate confirms its commitment to represent the interests of all Foreign Service personnel in employee-management relations under Executive Order 11636 and in furthering professional career development for all members of the Service.

Specifically, this means providing a clear voice and equity for ALL AID Employees with regard to issues of the unified service, as well as the formulation of career development goals for AID employees as members of separate/coordinated services of the Foreign Affairs Community.

Our goal is an operationally effective foreign service. This requires increased career development and expanded training programs at all levels. We will make proposals to Management designed to promote quality productivity, job satisfaction and high morale.

To further strengthen the effectiveness of the Foreign Service, increased opportunities MUST be provided for minorities and women through (a) formal education (long-term and short-term); (b) on-the-job training; (c) internships; (d) attachment programs (TDYs, details); and (e) appropriate career development patterns and promotion rates.

Your membership in AFSA is necessary if you are to VOTE.

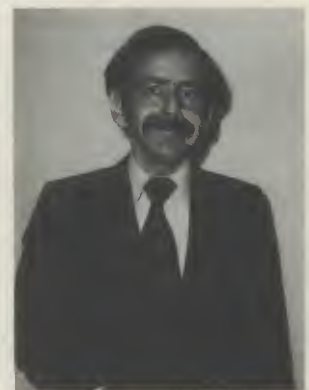
Your vote is necessary if we are to make proposals to Management.

Your active participation is necessary if we are to achieve *OUR GOAL OF AN OPERATIONALLY EFFECTIVE FOREIGN SERVICE.*

foreign affairs PROs —AID REPRESENTATIVE

Jonathan Sperling's role in the PROs centers on:

- *Housing.* We have been harassed by management's minions attempting to document a luxury life style. AID families should not move backward in their housing standards.
- *Shipment of Personal Effects.* If you're moving you'll probably see your HHE/POV in about five months. We plan to eliminate this chronic aggravation to AID employees.
- *Working Spouses.* The US family has two workers and AID should recognize this. The right policies exist, but the will to implement them is weak. We will push hard for meaningful employment for spouses. You write, we'll fight.
- *Promotions.* We need more of them, and now.
- *Compensation.* Our ticket will work closely with management to assure that AID conversion will be done in a manner most advantageous to the FS employees.



Jonathan is a "program-type" FSR-04, who returned to AID/W on his first rotation after twelve years in the field. He served in Kenya, Thailand and Liberia and is presently on the Egypt Desk.

foreign affairs

PROS —ICA REPRESENTATIVE

Jack Cannon's role in the PROs centers on:

A Heightened Role and Image for the Foreign Service in Public

- Through public appeal and increased media access increase US awareness of the vital role played by the Foreign Service throughout the world in often hostile and dangerous circumstances.
- Organize and provide nationwide forums for Foreign Service leaders through radio, television and the press to press for public and Congressional support for measures needed to assure an increasingly professional foreign service corps in a growingly complex and difficult international environment.
- Promote and campaign for an increased role for AFSA in the International Communications Agency.

Jack is an ICA officer serving at State as Director of EA/P. He is a former television journalist who has been Information Officer in London as well as press attache in Korea and Vietnam. In 1972, he was Press Secretary to Senator Hubert Humphrey as a Congressional Fellow.



MARILYN MCAFEE, UNITY SLATE ICA REPRESENTATIVE

I joined AFSA some ten years ago. I recall quite vividly the meeting that my junior officer class had with the then President of AFSA. His disdain for other than State officers came through quite clearly and puzzled me, neophyte that I was. But I signed up anyway, thinking that a professional association was clearly the best means of advancing the needs and interests of professionals. I stuck with AFSA for many years, later serving as chapter vice-president in Tehran. But as we all know, AFSA never did very much, never mind care about USIA and short shrift for us became even shorter. And so I resigned.

Why am I back? One last time, I suppose. I have confidence in the Unity slate, and I believe them when they say that they are concerned about the entire foreign affairs personnel community. They are determined to revitalize AFSA and make it the effective professional association ALL of us have long needed. They are capable and dedicated. They can do it.

It is time for all of us in ICA, State and AID who have been in the wings at an intellectual distance, cynically carping at an ineffectual AFSA, to join forces and make this organization the effective professional voice that we need. We eschew the fray at our own peril. The answer for us is involvement and the election of thoughtful, forceful colleagues with ability and initiative whose commitment is to the advancement of the interest of foreign service personnel and the foreign affairs community, and not to the promotion of their own personal careers. I urge your involvement and your vote for the Unity slate.

FRED M. SHAVER, ICA REPRESENTATIVE, REPRESENTATIVE SLATE

If there is such a thing as an adequate substitute for knowledge of and interest in the special needs of a foreign affairs agency, the AFGS representation at ICA has not found it. ICA foreign service and civil service personnel must be offered AFSA expertise as a first step in overcoming ICA's morale and management problems.

As ICA representative on the AFSA Member's Interest Committee for the past year, I have become increasingly aware of the ICA isolation in critical negotiations. ICA was not even consulted, for example, when the first draft was prepared to "restructure" the foreign service personnel system. At a time when AFSA at State was working diligently for open discussion with management on those issues of serious concern—promotions, assignments, future plans—FSIOs were faced with a stonewalling management and labor representation that took no discernible action. The result is a state of morale so low as to have a negative effect on ICA's performance.

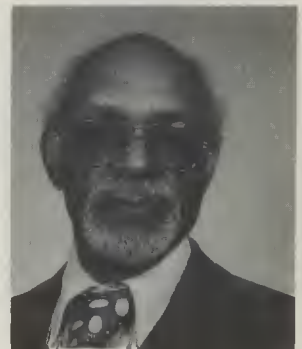
There is a solid base of AFSA membership at ICA, which can and must be used in the effort to return this agency's representation to foreign affairs specialists. This can be done through 1) stimulating greater participation among present ICA AFSA members, 2) a membership drive both in Washington and at all overseas ICA posts, 3) a membership poll to determine members' priorities, and 4) immediate action tailored to those priorities. My election as ICA representative to AFSA will assure implementation of those and other steps designed to return AFSA to its proper role as exclusive representative for ICA personnel.

foreign affairs PROS —RETIRED REPRESENTATIVE

Archie S. Lang

I retired from the Foreign Service in September 1975 after assignments in Germany, Ghana, Pakistan, Brazil, and Taiwan. During a Department assignment, I served for two years, 1967-68, on the Board of Examiners for the Foreign Service, and for three years, 1969-71, as a Foreign Service Inspector. My first and last assignment in the Service involved refugees, and I am still working with refugees; part time with the Department's Indochinese Refugee Program.

I have been a member of AFSA since 1955. Until recently, I was content to pay my dues, vote on schedule and enjoy the benefits of AFSA initiatives. However, in 1976, at an AFSA sponsored Foreign Service Day Brunch, I learned, for the first time of the deep divisions within AFSA which led eventually to a recall election the following year and which awakened my concern about the health of the organization. Indeed my concern was so great that I accepted the chairmanship of the Recall Election Committee and am now seeking election to the AFSA Board as a logical next step.



foreign affairs PROS

RETIRED REPRESENTATIVE

Charles Whitehouse

AFSA must play an important role in strengthening the Foreign Service not only by defending the interests of the Service and of persons serving abroad with regard to administrative matters but especially by working to improve capabilities and professionalism of officers in many fields thus making the Service as relevant and dynamic as possible.



My own interest in the Service has been lifelong. My father was an FSO for nearly thirty years and I was one for longer than that, retiring about six months ago. My most recent positions have been as Ambassador to Thailand and before that to Laos but I have served in Europe, the Middle East and Africa as well as the Far East.

I intend to be concerned with the welfare of our retired personnel and to promote their greater use by the Department and the Foreign Service.

I believe that while differences of view will necessarily continually exist between AFSA and the Department these need not be aired acrimoniously and can be reconciled in good faith.

Continued from page 24C

- Send a bi-weekly newsletter to the overseas Chapters, and ask for their continuing input.
- Base our statements to management, the Hill and the media on a consensus of *your* views;
- Enhance AFSA's slim financial and personnel resources through broader membership and focus them on members' needs. AFSA badly needs more full-time professionals to help in negotiations, to help grievants prepare their cases, and to intercede informally with management for those who have lesser problems;
- Seek a private group to run the Club, which is subsidized by too many members who cannot use it; its 1978 subsidy was over \$30,000;
- Make the *Foreign Service Journal* a vehicle for articles by careerists on the practitioners' art; and aim at financial independence by changing to a less expensive format. The 1978 subsidy for the *Journal* was over \$20,000;
- Take hard look at how we can obtain help and support from other employee organizations while retaining our own independence. We will submit to a referendum of the membership the texts of any affiliation proposals from outside organizations.

Management is betting that you have given up and will apathetically accept anything even an outrage like the proposed "structural reform." We urge you to vote for us and work together to turn AFSA into an effective voice for our professional concerns.

Stanley Cleveland, Unity Slate candidate for Retired Representative. Stan has postponed his statement until the May issue so that the Unity Slate platform could appear in full.

SPENCER KING, RETIRED REPRESENTATIVE, REPRESENTATIVE SLATE

I am pleased to associate myself with the Representative Slate, headed by Ken Rogers, whom I have known for 20 years.

Ken is an officer of broad experience, noted for his devotion to the Service and AFSA, and for his courage as shown by his receipt of the rare Award for Valor in 1977.

This Slate stands for a restoration of the standards of professionalism, without a narrow emphasis on merely fast-track elitists, nor over-stress on one particular special interest group, and a strong, independent AFSA.

I ask my Retired colleagues to vote for the Representative Slate because of solid experience and creative planning, as well as talent, experience and skill.

I have served in Bolivia and Czechoslovakia, as DCM in Ecuador and The Dominican Republic, as Ambassador to Guyana, and as Deputy Inspector General. At present, I am a consultant to the Department. My service as Eastern European Director of the Voice of America gave me continued interest in international communication, and I am glad to see the determination of our Slate to restore AFSA as the representative of ICA.

The Retired community should support the Representative Slate as it is dedicated to the preservation of the Foreign Service as a special national resource, and the avoidance of the Service being dragged into the Civil Service. We retired persons, should embrace the platform of the Representative Slate concerning the critical issues of State management's proposals on restructure, and the related unwelcome massive overhaul of the Foreign Service Act.

JACK LYDMAN, RETIRED REPRESENTATIVE, REPRESENTATIVE SLATE

As a member of the REPRESENTATIVE SLATE, I endorse its platform and ask for support by the Retired Community and all others for our group.

