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APRIL, 1972, Volume 49, No. 4

14 Interviewing Foreign Policy Decision Makers

Richard C. Giardina

19 42nd Street: A Tale of Two Worlds

Richard L. Springer

22 The Whys of Violence in Northern Ireland

Virgil P. Randolph, III

OTHER FEATURES: Will Johnny Parler Francais?, by Ilse Nelson, page 6.

DEPARTMENTS

4 Editorials

25 The Bookshelf

30 Letters to the Editor

34 AFSA News

PHOTOGRAPHS AND ILLUSTRATIONS: Cover, "In the Market in Tananarive," by Lilian Eisenberg.

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EDITORIAL

Towards an Impartial Board of the Foreign Service

THE deliberations of the Board of the Foreign Service since the promulgation of E.O. 11636 have raised questions regarding the Board's procedures and impartiality.

Our major concern is that the Board has insulated itself from the employee's representatives but not the personnel managers. The Board's agenda is secret; documents sent to the Board for action are closely held. Employee representatives have been permitted to appear only once before the Board to present their views, while personnel management officials are *always* present.

Conflicts of interest also concern us. Individual Board members, who play the key roles in personnel management of each foreign affairs agency, support and vote for proposals which they have previously decided and have recommended to the Board for approval. They review their own decisions. The Executive Director of the Board is the Director General of the Foreign Service. The attorney for one of the Board's Committees has been lobbying on the Hill against the AFSA-supported Bayh Bill to provide grievance procedures for the Service.

The Board of the Foreign Service is the key element in the successful working of an employee management relations system for the Foreign Service. If this system is to succeed and if we are to realize our goal of effective co-determination, the Board must enjoy the full confidence of *both* the Foreign Service and Agency leadership. It can no longer be the prestigious rubber stamp for management decisions that it has been in the past. It must speak with its own voice and its procedures must be impartial. ■

Hard Cases Make Bad Law

THE merit promotion system was dealt another serious blow this month when for the *first time* in the history of the Foreign Service the Director General, the Board of the Foreign Service, and the Secretary agreed to *add names* to the selection board's promotion list. This unprecedented action was taken to compensate Foreign Service officers who had been recommended for promotion by discrimination and grievance panels. This action contradicts the clear and expressed intention of the Congress regarding Foreign Service officer promotions. If the foreign affairs agencies wish to promote Foreign Service officers for equity reasons in extraordinary cases (and we hope they will), an amendment to the Foreign Service Act must be sought to provide for non-merit, compensatory promotions. These compensatory promotions should not be jammed through the merit promotion system.

The legal case is clear. The Foreign Service Act of 1946 was carefully drafted to establish a career promotion system based exclusively on merit as determined by objective selection boards. The Congress recognized the President's exclusive Constitutional power to promote Foreign Service officers. But, in order to insulate the Foreign Service officer promotions system from political influence, the Congress carefully circumscribed the

manner in which *recommendations* for promotion could be transmitted to the President for action. The President can promote *anyone* according to merit, but the Secretary can recommend to the President only those officers found to merit a promotion by selection boards. By controlling the recommendations, the Congress sought to control the promotions. The basic principle being threatened is that recommendations for promotions must be based on selection board findings. Can the Secretary or the Director of USIA add names to the list?

Sections 621 and 623 of the Act expressly provide that recommendations for promotion shall be based on merit *and* on the findings of duly constituted selection boards. The recommendations for compensatory promotions which are being sent forward to the President do not meet either of these requirements. Section 621 provides that promotion shall be by selection on the basis of merit; while Section 623 provides that the Secretary shall make recommendations to the President for FSO promotions upon the basis of the findings of duly constituted selection boards. The Congressional intent is clear.

The foreign affairs agencies, and especially the Department of State, have fought for a number of years against the adoption of a modern grievance system. Last year, AFSA drafted new procedures which were subsequently introduced into the Congress as the Bayh Bill. Several weeks later the tragic death of Charles Thomas occurred. The foreign affairs agencies, faced with demands for an equitable grievance system from AFSA, the Congress and the public, and recognizing the need to move ahead from the old paternalism, changed their minds and introduced interim grievance procedures.

Personnel management agreed that grievance and discrimination panels had the power to recommend compensatory promotions for aggrieved employees in severe circumstances. However, the agencies did not seek the changes in the Foreign Service Act to permit such compensatory recommendations to be acted upon. In short, the foreign affairs agencies provided employees with a *right* to compensatory promotions but not a legal *remedy*.

The AFSA Board has urged the foreign affairs agencies to immediately seek an amendment to the Foreign Service Act providing for compensatory promotions as the ultimate compensation for seriously aggrieved Foreign Service officers. The foreign affairs agencies have not done this; instead they have stated that officers can be recommended for promotion by an agency head, the Board of the Foreign Service and the Director General, without respect to the findings of the selection boards. They cite several provisions of 3 FAM as authority. We disagree.

Are Foreign Service officers to be promoted on the basis of regulations? We believe they must be promoted under the terms of the Foreign Service Act.

The precedent established in these hard cases undercuts the merit selection board promotion system. If the Director General, the Board of the Foreign Service and the Secretary can recommend these promotions, the door is opened for them or their successors to recommend other "worthy" promotions, and thus open the merit promotion system to serious abuses. The AFSA Board is seeking an amendment to the Foreign Service Act to authorize compensatory promotions to limit this most unfortunate precedent. ■



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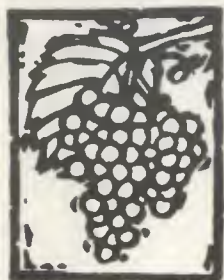
ILSE NELSON

Mrs. Nelson was born in Europe and educated in four countries before coming to the United States in 1939. She and her partner, Mrs. F.v.P. Bryan, have worked as consultants on European schools since 1953 with offices in New York City.

this condition will exist as long as American and foreign educational systems remain as far apart from each other as they are today.

In a French high school a youngster is taught chronologically 10 to 12 subjects in which, at age 18, he has to pass the dreaded *baccalaureat*, the stiff written and oral examination which is his passport to the university. His American counterpart can choose four or five subjects a year, often dropping them at the end of the school year and picking something new next fall.

Yet a bright American child, sufficiently adventurous and self-assured, is often able to enter a French high school and does not



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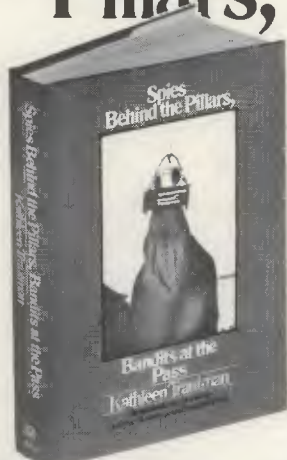


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find the language an unbridgeable obstacle. On his return to the United States, however, he is faced with the baffling problem of how to obtain credits for the work done abroad. While he has acquired a thorough knowledge of French history, geography and Latin, he has missed English, biology, new math, or whatever subjects he would have studied during that year in his American high school.

The alternative to the risk of not obtaining the coveted credits by attending the French school is to enroll Johnny at the American school in Paris where he remains part of the American colony and has virtually no contact with the host country and its culture. As one American mother in Paris said to me: "The only non-American in Johnny's daily life is the French maid who takes him to the bus stop." Though Johnny attends daily classes in French the foreign language instruction in most cases is no better than it was back home. We hear and read a lot about "International Schools" which exist in all countries from France to Japan and from Stockholm to Buenos Aires. However, most of them are a complete misnomer as they tend to be purely American schools which happen to admit non-Americans as long as they can speak enough English to follow an American curriculum. These schools, even if they wished to offer a more international curriculum, are hampered by the need to prepare their students for American colleges and college board examinations. When Johnny graduates from an "International School" he cannot even enroll at the university of his host country because his diploma is not considered an equivalent of the *baccalaureat*. Thus Johnny might get into Harvard but not into the Sorbonne or Oxford.

Obviously more flexibility on both sides of the ocean is needed to make it possible for our young to profit from international education without falling victim to national requirements of credits and diplomas.

To this end a solution has been worked out by a group of educators who have established the *International Baccalaureat*, one final high school examination, recognized by

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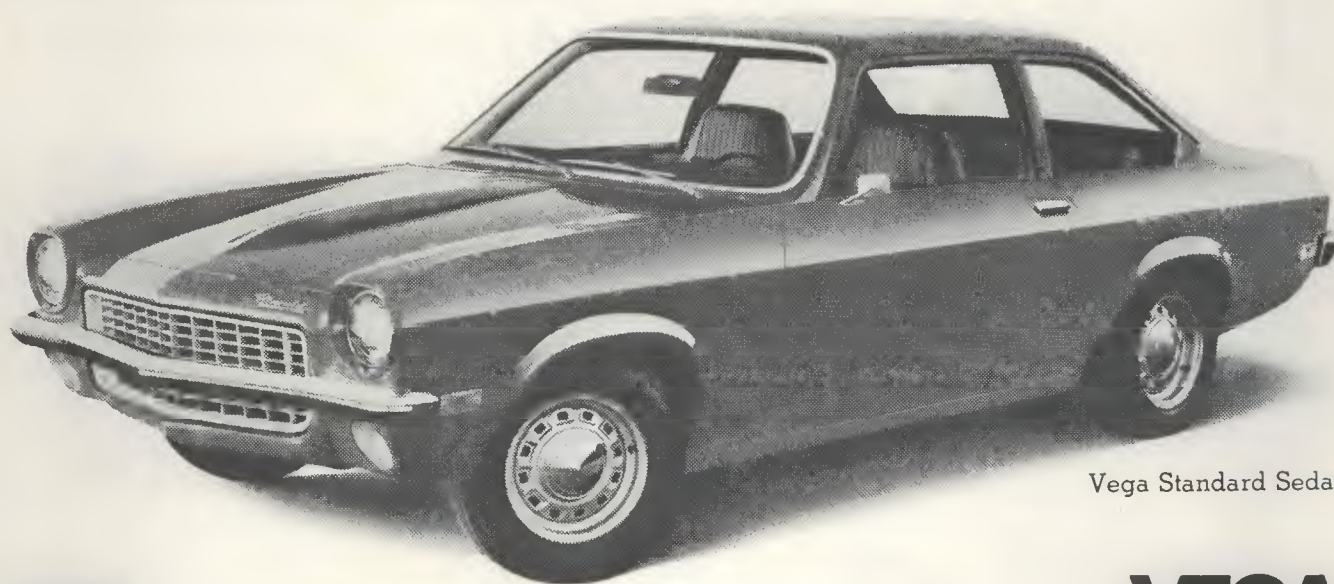
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all major countries as a diploma for admission to almost all universities in the world.

Attendance in such a school and graduation with an I.B. no doubt offers the best way of becoming fluent in a foreign language and yet being able to return to an American college or entering a foreign university.

For parents who, for some reason or other, are unable to enter their children in one of the few schools which prepare for the I.B., there are alternatives:

- The Swiss boarding schools enroll children from many countries, but their common language usually is French. The drawback of such school is that in order to receive the needed American credits Johnny will be taught all major subjects in English and will attend classes with other English speaking children. With luck Johnny will room with a Spanish, Greek, Swedish or Belgian boy, but chances are that this boy either speaks English or is eager to learn it rather than communicate

with his buddy in broken French. Yet, if not ideal, the Swiss boarding school will enable Johnny to pick up French provided he stays long enough and does not exclusively stick to his American classmates. Among the fifty odd percent of youngsters from other countries he has plenty of choice to make valuable foreign contacts, rub elbows with a prince, the son of an Arabian sheik, a maharaja, or the son of a roving diplomat. He invariably returns home with a book full of foreign addresses of boys and girls with whom he continues to correspond and visit long after he's left high school.

- The younger Johnny is the fewer problems foreign schooling will present. The attitude of his parents usually determines whether he adapts to a foreign situation. Though many educators warn that bilingual upbringing is confusing to the child, experiences prove that most youngsters acquire the foreign language almost by osmosis. At age ten Johnny needs a limited vocabulary

to make himself understood and learning the three "R"s is no different to him in French, Spanish, German or even Russian, than it would be in English. American parents often appreciate the unfriendly atmosphere of a foreign elementary school with its old-fashioned discipline and emphasis on acquiring solid tools of learning. The children are not treated like miniature adults and are quite happy to show respect for their teachers. One can question the old system and argue that it means academic discipline versus enjoying what you learn, but many American parents seem to be delighted with the change from their easy going school back home.

- For those families who, like the British, send their children to boarding school at a very young age, small, homelike schools in the Alpine regions of Switzerland and France are the perfect answer. Most of these little schools enroll 20 to 50 boys and girls, teach an elementary curriculum in French with about an hour of English a day for



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their young American pupils. In this *Institut Alpin* Johnny reads, writes, skis, swims and hikes *en français* within four to six weeks.

However, even if Johnny is already of high school age when he decides to sound truly Parisian and if, on top of it, he is on the bright side, there are some ways of solving the credit problem.

A number of American high schools nowadays are experimenting with independent study projects in the senior year and might welcome a foreign experience at such time. Some schools even let students graduate after their junior year or half-way through their senior year which makes at least one semester available for study in another country before going to college in the United States.

In many cases young John, now 17 or 18, plans something much more radical than just one term abroad. He has been made to work harder and harder in secondary school to gain admission to a

prestige college and he suddenly feels that getting into Harvard is no longer a matter of life or death for him. He wants to have a year off to breathe, think, find out what life is all about. He believes that this may be the only year in which he can indulge in such pleasures as studying at leisure, spending days in the book stalls of the Rive Gauche, or climbing the steps to the Acropolis without having to meet the deadline for his term paper.

As Andexter and St. Grotlex no longer guarantee admission to Harvard he may even convince his parents that such an unusual experience as a year abroad before college will look "different" on his high school transcript and enhance his chances of making the college of his choice a year later.

For him as for many others the "13th Year" is the one to spend abroad. Post-High School programs have been developed in many countries and meet the wishes and interests of our young people besides giving them the chance to become

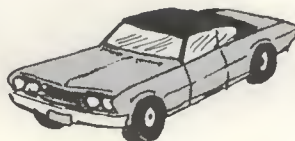
fluent in a foreign language. They study and live with the native students, share their interests in politics, social problems, music, art and sports. Some admission directors of American colleges consider this extra year a valuable addition to the student's maturity and an asset for his future college career. It has happened many times that a boy or girl who was refused admission to the college of his choice is admitted by the same college after a post-graduate year abroad.

For those who do not want to add an extra year to their education, a few American colleges abroad offer regular freshman courses and assure transfer credits.

Yet the best way for Johnny to acquire fluency in a foreign tongue and better understanding of its accompanying culture undoubtedly lies in attending a school from which he can eventually graduate with an *International Baccalaureat*, an internationally recognized high school diploma. The development of

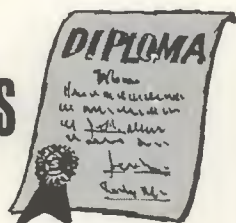
(Continued on page 29)

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An open letter to the readers of The Foreign Service Journal

Norman Cousins
Two Dag Hammarskjold Plaza New York, New York 10017

My purpose in writing is to tell you that my colleagues and I have decided to launch a new magazine. The magazine will be published every two weeks. It will be called **WORLD: A review of ideas, creative arts and the human condition.**

Ever since I resigned from the *Saturday Review*, for reasons you may know about, I have been thinking and dreaming about the possibility of starting a magazine that, quite literally, would belong to its readers and editors.

Usually, new magazines call for a prodigious investment. The reason is that magazines are sold to the consumer at less than the cost of manufacture. What compounds this problem is that the standard way of building a subscription list is through cut-rate introductory offers.

Little wonder that massive investment has usually been necessary to see a magazine through to the point where introductory-offer readers can be graduated to full-rate subscribers. But outside investment frequently means outside control—and this is something we want to avoid if we possibly can.

Our hope, therefore, is that we can find enough readers who are willing to take a chance on us by becoming long-term subscribers from the very outset. This would put the reader where he should rightfully be—in a position of ultimate authority.

We decided to put these hopes to the test. I am delighted to say that the responses thus far have been favorable beyond even our most extravagant expectations. As a result, we are scheduling our first issue for late spring.

What about the magazine itself?

We believe that a magazine is essentially a reading, rather than a viewing experience. In this sense, we will publish for a readership rather than a flippership.

The new magazine will be concerned with ideas and the arts. Our arena, however, will be the world. We will do more than report on books, plays, movies, music and the arts in just the United States alone. We will attempt to review and report on cultural events on a world scale—cultural being defined in its broadest sense.

We will write about the human condition at a time when the ability of human intelligence to meet its problems is being tested as never before. Our hope is to see the world as the astronauts saw it—a beautiful wet blue ball with millions of factors in the delicate combination that makes life possible. Our dominant editorial concern, then, will be the proper care of the human habitat—protecting it against war, world environmental poisoning, overcrowding, or any of the things that indignify and humiliate human beings.

In this connection, I am pleased to announce that U Thant and Buckminster Fuller have joined the Board of Editors.

We will also give major attention to what we believe will be one of the most compelling issues in the years ahead—the waste of human resources, far more costly than the waste of physical resources.

There is no point in talking about conservation of land unless we also talk about conservation of life.

I think I have said enough to indicate that the new magazine will direct its central editorial energies both to the enjoyment of creative living and to the pursuit of vital ideas. It is an error, however, to try to say too much about a magazine in advance of publication. A magazine has to describe itself, issue by issue.

The only thing we can be sure of at this point is that we are going to make plenty of mistakes. If we are lucky, they will be fruitful mistakes and the magazine will change for the better because of them. New magazines are not really invented or created. They evolve.

They are the product of creative interaction between editors and readers.

No single issue can really be expected to tell a reader everything he may want to know about the nature of a magazine, its underlying philosophy, or its capacity for growth.

What I have tried to do, therefore, is to tell you something about our philosophy and our approach—and to seek your help in achieving our aims.

Some specifics: the rates will be \$12 for one year; \$20 for two years.

For pre-publication Charter subscribers we propose a special three-year rate of \$25.

The reason we emphasize three-year subscriptions is that they reduce sharply the astoundingly high cost of processing renewals.

Even more important is the fact that long-term subscriptions will free us to do our main job—which is to try to publish a magazine you will read and respect.

We ask no money now. That can come later. What we do need right now is an expression of your interest.

As I said above, in inviting you to join us in what we hope will be an exciting adventure in ideas, we realize we are asking you to take a chance on us. We have high hopes of justifying that confidence. The process begins with the Charter Subscription form below.

Sincerely,



Norman Cousins

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Our man from Bowling Green beards diplomats and finds them sometimes "reluctant but resigned."

INTERVIEWING FOREIGN

INCREASING interest in interviewing diplomats leads to the twin questions of whether such a time-consuming endeavor is desirable, and how the interviews can be accomplished with maximum efficiency.

This researcher conducted interviews during the summer of 1970 on United States attitudes toward Southern African issues at the United Nations and the role of the Bureaus of African Affairs and International Organization Affairs of the State Department in the attitude formulation process.

Personal proclivities and idiosyncrasies affect the decisions made even in a bureaucracy that can be considered as nothing less than super-institutionalized. It would be easy for the interviewer to ask only those questions that attempt to elicit comments concerning the myriad structural and functional variables which are supposed to influence outcomes in the decision-making process. Two perennial comments that this interviewer received were that too much importance was being placed on determining patterns of interaction which transcended the personal proclivities of the individual State Department officials involved. The other was that not

RICHARD C. GIARDINA

Richard Giardina is assistant professor and acting chairman of the Political Science Department at Bowling Green State University. During the past four years he has spent much time both at the UN and at the State Department studying African attitudes toward Southern African issues at the UN and American attitudes toward those same issues.

enough attempt was made to study those personal proclivities.

The State Department has always been hesitant about letting scholars search for data. When permitted, it was usually the result of a contractual agreement between the Department (generally handled through the Office of External Research of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research) and a particular scholar. Even when this was not the case, scholars who came to the Department did so to interview concerning some issue of substantive US policy (such as policy toward Southern Africa). Rarely did anyone come

to study (or was anyone permitted to study) the decision-making process relative to that specific issue.

Nevertheless, all of this is changing for a number of reasons:

- Interest in studying decision-making processes is greater than ever; and the Department is beginning to feel pressure to open its doors to qualified scholars.

- A marriage of convenience has recently been arranged between the International Studies Association and the American Foreign Service Association for their mutual benefit.

- ISA is attempting to ensure greater access to the Department so that studies of the decision-making process might be undertaken. AFSA is concerned that there be more contact between diplomats and scholars so as to improve the content of policy which is formulated—of course ISA is also quite concerned with this problem. Diplomats and scholars feel a sense of isolation from one another, and would like to remedy that situation.

- People in the upper echelons of the State Department themselves are worried about the image that outsid-

POLICY DECISION-MAKERS

ers have about how decisions are formulated, as well as about the actual process itself. They have encouraged increased contacts with scholars, and management tools was the subject of a task force study of the decision-making process.