Ken Rogers is a proven and sensible leader. A lawyer, he is an expert in the field of labor-management relations, and experienced in the legislative process. He understands the complex personnel issues faced by the Service, and his record of achievement for AFSA in this realm is unmatched. We need him to carry on. His team is first rate, a proven group with a fresh new comprehensive view of the future.

Along with probably all retired persons, and our entire SLATE, I have as a personal goal the maintenance and improvement of the high standards of professionalism, and the desire to defend the members of the Foreign Service. They should receive the maximum possible in benefits, allowances and protection. The Service as a whole, not merely the self-seeking, self-appointed stars.

I have served in Australia, Thailand, and Indonesia, and was Ambassador to Malaysia for over four years. Since retiring, I have served as visiting fellow of the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton, and as a member of the Board of Bard College and The World Population Society.

My main efforts are with the St. Francis Society—work with the problems of death and the dying. Thus, I am especially pleased with this Slate's determination to seek improved health care insurance programs, especially through the AFSPA.

**Candidates
in
1979
AFSA Election
Officers**



Kenneth N. Rogers,
Representative Slate



Robert F. Pfeiffer,
Unity Slate



John D. Hemenway



Kenneth N. Bleakley,
Foreign Affairs PROs



Robert N. Stern,
Representative Slate



Anthea deRouville,
Unity Slate



Barbara Bodine,
Foreign Affairs PROs



Frank Dimond,
Foreign Affairs PROs



Robert Maxim,
Unity Slate



Ron Witherell,
Representative Slate



Stanley Escudero,
Unity Slate



Galen Fox,
Foreign Affairs PROs



Arlene Render,
Unity Slate



Elton Stepherson,
Representative Slate



Dale Coleman,
Foreign Affairs PROs

**Candidates
for
Constituency
Representatives
State
ICA
AID
Retired**



Charles Hill,
Foreign Affairs PROs



Marshall Adair,
Unity Slate



John Malott,
Unity Slate



Joseph N. McBride,
Foreign Affairs PROs



Ralph Braibanti,
Representative Slate



Peter Reams,
Representative Slate



Eva Kim,
Foreign Affairs PROs



Robert Caffrey,
Unity Slate



John J. Harter



Patricia Woodring,
Representative Slate



Raymond C. Malley



Ron Nicholson,
Representative Slate



James Singletary,
Unity Slate



Jonathan Sperling,
Foreign Affairs PROs



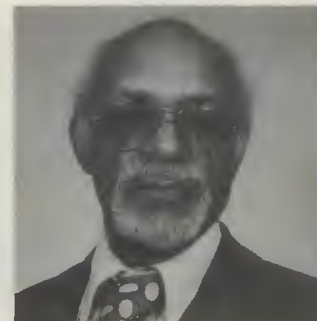
Jack Cannon,
Foreign Affairs PROs



Fred Shaver,
Representative Slate



Marilyn McAfee,
Unity Slate



Archie Lang,
Foreign Affairs PROs



Charles Whitehouse,
Foreign Affairs PROs



Spencer King,
Representative Slate



Stanley Cleveland,
Unity Slate



Jack Lydman,
Representative Slate

**Candidates
Statements
appear in
Special
Elections
Section.**

began hammering inside an armored car and the sound boomed out, drawing everyone's attention.

"Assez, assez, merde!" the officer shouted. He poked his head through an open side vent in the armor. "Every Viet between Saigon and Hanoi can hear that!"

"Eh ba, merde aussi!" a frustrated voice answered from within the turret. "If this pile of shit is to move, it has to be repaired. If it is to be repaired, I will have to use a hammer!"

"Doucement, doucement," the officer cautioned, wiping perspiration from his face with the towel and lighting a cigarette.

"Mon capitaine," the lieutenant addressed him. "This is Monsieur Baker, an American journalist who has come to accompany you on today's operation."

This is Capitaine Duroc of the 27 Dragoons."

The captain looked at me as if he wished I would suddenly disappear. "Does he speak French?" he asked the lieutenant.

"Comme une vache espagnole," I answered, emphasizing each word.

The unexpected response brought a smile to Duroc's face. He walked over and shook my hand.

"I doubt if you'll see much today," he said, "it's our weekly sweep." He gestured toward the armored cars. "These prehistoric monsters were left here by the British in 1945. They move slowly, they are hot, they stink, and now 'Lilette' there has decided to have her turret jam tight. We are already fifteen minutes late jumping off."

He drew deeply on his cigarette and shouted to one of the men. "Moinet! Bring some rouge for the 'Amerlo.'"

The soldier dropped down into the turret of the other vehicle and came up with an unlabeled bottle of red wine. He jumped down onto the dusty road and brought it to us. The captain offered the bottle.

"We try to keep it cool in water but it won't remain that way long. Have some."

It was raw and lukewarm but it did help my thirst. The captain took the bottle back, wiped the mouth and drank. Several hammer blows sounded from the depths of 'Lilette. The captain cursed but said nothing. The engine started. After a pause and more grinding,

the turret began to move hesitantly. It completed a torturous half circle and reversed into its original position.

"Bravo!" the captain shouted. "Good work."

A beaming, oil-spattered face appeared from the turret. "It may work all of today," the mechanic told the captain, "but we've got to take it to the depot in Tay Ninh tomorrow. It needs a lot of work."

The captain nodded and unfolded a map from the leather case on his hip. The mechanic jumped down from the turret, wiped his

"That, mon ami, is part of our blocking force.

As you see they are swimming. I guess it was too hot to lie under cover and wait for the Viet. If we were the Viet now we would have them like cold pork."

hands and joined us. "Monsieur Baker," the captain said, without looking up from his map, "this is my second in command, Lieutenant Cervionne." Cervionne was short and dark with black hair matted on his chest and arms. He smiled and we shook hands. Two other men joined us. The captain didn't bother to introduce them but they nodded a brief greeting.

The captain spread the map over the engine screen of his armored car. Everyone crowded forward. He motioned me to join them. "If you're coming with us you might as well see what we're trying to do. Here we are. Here is the plantation house and buildings. This is the river . . . and the highway behind us. The infantry, the 6th Colonial, is here . . . and here, in a blocking position." He spread one hand wide and moved it slowly toward the blue river line on the map. "We move along these alleys. Two other cars come from this flank . . . and that flank and if any Viet are nosing around we push them toward the infantry."

It looked sound. But it sounded too easy. I noted a marked lack of enthusiasm in the captain's voice. I asked what type of enemy troops he expected to meet. He sighed and began to fold his map. "There are two Regional companies operating in and around this plantation. Two weeks ago they attacked the militia post at the north boundary, killed four militiamen and burned the post to the ground. Three days ago they ambushed a plantation jeep and killed a contremaitre." He put his map away and snapped the case. "We have not had a good contact with them for over a month." He looked at me, as if deciding whether to say anything further. "You see," he finally said, turning to climb up on to his vehicle, "the little bastards always hear us coming."

By noon we were bathed in sweat and caked with red dust. The heavy vehicles had difficulty climbing even a light incline and their revving engines sounded like a cross country motorcycle race. The captain's armored car was named "Odette." It had bad brakes. They grabbed under the slightest pressure and threw the crew against the unpadded metal with painful regularity.

The heat from the sun vied with the waves of heat from the engine to turn the interior into a mobile steam bath. Engine fumes and the odor of raw petrol clogged our nostrils and made it difficult to see through the observation slits. The captain and I alternated seeking relief at the open turret but my turns were infrequent as he had to check terrain features and keep up a steady radio dialogue with the rest of the squadron. Our view was limited to shimmering heat waves and flashes of greenery without perspective.

The captain slid down from the turret and tapped my shoulder. He pointed to the map indicating that we were approaching the river. He poked the driver with his boot and we came to an abrupt stop. He removed his earphones, grabbed his binoculars from a turret rack and climbed up into the turret again. The engine idled, the steel floorboards shuddering to its rhythm.

Suddenly the captain was down again grabbing for the radio. He shouted something incomprehen-

ble into the mouthpiece and turned to us. He was furious. He ordered the engine cut.

"Putain!" he cursed, "grand-mère de putain! They're swimming again!"

"Oh," the gunner said in disbelief. "C'est pas possible!"

I followed the captain out of the turret. The green of the jungle and gray of the rubber trees was broken by a band of sluggish yellow water about three hundred yards to our front. The captain handed me his binoculars.

"There," he said, pointing, "by that rock on the other side."

I wiped the salty perspiration from my eyes and focused the glasses. I caught a glimpse of khaki clothing on the rock. Then I could make out the splashing in the water. Looking back at the rock I saw the glint of the sun on weapons beside the clothing.

I returned the binoculars and was about to ask a question. The captain responded without being asked. "That, mon ami, is part of our blocking force. As you see they are swimming. I guess it was too hot to lie under cover and wait for the Viet. If we were the Viet now we would have them like cold pork. This is too much!"

"Varzy," he called to the gunner, "raise Cervionne and tell him we have no contact but that we'll be practice firing . . . and tell him to stay out of it." He raised his binoculars again as the gunner relayed the message. "Done," the gunner reported when he had finished.

"Bon," the captain said, kneeling beside the turret, still watching the stream. "Now, we will have some sport. Let's move them out of there, Durand, but don't hurt them. Easy, now, in short bursts."

The gunner pressed the turret control lever bringing his gun to bear on the river. He meticulously adjusted his sights and a slow smile spread over his face. "Ready," he said.

"Go," the captain ordered.

The machine gun bucked in its mount, one, two and three bursts ripped through the trees, sped across the river and slammed into the water. A cascade of bright shell cases fell onto the floor of the armored car. The splashing stopped. Another burst sent six geysers of water high in front of the rock. There was a scramble of brown



bodies running against the brush on the far bank. They disappeared from sight into the jungle.

"Assez," the captain ordered. In the silence that followed he burst out laughing and clapped his hands together maliciously. "Look," he shouted, "the bastards have left their weapons behind! Let's get out some security and then send someone over to gather them up. We'll return them to the 6th Colonial with our best wishes later."

He sat down on the edge of the turret and called for the bottle of wine. "I think that should cure the 6th of water sports during an operation." He passed the bottle to me and sighed. "As you can see," he said, "this is a very strange war."

Captain Duroc, Lieutenant Cervionne and I were invited to luncheon at the plantation house. They put on their shirts, slapped the dust off their calots and we left the rest of the squadron on the road and drove to the house in Duroc's jeep. The entrance to the plantation was graveled and raked. A barbed wire gate was opened by heavily armed guards in civilian clothes. They waved a greeting to us as we drove past. The house itself was large and low, built of yellow stucco and divided by open walkways and wide, Spanish type arches. Three large German shepherds greeted us with joyful barks and jumped at us playfully as the captain led us up the stairs.