Returning to the ISA-AFSA marriage, a number of children have already resulted. The first children (all identical) are known collectively as the Scholar-Diplomat Program, which brings together the two at the State Department for one week to discuss the functioning of a particular Bureau on a classified basis. Recently, though, a new type of offspring has been created in the form of a Scholar-Diplomat Conference held at Airlie House.

I WAS fortunate to be invited to attend the pilot Scholar-Diplomat Program which was slated for the African Bureau in December 1969. After having attended, I submitted a proposal for a project involving my interviewing Department officials concerning the formulation of American attitudes towards Southern African issues at the UN. I sent copies of my proposal to people I had met during my week there, ask-

ing them how to secure approval. I asked for (a) approval to interview in the African and International Organization Bureaus; (b) permission to study two cases in detail: our decision to withdraw our consulate from Salisbury and our decision to cast our first veto in the Security Council; and (c) the same secret security clearance provided for the Scholar-Diplomat Program.

As for interviewing, there exists no mechanism in the State Department for handling requests to do research there on a non-contract basis. This function does not fall under the jurisdiction of the Office of External Research, since it is charged with handling contract research and with collecting documentation from the academic world. Fortunately, though, the office has begun the task of facilitating the research of non-contract scholars in the Department. It was thus that my proposal trickled up to External Research, where one man took it upon himself to see if he could start the process of gaining approval for my project.

The major task was the approval of the two relevant Assistant Secretaries; so an attempt was made to reach them through intermediaries

in their Bureaus. Approval was granted after three months of negotiation both between me and External Research (more on this later) and within the Department. Thus, the major point which should be made here concerns the seemingly haphazard nature of the process whereby approval is both sought and secured. Had not the Office of External Research come to my rescue, it is doubtful that I would have been able to begin my interviewing during the summer I had allotted to it, if at all. Nevertheless one can probably look forward to better and more systematic communication between the State Department and the academic community in the future.

My second and third requests should be discussed together, since one, in effect, involved the other. I asked to be able to carry out two case studies on a classified basis, which would thus permit me to see the relevant telgrams and instructions. I was informed that the security clearance provided for the Scholar-Diplomat Program did not allow for the possibility of publication. Assuming that this was now my purpose, no security clearance was possible. Furthermore, the two cases in question involved rather delicate

subjects which the Department did not wish to discuss either on a classified or on a non-classified basis.

Thus, if there were any chance of my studying in the Department, it would have to be without security clearance and for the purpose of researching only the broad question of how, in general, the African and International Organization Affairs Bureaus formulate policy towards Southern African issues at the UN. I agreed to these two conditions, and approval was granted provided that I discuss my objectives, hypotheses, and design with a few knowledgeable officers in the Department and that External Research review my questionnaire with me and help me approach the people I wanted to interview should I desire help.

ARRIVING in Washington for the month of August, I soon found that because of the heat and vacations it was probably the worst month to choose. Nevertheless, although I spent the first week discussing my project, and only three weeks interviewing, I saw 44 officials (or about three per day). Everyone was in the same building, and while there are staff meetings and informal conferences, few formal committee meetings are on a day-to-day basis. Furthermore, External Research wrote a letter of introduction for me to each interviewee. Finally, once an Assistant Secretary gives his approval, a subordinate would hardly refuse to grant an interview, though some did refuse to permit note-taking.

THE first week was spent discussing my research design with people knowledgeable about Southern Africa. We discussed my hypotheses and questionnaire, and they offered excellent criticisms. It was readily apparent that little is known outside the Department concerning internal decision-making. Speaking with Department officials led me to revise certain hypotheses about both the amount and the nature of conflict in the decision-making process. They were also very helpful in constructing a list of people at State most directly involved in making policy regarding Southern Africa. I had previously decided that I could hope to interview everyone, spending ap-

proximately an hour with each individual.

I determined to divide the questionnaire into two parts, an interview concerning the formulation of policy, and a written part concerning the policy itself. The interview part was to contain 34 open-ended questions under seven categories: (a) intra-bureau decision flow; (b) inter-bureau decision flow; (c) inter-bureau functional differentiation; (d) degree of inter-bureau conflict; (e) conflict resolution procedures; (f) research and planning; and (g) innovation and change. The written part was to contain nine factual questions pertaining to the individual being interviewed and fifteen questions concerning personal attitudes towards United States policy on Southern Africa and the UN.

Everyone I spoke with agreed on the desirability of asking the types of questions I had originally proposed. But I decided to drop the written questionnaire because of External Research reservations. Since some of these questions asked for personal opinions on subjects such as US support of liberation groups, there was a possibility that a majority of officials would come out against present US policy. This, according to some Department officials, would not be in our "best national interest."

MANY of the interviewees took the time to talk to their colleagues about both me and my study. Some of them made a point of calling those in the Department to ask "Why is he really here?" This "What are you doing here?" attitude was noticeable among all except those who were aware of that entire segment of social science research known as decision-making theory.

There was thus the problem of lapsing into long discussions of substantive US policy towards Southern Africa, leaving the primary questions of policy formulation aside.

Another reason for the "What are you doing here?" attitude was that some of the respondents who claimed to understand decision-making theory pre-determined that such theory was useless in understanding the State Department.

As a result, some of them had a "reluctant but resigned" attitude towards the interview itself. Further-

more, the respondents seemed to be well aware that I was going to speak in terms of conflict and conflict resolution within the Department. This immediately caused problems, since Department officials don't like to speak of internal conflict. They acted as if such conflict did not exist. They stressed that they were more concerned with anticipating possible areas of disagreement. As a result, their ideal position on an issue was usually modified in anticipation of the reactions of their colleagues in the Department.

I was, in effect, forcing them to speak in terms with which they were unhappy. They chided me for deliberately exaggerating the amount of internal disagreement, precisely by using certain words instead of others. In addition, I was accused of coming to the Department determined to find conflict, so that all my questions were slanted in that direction. When I, in turn, responded that there might be an artificial value consensus in the Department, permitting legitimate reasons for conflict to be hidden, the answer was that any value consensus was the result of a voluntary and rational meeting of minds.

This was not the only problem facing the interviewer. Another was that of lack of continuity on the part of the officials interviewed. Even between my December and August visits to the Bureau of African Affairs, personnel had changed somewhat. Almost all of the respondents had been at State less than two years, so even the Kennedy Administration was but a vague memory. Thus it was difficult to compare decision-making procedures under various administrations.

One exception to this two-year rule is found in the few civil servants who still remain in the Department. These men are generally in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, and are usually a goldmine of information. When they retire, the Department's "memory" goes with them, (unless, of course, a computerized memory takes their place).

Probably the biggest problem faced by the interviewer in the State Department is that of security clearance. Unless the interviewer is able to obtain an ID card (which I,

There were four types of people in the Department: those who knew and would tell; those who knew and would not tell; those who did not know and told you so; and finally those who did not know but made believe they did.

fortunately, was able to get through External Research), he has to phone up to the prospective respondent in order to be permitted to enter the building. Another problem is the otherwise simple one of phoning for appointments. In order to phone, one needs access to a phone and an internal phone book. These are usually found in offices which usually also have secret files in them. As a result, I found that whenever I was in an office using a phone (which happened fairly frequently), a secretary was subtly (or sometimes not so subtly) detailed to watch over me. This never caused problems except for some minor embarrassment on both our parts.

LACK of clearance also causes more important problems. For one thing, it tends to ruin any attempt at studying cases. I must admit, though, that I still attempted to learn about the decision to close the consulate in Salisbury and to cast the first veto in the Security Council. But the replies I received were often rather evasive, and people usually refused to name those who took conflicting positions. As a result, I was often caught up in the vicious circle of having the respondents really at ease only when talking about decision making in certain cases and at the same time feeling restrained in talking about those cases because the interviewer did not have the necessary security clearance. Thus, they often felt obliged to talk about decision-making in the abstract, for which their own concern for dealing with day-to-day "crises" did not equip or prepare them. The temptation to go off onto more substantive tangents resulted.

One foreign service officer summed up the whole problem rather nicely when he said that there were four types of people in the Department: those who knew and would tell; those who knew and

would not tell; those who did not know and told you so; and finally those who did not know but made believe they did. Only the first type was useful to the interviewer; and since a man of this type would tell only if one had the necessary security clearance, my project was doomed to failure! Of course the four types are to be found in any bureaucracy; so this should not necessarily deter the interviewer. Still it is wise to remember that interviewing that is to serve the purpose of explaining a process is less trustworthy than interviewing merely to tally attitudes.

Nevertheless, it was interesting to watch the "know-it-all" versus "know-nothing" attitudes emerge among the various respondents. Those exhibiting the first trait (very few in number) made it appear as if they made all decisions in their sphere of competence, so that all the interviewer had to do was to talk to them in order to get a true picture of how decisions were made. Those exhibiting the second trait (there were more of these) tried to convince the interviewer that they were just humble men doing their daily chore while others made the basic decisions concerning policy. It is interesting to note that some of these men were considered by their colleagues to be the "grey eminences" behind the Assistant Secretary thrones (this is in no way to denigrate Secretarial power). It is of further interest that the response to the question "About how many people at State would you say are involved directly in the decision-making process about Southern African issues at the UN?" ranged from "under five" to "over thirty." Granting that the question may have been a bit vague, the range of responses is enlightening.

Another interesting note is that State Department officials are just as addicted to jargon as are social scientists. I was quickly advised not

to use words such as "model," "inputs," "outputs," "homogeneity," and "socialization," for fear that they would "turn off" the respondents. On the other hand, I found out just as quickly the abbreviations of office and bureau titles, the difference between NSSM's and NSDM's, and the geographic location of BLS. It is amazing how quickly one forgets the world outside (or rather treats it precisely as a "world outside") walking through miles and miles of windowless corridors.

ONE final problem confronting the interviewer at the State Department is that it is extremely easy to find yourself and the respondent talking in different time and space frames. Foreign Service officers are wary of discussing foreign policy formulation over a ten-year span (that is, through 1980). They are almost as reluctant to talk about what will happen in the next five years. Thus, while you as the social scientist may want to talk in terms of prediction and probability, they most certainly want to talk in terms of the futility of "meaningless" speculation about an uncertain future.

Furthermore, when you want to speak of classes and categories of events and crises and the need for determining which variables were either present or absent in each, they want to speak of the uniqueness of each and every case. There is very clearly a mistrust of social science techniques, for fear that the social scientist is artificially ordering the foreign policy universe in a way which may be detrimental to our national interest. Finally, there is an awareness that there are fewer career payoffs for a research analyst than there are for a line officer manning a country desk and worrying about the upcoming visit of a certain vice-president's wife.

If the interviewer should hint that emotional commitment to certain foreign policy goals might lead to better foreign policy formulation, he is immediately admonished that this type of thinking is all right only for the ivory-towered idealist who does not have to suffer the consequences of his emotionalism. Or as Chris Argyris puts it in "Some Causes of Organizational Ineffectiveness With-

A variation on the above theme is that to conform is to be effective; to stand out is to be ineffective. Conformity to this rule of thumb was noticeable in the State Department.

in the Department of State": "To be rational is to be effective; to be emotional is to be ineffective."

A variation on the above theme is that to conform is to be effective; to stand out is to be ineffective. Conformity to this rule of thumb was noticeable in the State Department. For example, I would find myself speaking to an official and his immediate subordinate together, and then at a later time speak to that subordinate alone. The differences in the subordinate's attitudes and responses to certain questions were striking. When the superior was present the subordinate would constantly defer to him and to his opinions (or at least remain awkwardly silent), even though it was clear that the subordinate knew more about the specific question than did his superior. It was thus essential to plan situations in which the two men would be separated for interview purposes (often difficult since the two often shared adjoining offices and the same secretary). Obviously, the effects of hierarchy are shared by the military-industrial-diplomatic-academic complex.

It is hoped that this article, if anything, has shown some of the special problems involved in interviewing in a bureaucracy. An important fact to remember is that if one desires to conduct extensive interviews in a bureaucracy, he cannot merely plan to arrive and begin making phone calls for appointments. Thus, more time spent seeking explicit approval will mean less time wasted at the interview stage. Furthermore, the granting of this approval does not signify the end of problems but rather the beginning of a second stage of them.

The academic interviewer must be willing to accept the fact that there are times when his credentials will be called into question and when the "objectivity" of his scholarly research will be doubted. If, during those times, he is not able to

convince his respondents of the legitimacy of his endeavor and of his own political innocence insofar as supporting one political orientation over another is concerned, then the utility of his particular method of interviewing is to be doubted. Furthermore, it is unacceptable for the interviewer to announce the results of his research without entering into a frank discussion, somewhere along the line, of the particular method of interviewing which he has utilized. Failure to do so may have the result of causing false conclusions to be drawn on the part of his audience. Interview data does not speak for itself under these (or any) circumstances.

If one is to attempt to generalize concerning interviewing in an institutionalized bureaucracy, he would have to say that there is the tendency of the individual official to understate his own personal role in the decision-making process. It is difficult for the interviewer to control for this type of exaggeration. He can either turn to another method of investigation in addition to the interviews or go outside of the bureaucracy in question and interview in a competing bureaucracy (it being assumed that all bureaucracies are competing for the ear of the chief policy-maker). Thus, if one is interviewing in the State Department, one can interview in the Pentagon or in the White House in order to balance the data received.

There are ways in which the efficiency of the interviewing process in a bureaucratic setting can be maximized. Hopefully one can ensure greater efficiency if he is (a) thoroughly familiar with the structural and functional attributes of the bureaucracy in which one is interviewing; (b) willing to be bound by the constraints which are imposed by that bureaucracy; and (c) able to correlate what are possibly somewhat artificial results with results obtained either through other meth-

ods or through other interviews.

The question of the desirability of the interview method is certainly a more difficult one to answer. When the interviews are open-ended and not extremely structured, one must worry about the comparability of the "data" received. One must also worry about the particular biases of the individual respondents. But perhaps the greatest worry of all is that the interviewer, as a properly socialized social scientist, is unconsciously seeking to artificially superimpose a well-defined order upon what may essentially be an only vaguely-defined one. For example, one State Department official criticized the project on the ground that implicit in it was the desire to see the Department as a goal-oriented bureaucracy dedicated, in the particular instance in question, to the bringing about of change in Southern Africa. According to the official, this type of innovative decision-making is not the function of a bureaucracy but of the elected officials charged with establishing foreign policy goals. A bureaucracy functioning in such a way might tend to usurp the policy functions of the elected officials. Thus social scientists were unconsciously attempting to create a "technocracy" where "right-thinking" bureaucrats (that is, those possessing social science orientations) would formulate the "proper" goals for the society.

The above point may be one which the academic interviewer may fail to perceive, precisely because of his own social science orientations. The astute foreign policy decision-maker may well pick up this failure and thus skew the very information which the interviewer is attempting to elicit "objectively." Furthermore, other respondents may actually be doing this anyway because of their own particular orientations and because of their own inability to see foreign policy decision-making in the interviewer's terms. Thus there is the real possibility that interviewer and respondent will be talking past each other.

Nevertheless, it is fairly certain that interviewing decision-makers is about the closest most social scientists will ever get to the citadels of policy formulation. We should make the most of it. ■

42nd Street

the tale of two worlds



RICHARD L. SPRINGER

This is a very personal story, told in the hope that it will give some insight into the complexities and the ramifications of a modern American reality—a reality which, the war aside, is being recognized as the number one problem facing America in the 1970s; a reality which is even now being recognized as intimately intertwined with the war and which will be with us long after the war itself has finally become history. For my colleagues in the Foreign Service, this story may also show that, contrary to our popular wisdom, not all of the excitement is to be found abroad.

It was the end of the day at the United Nations. My mind weary from hours of speeches, I rejoiced to be free to walk in the cold, crisp air of a January evening. It was exciting to be back in New York, where I had been assigned as a very junior Foreign Service officer so many years ago. Then, arranging visits of European parliamentarians, African chiefs, Asian journalists, leaders representing nearly every country and profession, I had come to know the city intimately; and I was eager to renew an old—if not altogether fond—acquaintance.

With no particular goal in mind, I found myself heading toward Times Square—the theater district where I had spent so many happy hours under the magic spell of the beautiful people who performed on Broadway in the 1950s. Much had changed, I discovered as I walked toward Broadway on 42nd Street. The Commodore, Grand Central Station, the Public Library and even that mecca of little old ladies—Schrafft's—were still there. But something had been added to the 42nd Street scene. Everywhere I looked there was pornography, prostitution and pot—dirty books, dirty movies, and dirty young men trying to “score”—not with the girls, like

Marty and his friends in that wonderful movie about another generation of New Yorkers, but with other men or, even worse, with the friendly corner pusher.

In the 1970s, I soon realized, the magnificent library behind the lions at Fifth Avenue and the incomparable theaters of Broadway were being outdrawn by grubby little shops full of pornographic literature and rows of movie houses featuring skin flicks; and the world's oldest profession was not only out in full view but fully “liberated.” “Well, it serves the girls right,” I thought to myself, as I looked about to see if there were still any theaters that a proper UN delegate might frequent.

As I stopped to look at a playbill, I could not help glancing at a sturdy, blond, neatly dressed young man who stood waiting expectantly beside it. He was not, I thought, the very image of a proper “fag.” Why would he go for that sort of thing? The young man took my curious glance for interest “Looking for action?” he asked. My curiosity level rose. “I don’t know,” I said, “what kind of action do you have in mind?” With obvious lack of enthusiasm, the young man told me what he did—for \$15—and my insatiable curiosity fairly bubbled. What

he did was neither surprising nor stimulating. But I was intrigued by the fact that—in contrast with the heroes of the films down the street—there was apparently a great deal that he did not do. Further guarded inquiries revealed that such acts had not been merely overlooked; they were definitely not on the program. Nor was his lack of enthusiasm, I sensed, due exclusively to my lack of youth and charm. This was no “fag” at all, I decided—just a kid who was going about as far as he could go in order to make a quick buck. But why—and why this?

The answer seemed obvious enough, of course. I had heard a great deal about the problem of drugs since returning to the United States; but while my neighbors in the Washington suburbs seemed to fear its creeping into our high schools and even into our grade schools, I had not had first hand contact with the problem. Suddenly, I felt a strong need to find out what it was all about and what it was that led this boy and many of the others I had seen on 42nd Street to sell their bodies for \$15; and I felt a strange compassion for the sad figure standing in front of me.

Almost without thinking, I threw diplomatic caution and memories of the McCarthy era to the cold winter winds. “Yes,” I said, “I’m interested but not in that kind of action. What I would like to do is talk to you.” A puzzled look came across the young man’s face. “Nobody ever asked me to do that before,” he responded. After some hesitation, he added, “but if you will pay me, there is a place around the corner where we can get a cup of coffee.” We agreed on a price to compensate him for the time he would be out of “action,” then walked to the nearby coffee shop. “My name’s Jimmy,” he said, “what’s yours?”

Jimmy was not his real name, I knew; but the rest of what he told me over several cups of coffee seemed all too true. He was 22 years old, born in Pittsburgh. His was “just an ordinary family,” he said; there were two brothers and a sister, a mother whom he loved, his father a railroad engineer who did not understand him. He had attended both parochial and public schools—but school was not his bag. He had left home at the age of

sixteen and had wandered—first to Ohio, then to New York, where he found a job selling books on 42nd Street.

It took a long time before Jimmy could bring himself to tell me why he had been forced to supplement his income at the book store, why he had finally lost his job and had taken to the street full time, why he continued along that path when he hated it so. But, like all of his other frustrations, it finally came out. Soon after arriving in New York—four years ago—he had begun with “ups and downs” (amphetamines and barbiturates); then, needing ever stronger aids to escape from his lonely, unfulfilling existence, he had gone on to “acid” (LSD) and finally—about eighteen months ago—had taken the final step: heroin. He needed \$30 to \$60 a day to feed his habit, and his only recourse was to turn to crime—which he would not do—or prostitution.

Was there no one who could help him, I asked. He could not tell his family, Jimmy replied. Did he have no friends? There had been one when he first came to New York; they had shared a room. But the other boy had drifted away—and there was no one else.

When I said goodbye to Jimmy that night, I could sense that he did not want me to go. But what could I do for him? What could I say that would not offer false hopes? Drug addiction was a new experience for me—still virtually unknown in the countries where I had served during the past half dozen years. I was not sure how I could help—not even sure that I wanted to get involved.

As the succeeding week passed, I endured the long days of talk, talk, talk in four languages at the United Nations, only to spend every evening investigating the problem of drug addiction in New York. I talked to friends, all troubled by the estimates of 65,000 addicts in the city, shocked when, increasingly, the sons or daughters of friends or of colleagues at the office fell victims to overdoses, afraid for the safety—even the lives—of their own children. I read the many articles in the press. I listened to the discussions on drugs which can be heard every night on New York television if one is willing to forego Johnny Carson or Dick Cavett. Bit by bit I learned

of possible sources of help for addicts—places like Phoenix House, Odyssey House, Samaritan Halfway House, and various others using methadone substitution, detoxification and group therapy.