Monsieur Venaud, the plantation's manager, met us in the palm

shaded, central courtyard. Two white-jacketed Vietnamese servants stood by a bar table waiting to take our orders. A large cage of brilliantly colored small parrots was half hidden in a corner of the garden and a dark monkey with a white fringe of beard swung on his chain from a nearby flame tree.

Venaud was a short, intense man with dark, burning eyes. He was powerfully built and I could feel his strength when we shook hands. He did not seem overjoyed at my presence but hastened to get me a drink. I joined the others in ordering a pastis. Venaud raised his glass in a silent toast and we all drank. I noticed that he was wearing a holstered Colt .45 on his hip.

"And the operation?" he asked the captain.

"'Catastrophe!' Some of our infantry comrades decided it was time for a swim. I'll have to make a formal complaint to Colonel Porte. It is intolerable."

Venaud shook his head in disgust. "That battalion is eating up my rice, bullying the coolies and tappers and they haven't touched a Viet in weeks. If this continues I shall have to take it up in Saigon."

He held out his glass for a refill and waited for a servant to pour in the pastis and cut it with iced water from a jug. "We had some luck last night," he said in a matter-of-fact voice. "Would you like to see?"

"Bien sur," the captain replied. Venaud led us out of the courtyard, through a high-ceilinged room filled with books and out into a backyard area where several light trucks were parked. There were armed

men lounging around a small grill set on stones in front of the warehouses where strips of meat were sputtering over the flame. Their skin was much darker than the Vietnamese I had seen since my arrival. I touched Lieutenant Cervionne's arm and raised my eyebrows in question.

"Venaud's private army," he said. "Cambodians. He trusts them." The Cambodians jumped up at our approach and came to ludicrous attitudes of attention, their bare feet splayed out at odd angles and their hands stiff beside their trousers. Two of them were armed with Thompson submachine guns. One carried a rifle grenade fixed to the end of his rifle like a black fig. All of them had small French grenades hung on their belts.

Venaud said something as he passed and they relaxed, laughing and saluting us in a parody of military procedure.

A strange odor hit us as we walked through the wide, open door of one of the warehouses. Gray squares of raw rubber were piled high on all sides. There were narrow paths between the piles and two Vietnamese in white shorts and knee socks were busily marking data on sheets of paper attached to clip boards.

We followed Venaud out the back door of the warehouse into a small shed with barred windows. We had to pass through a short double apron fence of barbed wire to enter. A Cambodian stood guard at the door. It was obviously Venaud's armory. Two large wooden tables ran the length of the room. They were covered with weapon parts. An automatic rifle with a broken stock was lying next to the sighting mechanism of a 60mm mortar. One entire wall was filled with a rifle rack. The rifles were of mixed origin. I could recognize several Garands and a few Enfields. The rest were French. The steel bars that held the rifles were secured with heavy chains and padlocks. Boxes of ammunition were piled to the ceiling. Through one of the windows I saw that a second sentry guarded the rear approach to the shed.

Venaud took us to a small door that led to an attached room. He opened a heavy lock with a large key and pushed the door open. The

smell of death swept around us, dominating the odor of gun oil and cleaning solvent. Venaud flicked a light on and motioned for us to follow. The bare bulb threw a weak light but we could see the two dead men. They seemed very small. For a moment I thought they were both children.

"A courier team," Venaud said coldly. He lifted one limp arm with the toe of his boot. "I would have liked to talk to this one. According to his papers he's from Dong Hoi. He's come a long way."

"You've got their papers?" the captain asked.

"They're in my study. I'll let you have them after lunch."

The two dead men were lying on their backs. They had both been stripped naked. The eldest seemed at peace with the world despite the large hole in his chest edged with feathery pink lung tissue. The other man's head looked like a half deflated balloon. Long black hair, stiff with dried blood, lay flat on the ground unsupported by a missing piece of skull. A swarm of flies, disturbed by our entry, buzzed around the room, lit on our faces and hands and flew against the light bulb. I felt a chill despite the heat and was glad to leave when Venaud switched off the light.

"Eh bien," Venaud said as we left the armory, "we'll bury them tonight but I thought your intelligence people might want to take some photos first."

The captain nodded. "Yes, we'll raise them on the radio. Cervionne, can you do that now?"

"Certainly," Cervionne replied and he walked on ahead of us.

"I think they were headed for Gia Dinh. They weren't carrying much solid. A few propaganda tracts and some simple operational exchanges. Probably coming in as cadre reliefs or replacements. Unfortunately, they weren't local types and I don't think they'd made a local contact yet. If they had they'd probably never have walked into our ambush. They were low on rice and only one of them was armed—a Japanese pistol with two clips."

We had reached the house again and entered the courtyard. The monkey jumped down from his perch and ran to Venaud, trailing his long chain behind him. He leapt into Venaud's arms with a strange

cooing sound and looked at us, his face half hidden on Venaud's chest.

"Allez, Oscar," Venaud said fondly, "are you hungry?" He smiled and removed the monkey's long arms from around his neck. "It is time for lunch. The boy here will show you where to wash. I will see you in the dining room."

The walls of the house were thick and the halls cool. The captain and I washed our hands in a large tiled bathroom. I scrubbed hard remembering the bodies and the flies.

I asked him about Venaud. His description of Venaud was hesitant and cautious. I had the feeling the captain did not like the man but there was a certain respect in his voice when he spoke of him.

"He is married to a Vietnamese woman from a good Annamite family. She is quite sophisticated and spends most of her time in their Saigon home. They have a son studying medicine and a daughter in Saigon. She works for the Banque d'Indochine. A very beautiful girl."

"And his private army? Is that usual?"

The captain paused. He finished drying his hands and nodded. "Most of the plantations have guards. They must. But few are as effective as Venaud's."

I remembered the intensity of Venaud's eyes and his obvious professional pleasure at having killed the two Vietminh couriers. "Venaud seems quite . . ." I hesitated, trying to choose my words.

"Fanatic?" the captain prompted.

"Yes."

"He was not always like that. Some time ago, when he was off in Saigon, the Viet hit the house. They used a whole company. His guards did the best they could but it was a well-planned operation. Some of his Vietnamese workers opened the gates for the attackers. One of them threw a grenade into the guards' sleeping quarters. The grandmother, Venaud's mother-in-law, was the only member of the family here at the time. They took the old woman outside, called together the coolies and beat and humiliated her before them. Then they killed her slowly, forcing individual coolies forward to take a cut

(Continued on page 38)

Hell in Paradise

WRITTEN IN BLOOD—*The Story of the Haitian People 1492-1971*, by Robert Debs Heinl and Nancy Gordon Heinl. Houghton-Mifflin, \$21.95.

Haiti—all of us, whether we have been there or not, have striking images of it—hunger, cruelty, romance, violence, humor, sex, mystery, and voodoo.

Haiti, the first black republic, the daughter of Africa, the stepchild of France, the ward of the Marine Corps, hermit of the Western Hemisphere, how does one explain it? What is Haiti?

Colonel and Mrs. Heinl, who lived in Haiti from 1959 to 1963 (he was the commander of the United States Naval Mission), attempt to explain Haiti in 700 pages of detailed history. It is a fundamental work—but not the standard history. It suffers from two weaknesses. First, like so many European histories, it is too political and

too diplomatic. Only the last, fascinating chapter on voodoo deals with any part of the social system. Many other areas of Haitian life—the Creole language, the role of women, land use, art—are mentioned, but not discussed in the same depth as the role of an endless stream of diplomats and Haitian politicians.

The second weakness is a more serious one. The Heinls are biased in dealing with recent history. The Marines were always right; and Duvalier, whom we helped into power, was always wrong. Thus it is not possible to gain an objective assessment of the American occupation of Haiti (1915-1934) nor is it possible to understand the on-again, off-again American policy towards the Duvalier dictatorship. Nor do the Heinls speculate much on the systemic causes of the poverty and violence that have characterized Haiti—the role of the Church, foreign exploitation, the lack of rural organization, the estrangement of the intellectuals, the emphasis on security. Their framework is that of the Western

social-democratic value system, so it is not surprising that all of the comments on the book jacket are written by Americans and not Haitians.

Nevertheless this account of hell in paradise deserves to be read. Those of us who know Haiti will read it again and again, just as Haiti *chérie* has seduced us again and again.

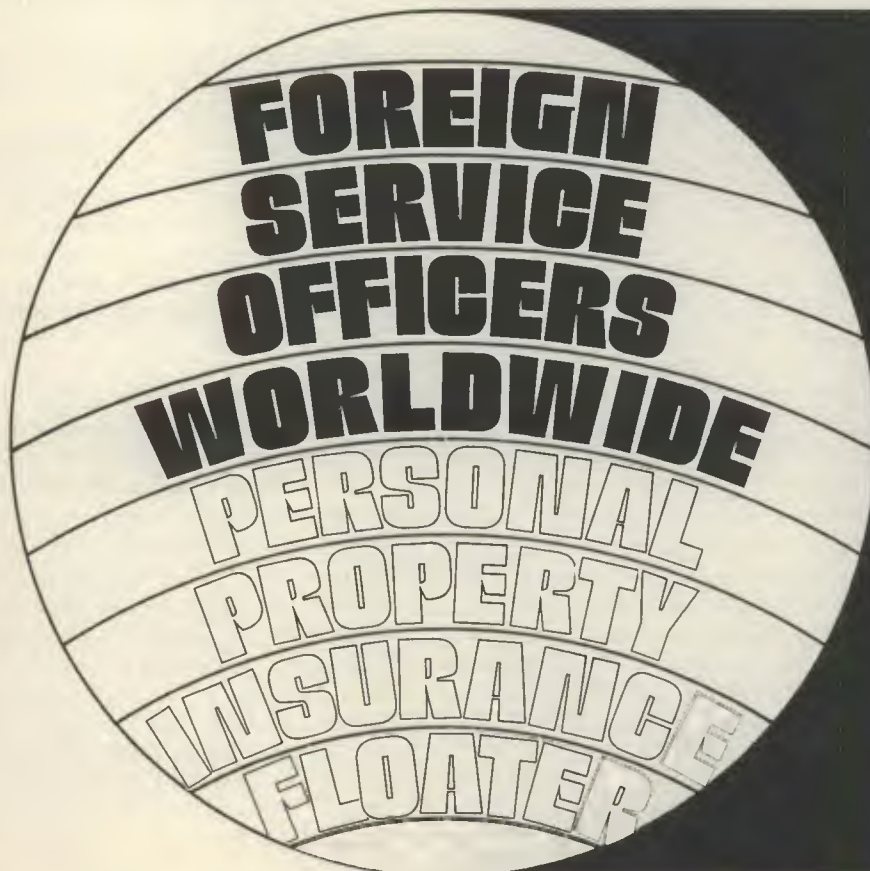
—CHARLES R. FOSTER

The Sensuous Kitchen

GUESS WHO'S IN THE KITCHEN? by Kathryn Welde. Introduction by Tom Wicker and illustrations by Vida Rouse. Doubleday, \$11.95.