When I thought I had learned enough, I went back to 42nd Street to look for Jimmy. It was bitter cold in New York that week; but on two evenings, after the sessions had ended at the UN, I walked to Times Square. All I got for my trouble was exercise and frozen ears; I could not find him. As the temperature plunged further toward zero, I resolved to try a third and final time. Back and forth—not unself-consciously under the gaze of other hustlers—I walked that night on the now familiar block of 42nd Street between Broadway and 8th Avenue where I had met Jimmy; but once again he was nowhere to be seen. Just as I was on the point of giving up and returning to the warmth of my hotel, I saw him. He looked tired and worn—his clothes and hair disheveled and his eyes red and swollen. “I’m glad to see you,” he said after a moment of disbelief. “I was kicked out of my room three days ago. The landlord got mad about my taking the ‘Johns’ there. Since then I’ve slept in the bus terminal. I’m tired and I’m sick.”

I offered to buy Jimmy dinner, but he would take only a glass of milk. He was too sick from lack of heroin to keep anything solid in his stomach. I gave him \$10—the minimum amount he said he needed for a “fix”—and I told him that he could sleep that night in my room—but on one condition: that he would let me take him the next day to Odyssey House. Jimmy needed treatment and a place to live, and Odyssey House offered both at no charge.

I half expected to be told to mind my own business; but Jimmy agreed at once. He really wanted to kick heroin, he said. He had investigated some of the methadone withdrawal centers and had even telephoned Odyssey House once; but he could never seem to get there. There was a fine program at a Jewish community center near where he lived; but there was a one-year waiting period for enrollment. He had been thinking about going to a private clinic near Columbia University; but he

Richard L. Springer began his career as a Foreign Service Officer in 1956 as a Program Officer at the New York Reception Center. Since that time, he has served in La Paz, Florence and Barcelona as well as in the Department, where he is presently assigned to the Bureau of International Organization Affairs. Born in 1930 in Toledo, Ohio, Mr. Springer holds degrees the University of Toledo and George Washington University and is presently a doctoral candidate in international relations at American University. He is married and has two young sons.

had never been able to get that far uptown without spending the \$20 fee on heroin as he passed the pushers along the way. What Jimmy needed, I realized, was a little nudge from a pusher of a different type—someone who was interested enough to give him a helping hand. I was more than ever determined to provide it. If I did not, who would?

Jimmy went off to get his fix; and I returned to my hotel wondering whether he would appear there as agreed, unable to suppress lingering thoughts that perhaps I was being taken. How often during the past week I had heard that an addict would do anything for a fix. But within less than a half hour he was there, knocking at my door. His nerves and his stomach were calmed by his shot in the arm, and, although tired from lack of sleep, he was eager to talk. We talked about his life, the lack of communication he felt with his parents, his rejection of the faith in which he had been raised, his feeling of purposelessness, and his loneliness. And we talked about my work. To my surprise, my description of the United Nations fascinated him and he wanted me to talk on and on. It was as if a new world had been opened to him . . . a world which had been just a few blocks away at the other end of 42nd Street, but which might as well have been on the moon.

I had to be at the US Mission to the United Nations early the next morning. Washington was waiting breathlessly for my reports, and cables had to be prepared before the morning session. Over breakfast, we agreed to meet at lunch time to go downtown to Odyssey House. I finished my cables and went across the street to the UN. The talk in the glass tower of Babel went on and on, and I was late to arrive at our meeting place. For the first time, I saw a broad smile light up Jimmy's face. "I was so afraid that you wouldn't come," he said.

Jimmy had not had any heroin since the preceding evening, and

that had been of poor quality. The powder in a \$10 packet of heroin has been "cut" again and again; and even good quality heroin is effective for only about twenty-four hours. He was beginning to feel sick, and he begged me to give him a chance to "score" just one more time—just one fix to get him through. "What if they don't give me methadone right away?" he asked pleadingly. With the best of intentions, I refused. "I'll give you money for cigarettes," I said, "but no more heroin." My decision was a mistake; I still had much to learn about the power of heroin.

We hailed a taxi and headed downtown. At Odyssey House, Jimmy would be put through a three hour "induction" procedure to determine whether he was sufficiently motivated to kick his habit. There were too many addicts in New York wanting help to afford the luxury of wasting time and resources on those brought in against their will by well-meaning families or friends. "Stay with me," Jimmy pleaded, "or I don't think I can make it." I promised that I would try.

Our taxi pulled up in front of a big brownstone house, and we went inside. The receptionist greeted us pleasantly but informed me firmly that I could not stay. Jimmy would have to make it on his own. "Please call us after three o'clock," she said, "and we will let you know whether he has been accepted."

I went back to the United Nations, as nervous as an expectant father. The afternoon session was to start at three o'clock, and I telephoned Odyssey House just as the chairman banged his gavel on the rostrum. I asked about Jimmy. "I'm sorry," was the reply, "he left before the induction procedure was completed." My hopes collapsed. I knew how badly Jimmy had wanted to make it—and I realized then the power of heroin to enslave men. The talk went on, but I barely heard it.

I was discouraged and confused—

not knowing where to find Jimmy or what I should do if I did find him. If he wants my help, I thought, he will call me. . . but what would I do then? I was torn between hope that he would call, so that I might try again, and hope that he would not, so that I might be relieved of the whole affair.

There was no call that evening. The following evening, I had dinner with a Foreign Service colleague. We went to a little pub on Third Avenue, and, with the aid of a few beers, I unloaded the story of Jimmy and of my deep frustration and ambivalence. "Don't worry about it," he said to my amazement; "something will happen and you will know what to do." I prayed that he was right, but I had my doubts on both counts.

Neither prophesies nor prayers are often answered so soon—at least to the benefit of doubters and sinners. Within a minute after I entered my hotel room that night, the telephone rang. "Hi," a familiar voice said, "this is Jimmy. I've been trying to call you all day. I've used two dollars worth of dimes. I was picked up by the police last night for loitering. I spent the night in the Tombs (an aptly named New York jail), and they wouldn't let me use the telephone to call you. This morning I was released without charges. I'm really sorry I couldn't stick it out at Odyssey House," he went on. "I was so sick; but as soon as I walked out the door, I knew I shouldn't have done it. Will you help me again? I'll do anything you say; but right now I'm sick and I need a fix."

As I hesitated, not wanting to make the same mistake a second time but still disturbed by the thought of financing heroin and perhaps still plagued by an undercurrent of doubt concerning Jimmy's motives, he added almost as an afterthought: "Oh, by the way, I just met a priest—a Father Martin from Connecticut—and he offered to get me into a program he knows about up there. He said he would drive down for me if ever I want to go."

"Drive down for you, hell!" I shouted into the receiver. "You want to go right now! Tell me where I can find that priest and get over here as fast as you can!"

(Continued on page 27)

The Whys of VIOLENCE in Northern Ireland

Americans have been watching, appalled, as a corner of Ireland—to which many millions of us are linked by blood and sentiment—tears itself apart in a deepening fratricidal struggle whose end seems nowhere in sight. This struggle is conflictually portrayed outside Ireland as a religious conflict, as a minority's crusade for civil rights, as a majority's campaign to preserve its heritage against terrorism and violence, or as a British Vietnam. What are the causes of this struggle? What is its reality?

The causes lie deep in Ireland's long and turbulent history. A hundred years after the Battle of Hastings, after consolidating their conquest of England and Wales, the Normans looked about for new lands to conquer. Nearby Ireland was a logical target. Comparatively rich, a racially homogenous Celtic country with a proud tradition of civilization and Christian culture, Ireland was also politically disunited and, after long isolation, militarily weak. The Normans established themselves in the district centered on Dublin called the Pale, but were unable to master the hinterland. For the next four centuries the size of

the Pale waxed and waned in proportion to such attention as the English could spare to Irish affairs. By the time of Henry VIII English control had shrunk to Dublin and its perimeter.

The Protestant Reformation had profound and lasting effects on Anglo-Irish relations. Already divided by race and language, following the Reformation the English and Irish additionally were distracted by differences in religion. Furthermore, because of the religious split, Ireland now became a potential ally of England's Catholic enemies, France and Spain. By the latter part of the eighteenth century Ireland had become, in modern terms, a

strategic threat to England's national security. To remove this threat England renewed, once the Spanish Armada was defeated, its efforts to conquer and Anglicize its neighbor. A century of sporadic but bitter and destructive warfare followed, including the Cromwellian invasion. The fighting was climaxed on July 12, 1690, by the Battle of the Boyne. This decisive victory fixed the pattern of Irish life by ensuring the British and Protestant hegemony of Ireland for the next two centuries or more. July 12 accordingly is still celebrated by the Protestant community in Northern Ireland as its national day.

This Protestant community was deliberately introduced into Ireland by King James I of England, about the time Jamestown in Virginia was founded, as part of a massive British effort to pacify Ireland. This settlement, known as the Plantation of Ulster, involved importing thousands of loyal Protestant settlers, mostly Scots but including some English, and "planting" them in Ireland's northern province of Ulster. The native Irish were driven from the good land, most of which was apportioned to British "undertak-

Virgil P. Randolph, III, was raised in Richmond, Virginia, and attended the University of Virginia. After active duty in the Navy during the Korean War, he entered the Foreign Service in 1955 and has been assigned to the Department, Port-au-Prince, Santos, Lima, and Dublin from 1968 to 1971. He is presently an Exchange Officer on duty in the Politico-Military Policy Division in the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations. Mr. Randolph's interest in Ireland is reinforced by his wife and five children having remained in Dublin in order to finish the current school year.

ers," from whom spring the landed gentry who still control Northern Ireland. The Irish aristocracy emigrated or went under. The bulk of the Irish people were degraded to the status of tenants at will, hewers-of-wood and drawers-of-water in what had been their own country. The Plantation of Ulster transformed the social, economic and ethnic composition of the province, and sowed the seeds of religious strife which persists to this day. British domination, termed the "Protestant Ascendancy," was formalized in a collection of Penal Laws which laid heavy disabilities upon Roman Catholics. Nowhere in Ireland was the Protestant Ascendancy more thorough-going than in Ulster, the only area in the island where a majority of the population was non-Irish, Protestant and English-speaking. But despite their privileged position as contrasted with their Catholic neighbors, many of the Protestant settlers in Ulster felt oppressed by their landlords, often absentee. In the course of the 18th century and later many thousands of these "Scotch-Irish" emigrated to America. Ulster's native Irish population, which stubbornly clung to its old religion and customs, became increasingly impoverished as the eighteenth century passed into the nineteenth. Occasionally, as in 1798, there was a rebellion, which the British, with their sizable permanent garrison in Ireland, were always able to suppress.