Cooking and diplomacy are allied arts. Everyone recalls Talleyrand's advice to his ambassadors: "First hire a good chef." Breaking bread together is a fundamental ritual marking the passage of another person from stranger to friend. It is not unnatural therefore that this journal should review a cookbook, particularly one in which the author draws upon her service overseas.

But first, as they say in the



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House of Commons, I have to declare an interest. Two of my recipes are included in this new cookbook, and Kathryn Wellde who conceived and compiled it is a personal friend. More important, she is an excellent cook with an adventurous eye for foreign dishes. She lived in Jordan where her late husband George was deputy director of the AID program. She includes recipes for several of King Hussein's favorite Jordanian dishes such as Hummus al Tahibi (pureed chick-peas with sesame paste), Tabouleh (minced spring salad vegetables with cracked wheat), and Magloobeh (lamb, rice and eggplant dish). I was interested in reading these royal recipes because my wife learned to cook the same dishes from a Turkish friend in Washington, and they are among my favorites.

The answer to the question in the title is, in a word, men. Mrs. Wellde collected recipes as well as anecdotes and personal comments about food and cooking from present and former ambassadors, foreign as well as American, and

from members of Congress, journalists, and television personalities. President Carter contributes his wife's recipe for peanut soup. Needless to say, neither King Hussein nor President Carter does his own cooking. When their favorite recipes and those of a few other men in this book are included, they are styled "from the home of. . ." But a surprisingly large and, I suspect, growing number of men find relaxation in cooking and baking and enjoy trying new recipes and experimenting with old ones.

Few can write about their avocation as well as columnist Tom Wicker who contributes an amusing and spirited introduction. I will quote just one paragraph, chosen because the examples of the esthetic and sensuous appeal of cooking that he cites are ones that independently have often occurred to me: "Take a head of Boston lettuce apart, right down to its tiny yellow heart; such intricacies of fit, such repetitions of form, in so many dimensions, no architect or designer could duplicate. And an eggplant

gleaming darkly on the butcher block, the rich rising of bread in the oven, a homemade soup bubbling in the pot—these among other sensations of the kitchen can only be described as sensuous."

Mrs. Wellde has organized her book in the usual topical fashion with chapters on appetizers, soups, entrees, vegetables, eggs and cheese, salads, breads, sauces, desserts and beverages. She has tested the recipes in her own kitchen and appends occasional notes suggesting that a little more seasoning would help or that a particular dish involves so much work that the ingredients should be doubled to justify the labor.

It is a charming and useful book about which I have only one complaint. She observes of bread baking that "once you have perfected all the details, the preparation becomes mindless and routine." As a devoted Sunday afternoon baker, I protest. Baking like jogging is fascinating and offers spiritual rewards. "Mindless?" Never.

—WILLIAM V. SHANNON
Ambassador to Ireland

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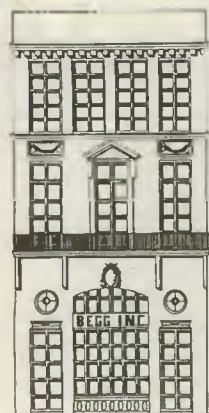
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Mme. Chiang bailed out, they were to be given faulty parachutes. But FDR never gave final authorization for this scheme.

President Truman was also disenchanted with Chiang and his regime and hangers-on. He said the Chiangs, the Kungs and the Soongs "were all thieves, every last one of them." But he and Secretary of State Marshall could not escape "the ideological and political fallout of the emerging cold war." *Force majeure*, the Truman administration continued to give economic and military aid to the doomed Chinese Nationalists. This was done to mollify the cries of Congressmen and "China Lobbyists" for more massive or direct American aid, including US combat troops. It was a sordid bargain to get Congressional appropriations for the Marshall Plan.

On November 26, 1948, Marshall told a Cabinet meeting: "The Nationalist Government is on its way out and there is nothing we can do to save it. We are faced with the question of clarifying it to the American people . . . or we can

play along with the existing government and keep facts from the American people and thereby not be accused later of playing into the hands of the Communists."

This book, based on a Ph.D. dissertation (University of Michigan, 1974), is thoroughly researched and despite its genesis, readable and interesting. It tells of colorful personalities, ill-starred policies, and the inexorable consequences of an inglorious interlude in Sino-American relations.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

Leisure over Goods

BRITAIN: A FUTURE THAT WORKS, by Bernard Nossiter. Houghton Mifflin, \$9.95.

Bernard Nossiter, the *Washington Post* correspondent in London, is a true believer in Great Britain and the British. With an assist from North Sea oil, Nossiter effectively answers those voices of gloom, including the voice of Peter Jay before he became Her Majesty's ambassador in Washington, who predicted the imminent economic collapse of Britain. Nossiter destroys

some of the myths about the effect of Labor governments in Britain. Income distribution has remained about the same since WWII, and welfare expenditures are no higher than in most of Western Europe.

Nossiter acknowledges that British productivity is low. Business management does not get the cream of the Oxbridge crop and British workers are not as hard working as those in Western Europe. Nossiter, undaunted in his Anglophilism, then concludes that low productivity reflects a British preference for leisure over goods even though he also notes that when Prime Minister Edward Heath shortened the work week for a time from five to three days, British output remained about the same. The British proved to be as avaricious as everybody else. Productivity and leisure both went up as one might expect. Yet Nossiter nonetheless attributes a kind of selective creativity to the British—very good in the arts, no longer so good at producing things—a model for the post-industrial world.

—DAVID LINEBAUGH

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Elegant and Provocative

THE GERMAN PROBLEM RECONSIDERED: *Germany and the World Order 1870 to the Present*, by David Calleo. Cambridge Univ. Press, \$12.

Werner Steltzer, whose family was active in the German resistance and who is a friend of Nobel prize winning author Heinrich Böll, once said that the German problem ought not to be reconsidered until there are no more survivors of the Hitler generation. He maintains that his generation is unable to face the past and that, as Böll has so vividly sketched in his novels, this generation has escaped into materialism and economic success.

David Calleo, however, does reconsider German history although he treats only superficially internal German politics. His thesis is that Germany's history of aggression should primarily be regarded within the context of the evolution of the European nation states. This is a major flaw of the book. If there is historical continuity in German politics, a basic premise of Calleo's book, then it lies in the internal political and social structure. The

failed revolution of 1848 and the outlawing of the social democratic party in 1878 were the contributing factors in the German bourgeoisie's lack of trust in democratic institutions and in its fear of the left. Even today these residues surface in the polarization of parliamentary debates. Yet at the same time there are breaks in the continuity of German history. The experience with Nazism, the 1945 collapse, and the experience with Communism next door has created a new situation. Moreover, the modernization of German society, the American and European influences, the new social and economic mobility has created an atmosphere in which the older ideological discussions which figure so prominently in David Calleo's elegant book have lost much of their relevance. For better or for worse the German problems today are the same problems the rest of the industrialized countries of Europe face.

Yet Germany continues to fascinate. The origin of the holocaust, the World War I guilt question, in-

flation and reparations, Bismarck's diplomacy, the Ostpolitik, these are all questions which, in a moral and political way, have affected all of us in the 20th century. They are reviewed by Calleo in a provocative manner. Even if Germany is no longer a major flash-point we can agree with Calleo that it is not only the Germans who should study the German problem but all of us for whom politics is central.

—CHARLES R. FOSTER

Arab Behavior

RHETORIC AND REALITY: *The Arab Mind Considered*, by John Laffin. Tappinger, (paper), \$4.95.

The cover of this book entices us with "Why the Arabs behave the way they do." This is a popularized attempt to deal with the question, but it is very readable and offers something both for those new to the area and for old hands. The attempt to deal with the subject in less than 200 pages insures a high degree of generalization which inevitably will provoke those with considerable Arab World experience to take issue with many of the

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writers' statements. The breadth results in a few errors of fact. On the other hand, Laffin provides a quick and easily digestible survey of some of the major areas in which Arab cultural attitudes differ from American or European, and provides some amusing and interesting illustrations of his own. All should find the book enjoyable and stimulating. It might best be regarded as an appetizer to be taken before the more rigorous *Temperament and Character of the Arabs* by Sania Hamady or Raphael Patai's *The Arab Mind*. Unlike the latter two, which at times are scathing in their indictment of Arab failings, Laffin is less detailed, therefore less harsh. He obviously likes the people he is trying to explain to us. The book shares one failing common, so far, to this *genre* in that Egypt and the Fertile Crescent provide most of the examples of contemporary Arab behavior, with examples lacking from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf, where wealth and the physical and cultural mobility it confers may be subjecting Arab values to

the greatest pressures for change ever.

This book has been published twice before, in 1975, under different titles: in the UK as *The Arab Mind* and in the US in hardcover as *The Arab Mind Considered: the Need for Understanding*. It's worth reading, but not worth buying three times. Be careful.

—CHARLES O. CECIL

Berlin Airlift

BRIDGE ACROSS THE SKY by
Richard Collier, McGraw Hill

Once more, the saga of the Berlin Airlift. The story is so familiar that it is sometimes difficult to realize it has been 30 years since we rallied to the task of saving two and a half million Berliners from our erstwhile Soviet allies. For those too young to remember, Collier's book is an exciting account of how determination and organizational genius defeated what initially looked like a sure-fire scheme to drive us out of Berlin.

The author skillfully, albeit

somewhat journalistically, dramatizes the confusion, difficulties, the crises and heroism inherent in the feat of supplying a besieged city totally by air. The genius of General Tunner, General Clay's determination, Colonel (later General) Howley's public relations knack are all there, as are the vital contributions of dozens of other less well-known actors in the drama. But most impressive of all, perhaps, is still President Truman's uncomplicated courage in overruling the cautious advice of his staff, and Ernest Bevin's simple doggedness that makes for nostalgia these days when the choices are no longer so clear cut.

The author, unfortunately, amassed more material than he could properly sort out. There are a number of unnecessary factual mistakes which will tend to jar those who were on the scene. Strangely, Collier also fails to follow up on the crucial effects of an episode he describes most vividly, the mass rally at the Reichstag building September 9, 1948. He effectively portrays the emotion and drama of the occasion and Mayor-elect Reuter's

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rousing "Telling The World The Berliners Will Stand Firm" speech. But he fails to mention that the crowd also presented a "we will hold out" petition to the western military governors who were just then meeting with their Soviet counterpart, under instructions to find a "solution" to the Berlin crisis. The loud and clear message of those 300,000 people convinced the military governors that any "solution" that smacked of even partial cave-in to Soviet demands was impossible—and marked the beginning of the alliance between the Berliners and the West.

Nevertheless, despite its flaws, *Bridge Across the Sky* is the rousing picture of the days when we were right. The exhilaration, camaraderie, the just plain satisfaction of having worked like the devil to bring off a dramatic and decisive operation—it all becomes alive again.

Yes, children, that was one we won.

—KARL F. MAUTNER

Stagflation Explained

GETTING FROM HERE TO THERE, by W.W. Rostow. McGraw-Hill, \$14.95.

Walt Rostow has an explanation for our present stagflation: we are at the beginning of the "fifth Kondratieff upswing," marked by a dramatic increase in raw material prices and promising a long period of inflation. Kondratieff, Rostow tells us, was a Russian economist who, in 1926, thought he had discovered the existence of long waves of economic activity lasting from 40 to 60 years. Rostow systematically analyzes our current economic problems and says he wants vigorous and creative remedies. But will he get us from here to there? To solve our acute energy problem, "the price system can be used to a substantial degree," avoiding the dangers of rationing and direct controls. To bring inflation under control, Rostow advocates a voluntary wage-price agreement. Rostow is less than convincing: Kondratieff seems to have the upper hand.

—DAVID LINEBAUGH

Pursuit of India

*We're chasing you, Sun,
Towards our Western touchdown.
But my goal is tailward,
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With its solid rivers:
Its eerie manless moonscape.
Don't flash your silver-gold smile
Off those jet-pads, Sun.
That won't make a new friend
Or liven stony lips or dreaming eyes.
I know I won't catch you, Sun.
Wish I could continue the race
Beyond duty to comfort and love.
Goodbye Sun!
Hello Boston and all you customs
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What's the duty, please,
On a heavy heart?*

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TAKING A WALK

from page 11

"We can keep the city in sight, and just go straight toward it."

"If only there are no more of those high fences."

But there were. We were blocked by one made of stout wire, high enough to keep deer from jumping over.

As we stood looking at the fence in dismay one of the park guards came along on his way home. Shirley explained our predicament, and asked if there was any way through.

"Is there any place where we could get a taxi?" I asked, and Shirley translated.

"I can take you to the main road. Follow me."


He knew a rough path through the fields and woods, and we followed closely. He jumped over a brook, and turned to give me a hand. Shirley leaped over. Robbie, tired from her afternoon of romping, panted along beside us.

It was dark when we reached the main road. Car headlights blinded us. We stood by the roadside, hoping to see a taxi headed toward Ankara. At last one swished by, then at our frantic gestures, backed up. Robbie was the first to enter, then we got in, stamping off our muddy overshoes.

"We'll get your car all dirty," Shirley apologized in Turkish.

"*Istafalah!*" (Think nothing of it.)

When we reached home my family said, "Where have you been?"

I answered, "Just taking Robbie for a walk." 



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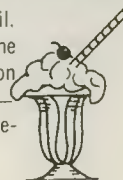
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A STRANGE WAR
from page 29

at her with their coup-coups. Finally, after she had died, they cut off her head. They made a slight mound in the driveway and put her head on top of it, as if she were buried up to the neck. When Venaud drove in and leapt out of his jeep to help, he touched the old lady's head and it rolled off the mound into the dust. He's never forgotten that. He spends more time ambushing Vietminh now than he does worrying about plantation production."

We ate at a long, linen-covered table set with fine china, silver and crystal. Venaud was an attentive host, seeing that each of us received second helpings and insuring that our wine glasses were never empty. Halfway through the meal, as the barefooted servant was passing the coq au vin for the second time, I realized that Venaud had not yet spoken to me directly. I took a sip of the excellent Côte Roti after another servant had filled my glass and decided to ask Venaud a question.

"Do you feel the Vietminh exert much influence on your workers?"

Venaud looked up from his plate as if he were seeing me for the first time. "Yes," he replied, "they do." And he went back to his eating without further comment.

The hell with the son of a bitch, I said to myself and decided to limit my conversation to Captain Duroc and Lieutenant Cervionne.


We finished the luncheon with Rémy Martin, coffee and Havana cigars. Lieutenant Cervionne told me of the troubles he had with the ancient British armored cars. Not only did the turrets jam but they were so heavy they had a tendency to overbalance the vehicle on inclines and dump the car on its side. This was both dangerous and embarrassing to the proud dragoons and they prayed for the day that they might receive some of the light American armored cars already received by the Spahi units in Tonkin.

We left at three p.m. The captain wanted to allow me ample time to reach Saigon before the curfew went into effect on the roads. We

said goodbye in the front driveway and I remembered Venaud's mother-in-law, automatically envisaging the circumstances of his return.

"Here are their papers. They'll be buried in unmarked graves," Venaud was telling the captain. "My Cambodians will do it so that the coolies won't be able to locate them."

Once again the hard handshake. Then he was speaking to me in a low tone so the others would not overhear. "Monsieur Baker, you may find me rude as a host," he said, his eyes fixing mine with hostility. "It is simply that I detest Americans." He stepped back as if nothing had happened, waved goodbye and the captain drove us out of the gate and onto the road.

That evening in Saigon as I ate foie gras at La Bodega, I saw Captain Duroc several tables away with a stunning Army nurse. He was resplendent in a well-cut tropical uniform with scarlet shoulder boards and gold rank insignia. It was indeed a strange war. 

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SCARING THE HELL OUT OF EVERYBODY

from page 17

General Eisenhower being interrogated by Red Army soldiers, asking what the reactions of Americans might have been if they had seen such a picture in *Ogonyok*. It is doubtful that Soviet readers held Stalin's son in the same esteem as Americans held Eisenhower in 1951, so the parallel was somewhat strained.)

In a lengthy and brilliantly written editorial in the same magazine, Gilles Martinet remarked, first, on what he saw as a trivialization of the sufferings of a Third World War by *Collier's*, noting the phrase about Americans having greeted its outbreak with something like a feeling of relief. "I doubt," wrote Martinet, "that there are many people on this continent who would derive a sense of 'relief' from the idea that a 'period of waiting' was finally over."

"Let it not be said," commented Martinet, "that the anticipations of *Collier's* stem from an imagination

gone mad. People don't invent just anything, they don't imagine just anything. When people begin to dream aloud, they express frustrated desires and unacknowledged fears which come to the surface in spite of themselves. . . . In telling us about their dreams, the twenty-three Americans who collaborated on this special issue of *Collier's* have rendered a great service to the people of our continent. Those who had forgotten that a chasm separates the American from the European mentality are suddenly made aware that that chasm has grown even larger during these last years.

"Those who saw only the power of the United States tended to overlook its weaknesses. And those who had confidence in American peaceful intentions now find an irrepressible desire to shout to those sleep-walkers that it is time to wake up and to renounce their terrible dreams."

Confronted with the shambles that had been created by their exercise in futurology, what was the reaction of the contributors to

the *Collier's* issue? Only seven appear to have responded to an invitation by *The Nation* to comment, but they included some of the most important among them. The most unrepentant was Lowell Thomas who said he thought the purpose of *Collier's*, i.e., to warn against the devastation of a nuclear war, was to "conduct a propaganda for peace," and concluded: "I pretend to be no expert on such matters as propaganda but think *Collier's* fairly carried out the general idea they gave me." Senator Margaret Chase Smith was quoted as replying with only one sentence, and if that was all she had written to *The Nation* she was certainly also unrepentant: "I wrote the article for *Collier's* as I felt it might contribute to discouraging Russia from starting a third world war."

The others, however, showed varying degrees of doubt about how the exercise had been executed.

Robert Sherwood pointed out, first, that when he had written his fictional account of World War III he had consulted neither directly

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nor indirectly with any "high-level Washington officials—nor, I might add, with any low-level Washington officials. . . Nor did *Collier's* editors ever tell me that they had consulted high-level officials or that I was directed or urged to take any particular line in the article." He reported about how he had attended one editorial meeting with some of the other prestigious contributors, and then concluded:

In answer to the question why did I do this, I can only reply that in 1935 I wrote a play called "Idiot's Delight" about the outbreak of the Second World War. I hoped that this play might help to inform some people that such a catastrophe was possible, and perhaps impel them to take measures to prevent it. When there is a widespread drift toward war, it seems to me advisable to call attention to it and its dreadful implications.

Walter P. Reuther, the prominent labor leader, recalled that he had been reluctant at first to do the article and had raised questions about the tone and effect of the whole issue. "These questions were answered satisfactorily, both by the precis of the editorial and by

the editor to whom I talked. I still believe that the aims and approach stated in the editorial are sound ones, particularly the emphasis on the point that war is not inevitable and its firm opposition to preventive war." But then he went on:

However, I must say in all honesty that the issue did not do what I expected it to do, and I am forced to agree with many of the criticisms brought against it. . . The failure of *Collier's* to achieve what I believe would have been a worthy purpose was due in part to the tone and content of some of the articles and in great measure to the terrifying and horrible scenes depicted in the art work accompanying the articles. . . I believe the editors of *Collier's* had the best of intentions, and certainly it was my intention to contribute to the cause of world peace by participating in this special issue. I believe, however, that the issue fails of that objective and I sincerely regret that it does.

Edwin D. Canham, the editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*, wrote: "If the total issue has conveyed to readers either the idea of the inevitability of a third world war or that victory would be easy, I strongly dissent. But I took seri-

ously the assurance of *Collier's* editors that they do not believe war is inevitable and that they hope this issue will contribute to prevent it. Naturally I do not agree with all the techniques or viewpoints expressed in the issue. . ."

Most curious was the response from Stuart Chase, the economist-publicist. He said the purpose of the *Collier's* issue had been to "spike the guns of the preventive-war faction in Washington, and to suggest how a wedge could be driven between the Russian people and their masters in the Kremlin. . . Whether the venture produced the effect that the editors and contributors hoped for is another question. Some say yes, other say no. It is too early to tell about that, for *Collier's* was not talking to the intellectuals or the liberals, but to the people."