The wretched lot of the Irish peasant reached its nadir in 1845-48, by which time the population of Ireland had risen to eight and a half millions. The potato, the staple, and for millions of Irish, almost the only food, suddenly was blighted. A million starved; a million emigrated: many to England, many, in a stream which has only recently dried up, to America. Generally speaking, Ulster fared better during the Famine than the rest of Ireland. But for a hundred years after the Famine the population of Ireland as a whole, drained by emigration, continued to decline—perhaps the only country in the Western World which steadily lost population during the last half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. The popula-

tion curve has bottomed out, and is now beginning to rise slightly. Ireland today has about four and a half million people—three million in the Republic and a million and a half in Northern Ireland.

As the nineteenth century wore on and the Protestant Ascendancy came to a close, conditions in Ireland for the mass of the population gradually improved. The Penal Laws were repealed, Catholic Emancipation achieved, the Protestant Church of Ireland disestablished, and power passed from the landlords as their big estates were broken up and land distributed to their tenants. Although most of Ireland remained overwhelmingly rural, during the nineteenth century profound changes transformed portions of Ulster, as the industrial revolution penetrated into the northern cities while bypassing the rest of Ireland. Belfast rose from an insignificant fishing port in 1800 to a city of 350,000 by 1900, with the only urban industrial proletariat in Ireland. Most of the new industrial and commercial prosperity was enjoyed by the Protestant community (which had largely created it), while the Catholic community benefited to a lesser degree. However, a relatively small element in the Catholic community did attain a modest affluence.

This very cursory glance at seven centuries of Irish history may suggest why the Irish Nationalist* has nourished an abiding sense of grievance against the British.

By the eve of World War I the Nationalist population of Ireland, most of which is Catholic, was eager for political autonomy to complement its improved economic condition and was agitating for Home Rule, or what would later be called Dominion status. On the other hand, the British antecedents, Protestant religion and economic interests of the Ulster Unionists caused them vehemently to reject any move toward Home Rule. They reckoned that a transfer of political power from London to Dublin would transform them from part of the ruling majority in the United King-

dom into a minority in a predominantly Catholic Ireland. Most of the Unionist population was prepared to fight anyone, including British authority, rather than sever its links with Britain ("Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right"). Bloodshed was averted only by, for Ireland, the fortuitous outbreak of World War I. Irish Home Rule, already enacted by the British Parliament, was suspended.

Ulster's loyalty to the Crown was demonstrated during World War I (and again in World War II) by a notable contribution to the British war effort. But British excesses in putting down the abortive 1916 Easter Rising in Dublin crystallized public opinion in the South away from the limited objective of Home Rule in favor of full independence. As a result, immediately after the War, from 1919 to 1921, Irish Republicans in the South waged a desperate struggle against British rule, which culminated in British recognition of the Irish Free State, with a large measure of independence. In Ulster, however, the million Unionists wanted no part of an Irish Free State, and insisted on remaining part of the United Kingdom. This was accomplished by the 1920 Government of Ireland Act, which had been designed to give a measure of self-government to the whole of Ireland and had provided for regional parliaments to be set up in both Belfast and Dublin, with overall British rule retained. When the Irish Republicans forced the Free State out of the United Kingdom, the Government of Ireland Act became operative in 1921 only in the North, and so provided the legal basis for the Government of Northern Ireland. Ireland, which had been a geographic and cultural entity for over a thousand years, for the first time was partitioned. The Free State took in those counties with a Catholic majority, including three in the historic province of Ulster; those counties having a Protestant majority—six out of 32—became Northern Ireland. Thus, ironically, Northern Ireland, while remaining within the United Kingdom, in effect obtained Home Rule, which it had resisted; the South, while now outside the United Kingdom, failed to achieve complete independence, for which it had fought.

*The writer prefers "Nationalist" and "Unionist" to "Catholic" and "Protestant" as more expressive of the different political outlooks of the Northern Ireland communities.

Under the new arrangement the six counties of Northern Ireland, containing a million Protestants—the majority Presbyterians—and a half million Roman Catholics, continued to be an integral part of the United Kingdom but from now on governed itself with its own parliament (called Stormont after its location). Stormont has a fairly wide measure of autonomy, but is subordinate to the British Parliament in Westminster, to which Northern Ireland also sends twelve members. For nearly half a century, as the Free State to the south evolved into the fully independent Republic of Ireland, Northern Ireland was left largely to itself. During all this time the Government of Northern Ireland was tightly controlled by the Unionist Party, which is pledged to preserve Northern Ireland's strong ties with Britain and is closely allied with the British Conservative Party. The Unionist Party, in turn, has been strongly influenced by the Orange Order, a fraternal organization closed to Roman Catholics. The Nationalist minority was deliberately excluded from any meaningful participation in politics and thrown into frustrated and ineffectual opposition.

This situation, which has been described as "frozen politics," persisted until the 1960s. At that time Northern Ireland was the poorest part of the United Kingdom, but economically more advanced than the Republic. The Protestant majority dominated Northern Ireland's political, economic and social life; the economically disadvantaged Catholic minority felt discriminated against in such vital matters as jobs and housing. Incredible as it may seem in such a small country, the two communities, although existing side by side, maintained in their daily existence a minimum of contact with each other. The Catholic community lived in its own well-defined neighborhoods, attended its own schools, enjoyed its own social life, employed its own kind. But while the standard of living of the average Catholic in Northern Ireland tended to be lower than that of the average Protestant, it was generally higher than that in the Republic, thanks to the wider prosperity and better social infrastructure enjoyed by Northern Ireland in com-

mon with the rest of the United Kingdom. The Nationalists were therefore not especially anxious for the immediate end of Partition, for this would inevitably lower their own standard of living, together with that of the Unionists. The Nationalists in Northern Ireland had therefore a much more immediate interest in achieving equality of opportunity within the existing framework of Northern Ireland than in destroying it, but without losing sight of their ultimate objective, *i.e.*, a united Ireland in some form. The Republic, engrossed in its own economic development, also put reunification on the back burner.

Northern Ireland's present travail began in October 1968 when, without warning, rioting broke out in the course of a civil rights march in the economically depressed city of Londonderry. Agitation for political reform benefiting Catholics quickly spread to Belfast and to other towns and areas where Catholics are numerous. Young, militant leftist Civil Rights leaders, the best known of whom is Bernadette Devlin, emerged as new leaders of the Nationalist population. The Northern Ireland Government was dismayed to find that what had commenced as a riot of the kind that was a familiar part of the local scene (232 persons were killed in disturbances in Northern Ireland in 1922) was becoming a permanent state of turmoil affecting all of Northern Ireland, in a new guise of agitation for civil rights. Prime Minister Terence O'Neill lost the support of his Unionist Party when he appeared too ready to make concessions to the Nationalists, and had to resign. In August 1969 serious rioting erupted in Londonderry, as the Nationalists became impatient with the lack of implementation of meaningful reforms by the Unionists. The Nationalists had also lost confidence in the Northern Ireland Police force, most of whom were Protestants, and law and order broke down as Catholic homes in Belfast were burned down in a violent Protestant backlash. The Labor Government in Britain—much as it disliked having to do so—dispatched several thousand British soldiers to Northern Ireland, primarily to insulate the two communities from each other. The troops have been

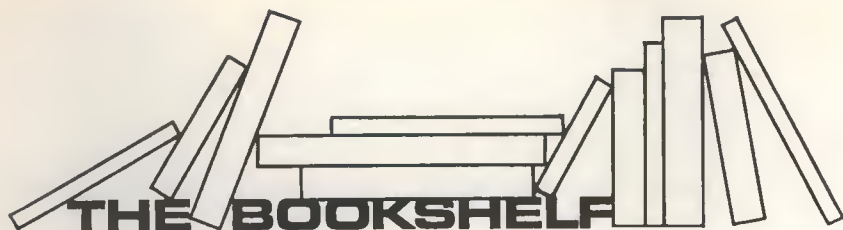
there ever since and now number 15,000.

In the wake of the August 1969 riots the Labor Government pressed Stormont to effect a number of far-reaching reforms in the administration of local government in Northern Ireland. The Labor Government did not endure long enough to witness completion of the reforms, as in May 1970 it was replaced by the Conservatives, the Unionists' old allies. Meantime, the situation was complicated by the re-emergence of the IRA.

The Irish Republican Army—the IRA—is a Dublin-based clandestine terrorist organization whose objective is to end British rule in Ireland and create a united, Catholic and Gaelic Ireland which includes the Protestant community. The IRA had been the target of communist infiltration in the 1960s, and the 1969 riots found the IRA disarmed and factionalized. In early 1970 the IRA split into communist-influenced "Official" and orthodox anti-partition "Provisional" wings which fought, gangland fashion, for local supremacy in Nationalist neighborhoods in Belfast and other Northern Ireland cities. The "Provisionals" won, and have since become much larger and more powerful than the "Officials."

The IRA's strategy has been to escalate terror and violence in order to paralyze Northern Ireland, cause the British Government to suspend a discredited Stormont and institute direct rule over Northern Ireland. The IRA calculated that the British Government would quickly tire of the bloodshed, damage to the Province and great expense to the British Exchequer which continuation of British rule would entail, and would eventually come forward with proposals leading to some form of reunification. The IRA has been careful to confine its violence to Northern Ireland in order not to alienate the populace in the Republic, most of which supports the IRA's aims, while questioning its methods. Fighting for its existence, and backed by the Conservative Government which is not anxious for the disappearance of the Stormont buffer, in August 1971 the Unionist Government, headed by its

(Continued on page 28)



The Third World Power

ARMS, YEN AND POWER. *The Japanese Dilemma*, by John K. Emmerson. Dunellen, \$15.00.

STARTING as language officer in 1936 and ending as DCM in Tokyo (with intervening assignments in a half dozen other posts), the author's lengthy experience, his command of the language, and penetrating insights into Japanese character and politics enable him to penetrate the complexities of Japanese foreign policy. Now the third world power, if measured in Gross National Product, Japan has for several years enjoyed a growth rate of ten per cent per annum. Her favorable trade balances increase each year. Forty per cent of the cars in British Columbia are of Japanese make. Shipyards boom—and Britain's famous Clyde-side declines. Textiles, plastics, automobiles, electronics manufacturers in the United States are increasingly aware of Japanese imports.