As if the trivialization of the horrors of a nuclear war, and the prediction that it would end happily for all survivors, was somehow less irresponsible when directed to "the people" than when addressed to intellectuals.



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LETTERS TO FSJ

A Fine Memorial . . .

 As one of the many who were lucky enough to be Spike Dubs's friends, I would like to add a word to all that has been said in praise of him.


The president, the secretary and many other prominent Americans praised Spike's heroism in giving his life while serving abroad. All of us in the Service take special pride in that heroism, and in being colleagues of Spike's.

We will remember, however, not only Spike's heroism, but the qualities that made him unique over a long career: his loyalty to subordinates, his unfailing benevolence, his maintaining a good heart against all odds. Those of us who worked for him are particularly, and lastingly, grateful. He showed that it was possible to remain a good man, in a hard calling, while getting the job done. When tempted towards cynicism, or compromise, or despair, Foreign Service people can remember Spike's example, and take heart. That is a fine memorial to leave.

JACK PERRY


Washington

A Special Sense of Loss

 Those of us who worked with "Spike" Dubs over the years in Soviet affairs feel a special sense of loss. In a business where tension and frustration are a way of life, his even temper and steady hand made him a model to follow. The greatest irony is that this warm man who had no enemies should have fallen victim to an act of violence. We will remember him for his professional ability, his loyalty and most of all for his friendship. To us, Spike was a "nice guy" who finished first.

THE STAFF OF THE OFFICE
OF SOVIET UNION AFFAIRS

"The Girl From Ipanema"

 I wish to compliment the *Journal* for publishing Libbie Mathes's perceptive and well-written article, "The Girl from Ipanema," in its February issue. She painted a vivid word picture of the shocking gap between the lovely travel poster image of Brazil and the economic and social

realities of the country.

Ms. Mathes's observations about Brazil also apply to most other Latin American nations. In fact, Brazil is relatively better off than the vast majority of its neighbors. I've seen the girl from Ipanema (or her sisters) on the beaches of Venezuela, Mexico and Colombia, where the gap between the life style she represents and the standard of living of the mass of the population is equally abysmal.

Too many Americans, including a surprising number of Foreign Service officers, see only the girl from Ipanema, or Acapulco, or Cartagena. As Ms. Mathes points out, however, ". . . the girls have almost nothing in common with the larger (Latin American) reality, and most visitors don't have the interest to discover this truth."


While there's nothing wrong with enjoying beaches or admiring pretty girls, Foreign Service officers can guard against becoming blinded by the tropical sun by submitting honest, accurate reports to Washington. For despite the overblown rhetoric of the Alliance for Progress and occasionally optimistic interpretations of GNP and per capita income statistics, the modern reality of Latin America is cruel and depressing—a reality that all the travel posters in the western hemisphere can't paper over.

I admire Libbie Mathes for writing such a penetrating article, and the *Journal* for publishing it, when yet another US administration is re-discovering Latin America for the umpteenth time. Mercifully, however, this administration has avoided catchy slogans and empty promises so far in its dealings with Latin America.

GUY W. FARMER

Alexandria, Va.

The Sycophantic Sweeps


 In the February *Journal*, "No Press Agency," by Martin Herz (letters to *FSJ*) implicitly gave worldly-wise, tasteful counsel: Let subordinates hold their eulogies, encomia, panegyrics and other adulatory tributes to their current superiors until the latter are gone—if not to the Great Beyond, at least, to pasture.

Lack of such restraint might well not only overcrowd the open-to-all columns of our favorite journal but might also, however wrongly, call

forth innuendoes of "bucking" for a promotion, insinuations of poor taste ("It's not done")—even cynical comments from possibly, but not necessarily, out-distanced competitors in the sycophantic sweepstakes.

ROBERT WATLAND RINDEN
Oskaloosa, Iowa

An Orchid for the Journal


 Permit me to thank and congratulate you for the outstanding issue of January 1979. I wish the book essay by S. I. Nadler could be brought to the widest possible audience. Perhaps through reprints in other publications.

Ray Thurston's piece reflected his mellowness, and I enjoyed it, but particularly liked the quote which appears at the top from Johann Lavater.

EDWARD E. RICE

Tiburon, California

A Skunk Cabbage to FSJ

 As an outsider I am continually struck by the lapses into insensitivity displayed by so many professional Foreign Service officers in your journal's pages. The most recent—and one of the more egregious—examples is Karl F. Mautner's gratuitous reference to "the Ellsberg generation" in a review of *Treason Was No Crime*.

In a review whose principal purpose seems to be to extoll the fortitude of men like Ludwick Beck—however lately arrived at—Mautner's smear of an entire generation of Americans caught up in the tragedy of the Vietnam war is grossly unwarranted. Does Mautner need reminding that that generation numbered among its members both those who honorably supported the war and those who opposed it just as honorably? In addition there were those who, like Ellsberg, first supported our intervention and only subsequently came to oppose it. The latter circumstances strongly echo those of Ludwick Beck for whom Mautner has so much admiration. Why so? Is Mautner equally privy to the consciences of such disparate characters as he implies? Or are his merely the confused preferences of an old State Department soldier who can no longer think—or feel.

JOHN J. RUMBARGER

Editor, *Prologue*

Washington

AID—UNIFIED PERSONNEL SYSTEM (UPS)

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.

In mid-February AID sent to the OMB a proposal to incorporate into the Code of Federal Regulations a Chapter which would give the Administrator of AID the legal authorities sought to implement the UPS. After a delay, management made the proposed regulations available to AFSA. A number of its provisions are disappointing and/or unacceptable to AFSA. Therefore, the AID Standing Committee prepared five pages of section by section comments on the proposal which were sent by letter from AFSA's President to the Director of the OMB on March 8th.

Here is a summary of AFSA comments:

- AID/W clerical and non-policy support personnel should remain GS employees.
- Personnel with less than 15 years of USG service who are assigned to IDO positions should have two years to accept IDO status and obligations or be involuntarily separated.
- AD authority should be discontinued (the proposal would allow for the continuation of the currently authorized 110 AD positions), since the Administrator could appoint five percent of the Senior Foreign Service from outside career ranks.
- Time-limited appointments should not exceed five years and be non-renewable.
- Reconversion of IDOs to GS (or IDR) status should not be permitted.
- AID should have commissioned Development Officers.
- All foreign affairs personnel should have uniform benefits.
- All foreign affairs agencies should have personnel systems that, if not identical, are at least compatible.
- Some of the broad sweeping authorities requested by the Administrator should be deleted as they are subject to abuse.
- Various technical comments on labor relations provisions e.g., integrity of E.O. 11636 and appeal rights.

The day our letter went to the OMB (with copies to the various congressional committees with which we are maintaining contact), we heard that the OMB had killed the UPS, a position supported by the Under Secretary of State for Management in a letter of February 26th to the OMB (unfortunately the compatibility of personnel systems that the Department seeks would not necessarily cure AID's major personnel system ills, such as the bifurcated personnel system in AID/W). However, subsequently, after Messrs. Zablocki and Obey had weighed in, the OMB decided that a UPS proposal would have to be sent to the Congress on March 15th as required by law. We have been told by the OMB that our letter was timely and was receiving consideration as the administration hammers out its final UPS proposal.

If we don't get a fully acceptable product, and there is much reason to believe that we won't, AFSA intends to continue the fight on the Hill.

PERFORMANCE EVALUATION REPORTS

Spring is fast approaching and with it many chores at home and in the office. Among the more important chores in the office is the task of preparing annual performance evaluation reports. This effort is important to the subject employee (ratee) but is equally important to supervisors (rating and review officers) as a unique opportunity to help improve office efficiency. It should therefore be obvious to all concerned that the process of completing these reports has to be completed with care, accuracy and thoroughness. This naturally requires time and effort and should involve frank and constructive interchanges between and among the ratee, rater and review officer.

When getting ready to prepare performance evaluation reports, the rating and review officers as well as the employee concerned should review the various guidelines provided. In addition to carefully reading the accompanying instruction sheets, it is helpful to read the precepts given to the most recent Selection Boards which rank order employees for promotion purposes. These precepts provide important information identifying what Selection Boards consider to be important when deciding which employees should be recommended for promotion.

Drafters of performance reports naturally understand that the document is the basis for competing for promotions. Keep in mind that the reports are also used as basic tools when determining assignments, including the approving of training opportunities.

Should an employee disagree with or object to what the rater or review officer places in a performance report, he or she has several options. First and most obvious the employee should seek an interview with the rater or review officer to explain why the remark, comment or evaluation is objectionable.

Most problems can be resolved in this manner. If no satisfactory resolution can be reached, the employee has the further option of making a rebuttal which becomes part of the report. Such a rebuttal can be made immediately to be an integral part of the report when it clears through the regular completion process at post and eventually is submitted in the performance file. Alternatively, the rebuttal can usually be made at a subsequent time when the employee submits the rebuttal directly to performance files following established procedures.

If an employee is considering the submission of a rebuttal, it is advisable to keep the rebuttal short (no three-pager), adopt a positive, constructive tone, and be sure to write a clear explanation of why the statement or statements are inaccurate, incomplete or falsely prejudicial.

However, any employee who submits a rebuttal should keep in mind that once the rebuttal is included in the performance file, it may be difficult if not impossible at a later date either to effect the removal of the rebuttal or to amend it.

In case an employee is confronted with the submission of an objectionable performance report and cannot persuade the rating or review officers to amend it, the employee has the further option of instituting a grievance against the report after its submission. This can be accomplished by following the instructions presented in 3 FAM 660. Further guidance is available in the "AFSA Grievance Checklist" memorandum which is available as appendix in the AFSA Manual distributed to all AFSA Chapters at overseas posts and to AFSA Keypersons in Washington. Copies of the Grievance checklist can also be obtained from the AFSA offices in Room 3644, New State.

VANCE V. BRADLEY Decision (Mandatory Retirement)

The US Supreme Court issued a decision with an 8-1 majority February 22, 1979 reversing the June 28, 1977 District Court decision ruling unconstitutional section 632 of the Foreign Service Act which provides for mandatory retirement at age 60 for participants in the F.S. retirement system.

The lower court in holding that mandatory retirement at age 60 was discriminatory did so on a broad and sweeping basis in which the distinction between the Foreign Service and the Civil Service was all but eradicated. AFSA felt then and continues to feel now that such a decision could only serve to exacerbate problems of the Foreign Service and could result in the dissolution of the Foreign Service as we now know it, for example the loss of such benefits as early retirement at age 50 with 20 years or service and our pensions from overseas service.

After seeking the views of the AFSA membership, AFSA had urged the Secretary to recommend an appeal of the Bradley decision by the District Court and we urged the Solicitor General to take the appeal to the Supreme Court. AFSA also filed a brief *amicus curiae* with the Supreme Court on behalf of the Government (see *January Journal*) and we are very pleased to find that AFSA's arguments were reflected in the Court's decision.

In its decision, the Supreme Court ruled that the proper standard of law

for determining whether a statute denied equal protection of law was whether Congress had a legitimate purpose in making the distinction and chose a rational means of meeting its purpose. The Court said "we will not overturn such a statute unless the varying treatment of different groups of persons is so unrelated to the achievement of any combination of legitimate purposes that we can only conclude that the legislature's actions were irrational." The Court then examined the Congressional purposes in the establishment of a separate retirement age for the Foreign Service and recognized two articulated purposes: the need for a correctly balanced Foreign Service which provides incentives for superior performance by offering opportunities to compete for advancement, and the need to minimize the risk of less than superior performance by reason of poor health or loss of vitality. The Court found that these purposes were articulated by Congress and was unwilling to say the purposes were illegitimate or the means were irrational. The Court, therefore, declined to substitute its judgment for that of the legislature and held the statute did not unconstitutionally deny the equal protection of law.

It is understood that efforts are now being initiated in Congress to amend the Foreign Service Act so as to remove any mandatory retirement for reasons of age.

SALE OF PERSONAL PROPERTY

The United States District Court, Southern District of New York, recently upheld again the authority of the foreign affairs agencies to impose restrictions on employees selling personal property abroad at prices producing profits which resulted primarily from import privileges derived from their official status as employees of the United States government.

As provided in Foreign Affairs Manual #378 of February 1, 1966, sales of personal property by Foreign Service employees abroad can be made at a profit but in no event may the profits be retained by the employee. In an earlier case, a group of employees had brought suit challenging the authority of an embassy to impose such restrictions. In that case, the court decided in 1970 that the sale of personal property was a privilege, not a right, and that the embassy could establish procedures whereby all personal property, principally automobiles, would be sold through an embassy-controlled foundation. When turning property over to the foundation, the employee could designate a charitable organization to which all excess proceeds would be donated. In the case at hand, the employees did not designate a charitable recipient and

the employees claimed that as the conditions of the sale had failed the bank holding the proceeds should return the money to them.

The Court repeated its decision in *Artwohl v. Chase Manhattan Bank* that the United States has the right to require a personal car be brought back to the United States. The court also recognized that the arrangements for the sale of a car in the host country were favorable to the employees. If the employee had imported a new car and used it for two years he could recover the entire new-car purchase price whereas the same car if resold in the United States would have suffered substantial depreciation. The seller's interest in the transaction terminated upon the receipt of the formula price for which the employee bargained. Consequently the seller relinquished any right or claim to any excess proceeds over the generous formula price received and had no claim against the funds being held by the bank. In its order issued October 16, 1978, the court ordered that the bank return control of the fund to the embassy's foundation and ordered the foundation to designate charitable recipients to which the proceeds would be given.

STATE STANDING COMMITTEE

February was an extremely busy month and March promises to be equally so. The major item was, of course, the proposal to restructure the Foreign Service. By now, all active employees should have had the opportunity to read Management's proposal and AFSA's preliminary comments. Chapter responses thus far have been very supportive of our position and have provided us with much food for thought as well. We shall make every effort to keep you as fully informed as possible throughout the discussion and, if it should be required, negotiation stages. Quite frankly, we would much prefer to have Management put their proposal away and start anew in consultation with us than to have to negotiate a package with so few redeeming qualities.

We have also been evaluating a proposal to change (not again) the ubiquitous Office Evaluation Report form (OER). The management concept for a new style performance evaluation form is derived from studies done by an outside consultant and, while not acceptable in its present format, does offer some interesting avenues for consideration. We will have more information on this matter as events develop.

Continuing to work on ways to improve Foreign Service recruitment procedures, we are looking at a concept involving "assessment centers" to be used in place of the "oral" exam given to officer candidates. It looks good and may provide the seeds from which a true senior threshold assessment could blossom.

We would end with an urgent note: AFSA as an organization can never be better than member support allows. We need your comments and criticisms on all issues and would ask you to make clear to non-members the value to the Foreign Service of having a representative to stand before Management as an equal. The need has never been greater nor more clear. If anyone doubts this, let them look at the restructure proposal.

We were most pleased to announce in the March issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* a new agreement with State Management for excursion tours. Appropriate notices of the new procedures were circulated in late January. To our surprise, Management issued in February a further notice on excursions which appeared to be an attempt to unilaterally amend the AFSA/State agreement so as to allow Civil Service employees to compete for excursion tours in the Foreign Service and to limit the eligibility of domestic Foreign Service employees. We have strongly protested this action by Management and as we go to press expect the February notice to be withdrawn.

RESTRUCTURING THE FOREIGN SERVICE

On February 9, 1979, the Department of State circulated throughout the Foreign Service in Washington and abroad an 18-page paper entitled the "Proposed Foreign Service Act" setting forth Management's proposal for restructuring the Foreign Service. A few days later AFSA similarly circulated its initial reactions to management's proposals as a means to stimulate debate and provide analysis, comments and criticism to the proposed restructuring. We have received and will continue to welcome the views of all AFSA members and Foreign Service employees on these proposals. Negotiations with management are continuing. For those who may not have seen AFSA's initial reactions, a summary follows:

Should the house be burned down to solve the problems that might be remedied by other means—including those available today in the Foreign Service Act? Should we not be cautious before accepting an almost total rewrite of the Foreign Service Act as appears to be recommended by management? We believe that some of the problems could be addressed by available remedies. Further, there are two ways to improve the Foreign Service Act: section by section revision or a total revision. Each year a number of alterations, usually improvements, are enacted through amendments to the Act. As new issues arise and time and circumstances change, so must changes in the Act occur, but carefully.

What are the problems?

- **Overload at the Senior Ranks:** Following the US District Court decision (*Bradley v. Vance*) mandatory retirement at age 60 was suspended which contributed to an overload at the senior ranks. While the Supreme Court has now reversed the lower court's decision, we expect that legislation is likely to be introduced to alter the mandatory retirement age. This may involve a new mandatory age such as 65.
- **Multiple "time-in-class" at Classes 2 and 1:** In September 1976, Management unilaterally changed the multi-time in class for FSO-2s and 1s to 22 years for Class 1 officers, including the time spent in Class 2 which cannot exceed 10 years. Section 633 of the Act states that the Secretary shall prescribe regulations concerning the maximum period during which any FSO (other than CMs) shall be per-

mitted to remain in class without promotion, and those not being so promoted shall be retired. That section does not mention time in multi-class. Management could readily revise current guidelines to provide for separate "TIC" for 2s and 1s.

- Another example of Management tools which have grown rusty with disuse: section 519 of the act, which provides for retirement for returning chiefs of mission who do not have such employment available within a fixed time. Management has preferred to create corridor-walkers, rather than thin the ranks.

As for the "major elements" in Management's proposal, we heartily agree that the Foreign Service personnel system should be open only to persons who are ready, able and needed to serve overseas. This is the heart of the matter—a unified personnel service is needed. In fact, to the extent that similar improvements can be designed for AID and ICA, the better for all. Our main problems are in these categories:

A. The disposition of current CMs, O-1s, O-2s—not wishing to be in Senior Foreign Service. Would they be converted to top-level GS jobs and block positions for proper Washington rotation of those senior officers who choose to be in the SFS?

B. AFSA is on record as supporting a senior threshold that has clear meaning, so that rational decisions can be made by the 3 to 2 Selection Board and all personnel, rated and rating. Know the standards by which candidates will be measured. (This should have nothing to do with the number of persons selected—but, of those vacancy opportunities that would be available, the standard of selecting the best persons in the competing pool, such as at the Junior Threshold).

C. AFSA has grave reservations concerning a closed window from 3 to 2, whatever such ranks might be labeled in the future. We reject any cutoff of opportunity for consideration for promotion on the basis of time-in-grade. "TIC" for termination is rational and authorized by section 633, but not "TIC" for promotion consideration. Supply and demand change and individuals and performances change, especially as seen by different supervisors, under changing conditions. What does one do with an officer who is discontinued for further consideration for promotion? What should his relationship be with his fellow workers, subordinates, and seniors? Would he or she be respected? Would his or her

work be discounted? Would not real productivity and performance decline as a result of being cast into such limbo? The time between cutoff and "TIC" could be 9 years.

D. We can support a single FS pay schedule, but also see the end of this cable concerning Staff Corps employees, provided that an additional FSO grade is not created, and the current FSO-3 grade is not split on any basis.

As to details in the Management proposal:

1. **Foreign Service Careers Up To Senior Threshold Categories:**
 - We reserve comment pending further information as to proposed methods of implementation. We are hoping for thoughtful reactions from senior officers.
2. **Grade Structure:** The single pay theme makes sense to us insofar as it eliminates the multiplicity of existing pay plans. We do not need FSO, FSR, FSRL, FSRU, FAS, FSS to operate. However, we have grave reservations about realignment with the Civil Service rank by rank in a manner that would split officer class three and make a shambles of Staff Corps grades.
3. **Splitting at Class 3:** We reject splitting of class 3 on any basis. All options for splitting class 3 are unacceptable. It cannot be on the basis of seniority. Some O-3's in step 1 or 2 you have known might seem to be more useful than some with longer time in grade. An option for a separate Selection Board would require the wisdom of Solomon, and those O-3s placed in FSO-2 by the boards would be in a very difficult position when later being considered for any advancement. They would be under a cloud—damaged goods—having been found wanting. Demoting everyone is senseless and requires an additional and unnecessary hurdle, pay issues aside.
4. **Pay Levels:** We support the establishment of ten steps for every Foreign Service grade. The review of pay comparability referred to is required by section 413 of the Foreign Relations Act FY79; and was drafted and initiated by AFSA. The study is now underway, and AFSA is participating and contributing to reduce the risk that it might be given a "tilt." The report is to be submitted directly to Congress. Thereafter, OMB and perhaps OPM (CSC) may care to comment, but cannot censor the original report: We propose FSO-3 step one to be no less than GS-15; step 1, with corresponding links thereafter; i.e., FSO-4, step 1, GS-14, step 1.