Homogeneity of race, mild climate, 99 per cent literacy (what other country can match that statistic?) the strong "achievement ethic," and a spirit of togetherness displayed by government and business interests, explain much of Japan's remarkable upturn since 1945. But added to those internal assets has been the less than one per cent of GNP devoted to military expenditures, possible only because of the naval and air defense of the country, and the nuclear umbrella held aloft by the United States.

Will Japan's status as number one or number two trading partner with each Asian country remind observers of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere, the slogan of the 1930s and 1940s? Emmerson thinks that without the military component, Japanese policy will not return to that way of life. But the defense-security horn of the Japanese dilemma may be sharpened as time goes on. The Nixon-Sato agreement for turning back Okinawa on May 15 also included agreement to with-

draw atomic weapons there. One may expect smaller and fewer American military installations (there are now 120) in Japan. The implications of the Nixon Doctrine of lowered profile in Asia may in the long run leave Japan defenseless . . . unless she arms herself. Japan signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. But she did not ratify it.

Aggression in Asia is endemic: events in Tibet, Goa, Korea, and Bengal are not lost on the Japanese. She is sensitive to the future of Korea and Taiwan, both former Japanese colonies. The dilemma: economic development and expansion, or a diversion of resources to guarantee her defense?

—WILLARD F. BARBER

The New Crusaders

WITH JUSTICE FOR SOME, edited by Bruce Wasserstein and Mark J. Green, introduction by Ralph Nader. Beacon Press, \$12.50.

FOR the past few years, as almost everyone is generally aware, law schools across the land have been deluged with applications. Nor do most of the applicants aspire to partnership in the Wall Street stratosphere.

The best of the young lawyers, indeed, will spend their first few years, and perhaps longer, in a holy crusade at hairshirt salary because they are compelled, in their own frame of reference, to make life in America worth living. They are the radicals who refuse to cop out. They are not optimists—they lament that Richard Nixon, James Roche, and John Mitchell are winning, and the ancient liberties to which we have long aspired are on the verge of being irretrievably lost. But they will not give up without giving it a bloody go.

This book is a superb collection of the "work product" of these attorneys in various fields—civil rights, poverty law, race relations, consumers' problems, big business,

criminal justice, women's lib. Each essay burns with outrage and, at the same time, reflects a brilliance of scholarship and a respect for legal artistry.

Many of the authors who have contributed to this book are as far out as a hash-blowing hippie; yet all of them are as result-oriented as Ralph Nader. They are testimony to the genius of our system, and their infectious enthusiasm leads us to the conclusion that somehow we will make it.

—AMBLER H. MOSS, JR.

At Last—A Guide

THE ART AND PRACTICE OF DIPLOMACY: *A Selected and Annotated Guide*, by Robert B. Harmon. Scarecrow Press, \$10.00.

IT is certainly a sign of our extraordinary attitude toward diplomacy that we have not possessed a comprehensive guide to its materials. Now we have one, thanks to Robert B. Harmon. His compact little volume is more than an annotated bibliography, as valuable as that is for every serious student of diplomacy. It provides helpful background information, a glossary of diplomatic terms, organization charts of ministries of foreign affairs (his chart of the State Department is inadequate, however) and of US diplomatic missions and consular posts, as well as diplomatic documents. His "introduction," in which he defines diplomacy, is a gem of insightful condensation. Some memoirs and biographies are missing, such as Stephen Gwynn's "Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring Rice" but Mr. Harmon, modestly recognizing that such omissions exist, promises to repair them in a new edition. In the interim, his guide is priceless and no diplomatic officer with any claim to professional interest should be caught without it in his library.

—SMITH SIMPSON

Tribal Tradition

CORPORATION MAN, by Anthony Jay. Random House \$7.95.

ANTHONY JAY draws from his experience in the BBC and the British Army, as well as from such books as "The Naked Ape" (Morris) and

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John P. Hoover, retired FSO, one-time USOM Director, and recent employee of the Organization of American States, has been appointed Managing Director of the Foreign Service Audio Center. He succeeds the founder of the Center, Otto H. Korican, formerly of AID, who has accepted a long-term overseas consulting assignment.

Under Mr. Hoover's direction, the Center will continue to make available to U.S. government, United Nations, and other diplomatic personnel in all parts of the world a broad range of the finest Hi-Fi and stereo sets, components, and related electronic equipment at the lowest possible prices.

The new address of the Center is 6500 Bannockburn Drive, Bethesda, Maryland 20034; and the telephone number (after 6:00 p.m.) is (301) 229-2147.

"Territorial Imperative" (Ardrey) to put forward an interesting notion that the tribal tradition of our early ancestors contributes, more often than is realized, to the success or failure of the enterprises undertaken by modern organizations. A readable book, only slightly too long.

—REBECCA H. LATIMER

A Disservice to the Foreign Legion

DEVIL'S GUARD, by George Robert Elford. Delacourte Press, \$7.95.

THE publisher of this book felt called upon to state that the book was produced to "provide the reading public with a clear insight into the mind and personality of an unregenerate Nazi. . . ." Well, I think we've had enough such insights. Of course there is a strange cult of morbid interest today in things Hitlerian among those who did not witness Nazism in its vicious prime.

This volume purports to detail the anti-terrorist operations of the "Devil's Guard" or what the author calls the "Foreign Legion's Nazi Battalion in Indochina." As one who came to know the Legion well in Indochina I feel the book does the Foreign Legion a great disservice.

To take the recorded testimony of one ex-SS officer who became a Legion non-com in Indochina and build it into a book of 297 pages glorifying the fighting skill and ability of the ex-SS members of the Legion over their French and North African counterparts is to accept too much on face value from an obviously prejudiced witness.

Yes, there were many Germans in the Legion. Yes, counter terrorism was a daily procedure. Yes, the Indochina war yesterday and today is a morass of cruelty.

But, whatever political views one might have of the Legion, it was (and is) a fine fighting organization and its French officers commanded their men—Germans, Yugoslavs, Italians, Spaniards etc. with a firm hand.

The ex-Nazis who fled to the Legion following World War II were soon outnumbered by the confused young Germans who took the same path in order to eat and to escape the depression of their gray, defeated country.

I stopped reading when the author—through the taped testimony of his source—put forward the conviction that more counter-terrorism, more wholesale destruction of villages (everyone above four feet, male or female, eliminated as a matter of course) would have won the war. Perhaps, ten years from now, we'll see the same apology for My Lai in print. I hope not.

—HOWARD R. SIMPSON

British Reticence

WASHINGTON AND OTHER MEMORIES, by Sir Arthur Willert. (Houghton, Mifflin, \$6.95) is described as the "affectionate reminiscences" of the long-time correspondent of the London TIMES in Washington, D.C.

The period covered spans the administrations of Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson and Harding and includes the fascinating prelude to the American entry into World War I. However, although the political and diplomatic aspects of the book will be of interest to the historian, its primary appeal will be to establishment dowagers and elderly members of the Metropolitan Club.

The atmosphere of a period piece can be illustrated by Sir Arthur's spinsterlike refusal to reprint—after half a century!—a racy riddle then current about President Wilson's relations with Mrs. Galt.

—CHARLES MAECHLING, JR.

JOURNAL COMPETITION

by ANTHONY C. E. QUAINTON

Readers are invited to take part in a new monthly feature: a foreign affairs competition. A prize of ten dollars will be awarded to the reader who submits the most original and humorous response to the competition of the month. The winning entry and those of two runners-up will be published in subsequent issues of the JOURNAL.

In the inaugural competition, results of which must be submitted to the JOURNAL by June 15, readers should submit in no more than one hundred words a sample Management Reform Bulletin for the Ottoman Empire Foreign Office. The contribution may be submitted as a memorandum from the Grand Vizier or in any other form deemed appropriate.

42ND STREET

continued from page 21

While Jimmy walked over from Times Square, I telephoned Father Martin at his hotel. A young priest who disdained the clerical collar when not engaged in the formal work of the parish, he had met Jimmy in circumstances similar to my own. Would he take Jimmy back to Connecticut with him? He would be delighted. He was going home the following day, and he could get Jimmy into an excellent program—methadone withdrawal and rehabilitation—that very evening. The clinic was run by a friend of his, so there would be no problem and no charge; and Jimmy could stay at the YMCA. Should I give him money for heroin in the meantime? "I know how you feel about it," he replied, "but sometimes you have to do it."

My prayer answered and my conscience relieved, I fell to my knees to thank God that an enslaved young man had been led to proposition a diplomat and a priest—that

miracles can still happen, even to a junkie prostitute on 42nd Street.

But the story does not end there. Jimmy soon knocked on my hotel room door. I gave him another \$10 bill, and he hurried off to 8th Avenue—where heroin is readily available any hour of the day or night. This time, to my surprise, he brought the heroin back to the hotel. Two small aluminum foil packets were extracted from his shirt pocket and placed on the dressing table. I watched as he took the white powder out of the foil wrapping and mixed it with water in a cup made from the foil. "Here," he said, "hold the match while I heat it."

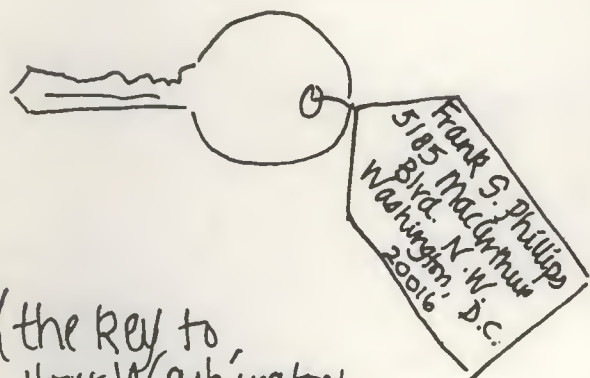
"Good grief," I thought, as the solution boiled; "if only SY (The State Department's Office of Security) could see me now!"

Jimmy filled his crude syringe, tied a rubber cord around his upper arm, and made a fist to make the veins protrude. "You'll notice that the pupils of my eyes get bigger," he said. But I could not take my own eyes off the syringe as he drew

back blood and then shot the heroin into the vein.

The next morning we parted. I sent Jimmy off in a taxi to Father Martin's hotel and went back to another exciting day at the United Nations. The talk went on and on; and, as I sat there, I could not help but wonder how many more boys there were on 42nd Street just like Jimmy—boys who could be helped if only someone had the time and the interest to ask them to talk.