5. Tenure: The Tenure Board, in reviewing properly available documented performance material, work requirements statement, rating and reviewing officers' statement, plus rated officer statement, and other safeguarded material, should not have available any special additional "recommendations" from "supervisors" (other than in the proper rating form) or "Management." Such could lead to the destruction of the integrity of the board's independence. Management controls membership on boards, and must not guide their decisions.

6. Selection Out:

• Substandard Performance: Selection Boards should, as at present, continue to identify those in low ranges to performance standards boards for consideration for selection out under separate precepts. The standards for promotion and termination must remain separate and distinct.

• Time-in-Class rules should be referred to AFSA for consultation.

7. Performance Pay: in addition to what we noted in the introduction of this cable, we must point out an apparent error in the Department's understanding of the matter. Management states that the annual in-step increase is for "merit." They say they wish to discontinue in-step increases, at least at mid-career, and use that money for performance pay. However, section 625(a) of the Act states that any FSO or FSR "whose services meet the standards" (i.e., is not substandard) "required for the efficient conduct of the work of the service . . . shall, on the first day of the first pay period that begins on or after July 1, each year receive an increase in salary to the next higher rate for the class in which the officer is serving." And we do not want that changed.

Section 625 (B) states:

"Without regard to any other law, the Secretary is authorized to grant to any Foreign Service officer or reserve officer additional increases in salary within the salary range established for the class in which such officer is serving based upon specially meritorious service."

Thus, it is clear that the annual step increase is not based on "merit," but merely not substandard performance. Management can and sometimes does provide double or additional step increases for meritorious service.

AFSA opposes the loss of annual step increases. It would be fratricidal, even cannibalistic, to take the small pay increase of all to be paid to a favored few. With a rank-in-

person, worldwide service, it would be extremely difficult to administer performance pay. On the military pay scale, within-grade increases are based solely on length of years. With inflation topping 10 percent, and with the October 1979 increases once again likely to be held at 5.5 percent, any loss of step increase to our people would not be tolerated. We are also committed to protect the annual in-step increases of Staff Corps and Junior Office personnel.

An alternative:

We call instead for double step increases for those officers on a rank order list to the extent of 20 percent of the promotions available. For example, in a Selection Board's rank order list of 300, there might be promotions based on vacancy opportunities of 30. The next six officers would be granted a double step increase. That is merit pay, as now available under section 625(b). Other formulations could be considered.

8. Assignments: Any length of service regulations should be submitted to AFSA for consultation, relating to time in the US and overseas.

9. Senior FS Threshold: We understand that performance pay for the Senior Foreign Service would be from additional funds, not from step increases. (Few senior officers now get step increases, being at the present top of pay scale.) But how could a performance pay system be implemented? The Air Force has recently abandoned incentive or performance pay as unworkable, and the Army now provides such bonuses only to whole categories; e.g., infantry, regardless of individual performance. We are in favor of increases in pay, but some senior officers think it is not suitable.

10. Career Ambassadors: The title should be available for officers on active duty.

11. Time-in-Class: All time-in-class provisions must be subject to consultation with AFSA.

12. Selection Boards:

Selection Boards should not receive recommendations by Management for promotions. The sanctity of the promotion process must be preserved in fact and in appearance. No material beyond properly safeguarded performance evaluation material may be made available to boards. No "extra" comments or recommendations by "Management" may be provided to the Boards.

Selection Boards select for promotion. They may refer to a performance standards board a portion—generally 10 percent—or

name designated persons, for consideration for selection out on the basis of separate precepts approved by AFSA. A review board should continue to be available.

13. Other Provisions: We initiated the call for a legislative foundation for labor-management relations.

We have dealt thus far primarily with officer concerns as Management's draft devotes the bulk of its arguments to that group. Nevertheless, there are specific and serious concerns for Staff Corps personnel and we will address them now. Three main points that we believe require an AFSA statement are: (a) grade structure; (b) transition-conversion; and (c) selection out.

Creation of additional FS grade (s) at proposed levels would disadvantage FSO/R/RU-7—FSS-6 and below, adding one more promotion hurdle and, in case of FSRU-7 and FSS-6 removing them one step from the "senior" level they have now attained. Contrary to Management's assertion, status would indeed be lost, and in periods of few promotions, particularly from these grades, severely depress morale. Future monetary loss could not be ruled out until further details are available.

Rights of DES employees and those who must or may wish to limit their service to domestic assignments must be safeguarded. Protection must be sought against both present and future loss.

Based on consultations with AFSA, Staff Corps colleagues in Washington could support selection out for substandard performance for all FS personnel, with appropriate safeguards. We see potential problems in application of limited term renewable contracts to Staff Corps at ceiling of their category; i.e., secretaries at FSS-4. It is difficult to reconcile concept that only limited number of contracts are to be allotted each year with equally clear concept that selection out in these categories will be only for substandard performance. We have reminded Management that FS do not have immediate annuity rights that are available to senior FSOs under Foreign Service Act. We could not accept time limited renewable contracts at ceiling levels unless accompanied by vested pension rights.

Conclusions: We do not believe that we are indulging in hyperbole when we say that the proposed reorganization is the most serious issue to confront us in recent years. None of us will be unaffected should these changes go into effect and the ability of the Service to continue to serve the nation in the years ahead might well be damaged. We ask each of you, AFSA member or not, to give this proposal and our comments your most serious consideration and provide us as soon as possible with your comments.

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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TORREMOLINOS, MALAGA, SPAIN. Newly furnished 2-BR, 1½ bath apartment includes linens, cutlery, etc. (never occupied) in town's environs. Metro station nearby. Unbelievable value at under \$35,000 with nominal monthly condominium fee. Paul A. Chadwell, 1211 Potomac St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007. (202) 338-1111.

TAX RETURNS

TAX RETURNS and representation. T. R. McCartney (ex-foreign service). Write: Business Data Corporation, P.O. Box 57256, Washington, D.C. 20037, for details.

OUT OF PRINT

Prosser, Ed. **Sow the Wind: Heads of State Address UN** (Morrow, 1970) 2 vols. deluxe, boxed, numbered, originally \$100, now \$27. Prepaid/invoice. Mor Prosser, 1 Dawson's Row, Charlottesville, VA 22903.

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VACATION HOME EXCHANGES, rentals worldwide. INTERSERVICE, Box 87, Glen Echo, Md. 20768.

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BOOKS

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

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK! Join our successful authors. Publicity, advertising, beautiful books. All subjects invited. Send for fact-filled booklet and free manuscript report. Carlton Press, Dept. FSP, 84 Fifth Avenue, New York 10011.

Foreign Service People

Deaths

Dubs. Adolph S. (Spike) Dubs, Ambassador to Afghanistan, was kidnaped and murdered on February 14 in Kabul. Ambassador Dubs joined the Foreign Service in 1949 and served at Frankfort, Monrovia, Ottawa, Moscow, Belgrade and as DCM in Moscow before this assignment. He received the superior honor award in 1968. Secretary Vance said, "This brutal act of violence has taken the life of a dedicated public servant and a valued colleague. Throughout his career, Spike Dubs demonstrated the highest standards of the Foreign Service." Ambassador Dubs is survived by his second wife, the former Mary Ann Parsons, 4940 Sentinel Dr., Sumner, Maryland, and a daughter by his first marriage, Lindsay Jane. The family suggests that memorial contributions may be made to the AFSA Spike Dubs Memorial Fund.

Gannett. Charlotte Peeler Gannett, wife of FSO-retired Michael R. Gannett, died on February 23 at her home in Chevy Chase. Mrs. Gannett was a member of the UNESCO relations staff of the State Department at the time of her marriage in 1951. She accompanied her husband on assignments to Iran, Italy and Germany. Mrs. Gannett was a dedicated environmentalist and active in Montgomery County civic affairs. At the time of her death she was president of the Montgomery Environmental Coalition, a group that she founded seven years ago. In addition to her husband of 7310 Meadow Lane, Chevy Chase, Maryland 20015, she is survived by three sons, William, of the home, Lewis, of Boston, and Frederick, of Aspen, Colo., a daughter, Margaret, of Boston, a stepson, Michael, Jr., of New York, her mother and a brother. The family suggests that memorial contributions may be made to the Montgomery Environmental Coalition.

Huey. George Owen Huey, FSO-retired, died on February 5 in Oklahoma City. Mr. Huey began his career in the Passport Office in Washington and entered the Foreign Service in 1958, serving at Liverpool, Buenos Aires, New Delhi and Panama. His last post was as Consul General in Buenos Aires and he retired from there in 1977. He is survived by his wife, Adrienne, 5920 N. Meridian Place, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73122, four daughters and three grandsons. Memo-

rial contributions may be made to the American Cancer Society.

Pareiman. Samuel T. Pareiman, FSO-retired, died on February 28, at the National Institutes of Health Clinical Center. Mr. Pareiman entered on duty at State in 1945, after previous government experience. He served at Tokyo and Bonn as political officer, was detailed to the Marshall Plan planning group, to the National War College, to the White House and the Policy Planning Council. At the time of his retirement in 1973, he was special assistant in the Office of the Secretary of State. Since then he has been chairman of the International Law Committee of the Federal Bar Association and twice received that organization's Distinguished Service Award. He is survived by his wife, Anita S., of 10602 Bucknell Dr., Silver Spring, Maryland 20902, two daughters, Rhona Lee Jones, of Syracuse, N.Y. and Allison Pareiman, of Los Angeles, four sisters and two grandchildren.

FOREIGN SERVICE DAY

Foreign Service Day 1979 will be held on Thursday May 3, 1979. The change to Thursday from the normal and probably more convenient Friday schedule was prompted by events beyond our control. Nevertheless, the festivities will be festive and informative and all retirees are encouraged to attend.

The festivities will include the traditional AFSA Breakfast, this year to be held on Friday morning, May 4. This will provide an opportunity to visit the Foreign Service Club (*your club*), meet old friends and hear what AFSA is doing to protect the interests of both active and retired Foreign Service employees. In this latter context, we are working with representatives of other interested organizations in planning a defense against attempts to impose new restrictions on our eligibility for cost-of-living increases for pensions and to social security benefits.

Learning Experience

The Institute for Policy Studies, a non-profit tax-exempt research association, has established the *Washington School*. This new college will be offering a series of evening classes in the spring quarter with special emphasis on foreign policy matters.

Classes begin April 16 and terminate June 7. For further information contact Ralph L. Stavins, 234-9382.

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The Philippines: ... "shopping (here) is rather limited... thanks for being the relief!"

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From Korea: "... I miss visiting your store... please send me the latest catalog... we'll be back in July... first thing on my agenda is a visit to your store..."

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