JIMMY went to Connecticut with Father Martin. After a time he wrote to his parents, and his father—a now wiser man—took him back to Pittsburgh, where he entered a similar detoxification program. Not long ago, I received a letter, "I haven't had a shot of heroin since that night in your hotel room," he wrote. "It is so good to wake up in the morning and know that I don't need it. It's pretty hard, though, to find a job and to get used to living with my family and using my real name again. But I'm trying; I'm really trying." ■



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NORTHERN IRELAND

continued from page 24

new Prime Minister Brian Faulkner, introduced internment, *i.e.*, imprisonment without trial, of IRA suspects. This measure, together with the arbitrary searches and seizures which accompany it, widened the gulf between Nationalists and Unionists and not only failed to defeat the IRA, despite hundreds of arrests, but actually increased sympathy for it among the Nationalists. Allegations of mistreatment of internees further exacerbated relations between the Nationalists and the Unionists, and the breach between the two was completed last January 30, when British soldiers fired on an illegal Civil Rights march in Londonderry and thirteen persons—all demonstrators—were killed. With bombings and murder a daily occurrence in Northern Ireland, it would seem that the climax, if not the end, to this intractable problem, must be at hand.

The Nationalists in both Northern Ireland and the Republic view the

problem as stemming from the exclusion of the half-million Catholics in the North from an effective political role in their own country. They regard the present violence as a consequence, not the cause, of the problem and, tragic as it is, probably inevitable if immediate political reform, and perhaps ultimate reunification, are to be achieved. The Unionists, on the other hand, stubbornly believe that the preservation of what they as a majority have built up in Northern Ireland in over three hundred and fifty years depends upon their maintaining at all costs their links with Great Britain, and that broad political concessions to the Nationalists would erode, and finally destroy, their way of life. The Unionists look upon the IRA as the cause of the North's troubles, and believe it must be stamped out by whatever force is necessary. The British Government, for its part, although uncomfortable with its troublesome and costly involvement in Northern Ireland, nevertheless feels a strong sense of responsibility toward a million intensely loyal subjects there. Its soldiers are in North-

ern Ireland to protect life and property, and it considers the troubles there an essentially internal matter not subject to any third-party interference, which it resents. Finally, Prime Minister John Lynch of the Irish Government in Dublin, a moderate who rejects reunification by force, nevertheless regards reunification as the only basis for a lasting solution to the problem. He has repeatedly indicated his willingness to make constitutional and other changes (such as permitting divorce and the sale of contraceptives) in order to facilitate reunification. And the Republic is proud that within its confines Catholics and Protestants (about 100,000 of the latter) dwell peaceably together.

The reality of the struggle in Northern Ireland is thus that it is basically political, and centered on the issue of the Partition of Ireland, but with important sectarian overtones. In the present bloody impasse all sides are looking to Britain, as the only one of the protagonists to retain any flexibility of action, for new political initiatives which can end the struggle. ■

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PARLER FRANCAIS

continued from page 12

this program by the International Schools Association in Geneva is one of the most exciting events ever to occur in the field of foreign education.

The I.B. is a pilot project with a uniform curriculum conducted in a number of chosen schools. To prepare for the I.B. examination the students enroll at one of the member schools for the last two years of high school. At the end of their senior year children of all nations sit for six examinations of which three are majors and three minors. The written exams in major subjects take four hours each while minor exams last three hours. Students also have to pass an oral examination in languages. The exams are scheduled in two sessions in May and June—rather late for Americans who expect college acceptances in April. Yet this has its advantages as Mr. Maurice Pezet, Assistant Headmaster of the United Nations

School in New York explained: "our students have their college acceptances in their pockets when they sit for the I.B. exams. Should they fail or do badly they don't lose. If they pass they still have a choice of a foreign university or will be eligible for Advanced Placement at American colleges in subjects they passed as majors."

The International Baccalaureat has six study areas:

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4. Choice of one of the basic sciences
5. Mathematics
6. Subject of free choice in music, art, another language, more science or mathematics, or another subject from the "Study of Man."

The International Baccalaureat

Office in Geneva has a permanent staff and publishes a semi-annual Bulletin with detailed information on further development.

The first complete examinations have been given in spring 1970 at the end of a two-year preparatory course. The experiment will be continued till 1976 by which time results can be appraised. Universities in leading countries in the meantime have agreed to accept graduates with the I.B. diploma on the same basis as their national students. Holders of the I.B. will have acquired a broad general education and fluency in at least one foreign language.

Thus while up to now Johnny could not get a truly international education he will in future have a much greater choice of schools from which to graduate with an international diploma in his pocket. He will be better equipped for a career in the diplomatic corps, in the field of International Relations and economics, and, if he so chooses, he will certainly *parler français*. ■

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The JOURNAL welcomes the expression of its readers' opinions in the form of letters to the editor. All letters are subject to condensation if necessary.

Don't Turn Back the Clock

IN recent months the pages of the JOURNAL have contained much discussion between the Young Turks and the Old Timers as to what the Foreign Service is, has been, and should be. This has been of special interest to one who considers himself an In-Between the principal protagonists with regard to timing of service.

It seems to me the best short comment is contained in the eulogy of Secretary Acheson written by R. Gordon Arneson, appearing in the November issue of the JOURNAL. Arneson writes that Acheson was "present at the creation of the instruments and instrumentalities of strength, security, and leadership after World War II." Surely these instruments and instrumentalities were and have become different from those existing and needed when I entered the Service just after World War II, and certainly different from those existing and needed before World War II.

In other words, on this particular issue, I am with the Young Turks. Where I part company with them is on some of the suggestions they make for improvement of these instruments and instrumentalities, and in particular their seemingly uncritical acceptance of the report and recommendations of the 13 Task Forces. I do not believe these have the answer, since they are concerned primarily with the Department rather than the entire Foreign Service, and because they accept some of the canards about the Foreign Service which I have always found extremely distasteful. Also, I

do not believe the answer lies in an attempt to reconstitute the Foreign Service of the early part of the 20th century.

I do not know the answer, but believe it lies more in the attitude and work habits of the entire Foreign Service than it does in any particular organizational form. I would add that I subscribe to many of the ideas Bill Harrop sets forth in his review of "The Foreign Affairs Fudge Factory" in the September issue of the JOURNAL, and to many of those in the editorial "The Missing Link" in the same issue. Both of these point the way the Foreign Service must go to re-establish itself in the field of foreign affairs. To re-establish itself in this field the Foreign Service must show that it is better than any one else in this field, and I believe Foreign Service officers are good enough to do so.

HOYT PRICE
FSO-Retired

Allison Park, Pa.

Hot Stove Reportage Needed

I FEAR that the full import of a March 8 New York TIMES article will be lost on the entire Foreign Service at home and abroad: when the Austrian Consul General in New York entertains officially, his secretary buys the flowers and helps prepare canapes and a vice consul "stands in the kitchen" making one of the CG's favorite desserts.

As a former newspaperman who likes tidy coverage, I would be most grateful for a follow-up on this item through the JOURNAL's Vienna correspondent—or perhaps one of our FS colleagues there will volunteer—in order to allay what must become in these days our collective curiosity concerning the reaction to this news of the AFSWA (Austrian Foreign Service Wives Association), the Women's Liberation Movement cell in the Ministry of External Affairs, the AFGE (Austrian Federation of Government Employees), the AJF-SOC (Austrian Junior Foreign Service Officers Club), and—why not—the AFSA (Austrian Foreign Service Officers Association).

As is often the case in these stories, the TIMES unfortunately omitted other key elements as well, such as: does the bachelor CG

"order" his staff to perform these services, or does the AFSM (Austrian Foreign Service Manual) make special provisions for bachelor officers, or is this a case of patriotic "volunteers" impelled by laudable sentiments of national *gemütlichkeit*? Further, at what rate is overtime calculated, and is there an Austrian FS supplementary "hot stove" allowance, and if so, is it payable in cash or only in additional retirement credits? Perhaps your USUN correspondent can follow up on these angles.

With appetite aroused by the vivid TIMES imagery of "pastry shells, with among other things, a cream mushroom paste, piled silver platters high with grape leaf-wrapped maize and other finger foods" and the *Salzburger nockerin* dessert, a "kind of rococo soufflé," I await anxiously the earliest possible elucidation from any quarter.

JULIAN P. FROMER

Norfolk

Can Anyone Help?

I AM a graduate student at Auburn University and am researching the papers of John A. Ray, American Consul at Odessa, Ukraine, from about May, 1917 to March, 1918. I was told that you might be able to give me some leads regarding any living relatives and perhaps a thumbnail biography. Any assistance that you could lend me would be most highly appreciated.

CECIL WAYNE WILLIAMS
141 S. Gay St., Apt. 1
Auburn, Ala. 36830

No Bridge or Golf Widows

WHAT a lot of rubbish it is to rule that wives are not part of their husband's careers! I have always thought it was marvelous that in the Foreign Service women could be part of their husband's professional life, and therefore they could grow and mature along with them. There don't have to be any "bridge widows" or "golf widows" in the Foreign Service for wives can accompany their husbands on tours of steel mills, crusader castles, insemination centers, ship yards and tea plantations. In what other career is a wife given such accompanying variety?

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SOLIE REINHARDT

Porto Ercole, Italy

Family Planning by Women

THE purpose of this letter is to draw attention to AID's discrimination against women, dramatically illustrated by the fact that in a field which logically should be staffed by women, namely population and/or family planning, 78.4 per cent of the officers are men. Most of the women officers assigned to population are in such traditional female positions as Washington training slots. Only 15.9 per cent of the population and family planning officers working overseas are women.

Yet family planning is a program mainly concerning the psychological and physical well being of women. It is a profession in which women are badly needed for men think of population programs mainly in terms of numbers. They gloat over every new acceptor they can enter on their briefing charts. On the other hand women tend to be more sensitive to the physiological and psychological problems of the frightened peasant woman entering a clinic for her first loop. They treat the patient as a person and as a result the patient usually returns for further treatment.

This cold blooded masculine approach to family planning was drawn sharply to my attention at a meeting sometime ago of AID population officers. One of the ranking officers, a man naturally, suggested the possibility of using a new experimental injection which protects women against pregnancy for three months. Someone pointed out that research was not complete on the drug, that there had been side effects and that it hadn't yet been approved by the Food and Drug Act authorities. The expert replied, "Oh well it can be used on a research basis" and more or less suggested doing so in several countries. (Luckily his idea was never implemented, presumably for legal reasons.) It didn't bother him that the human guinea pigs might get sick.

Most national and international agencies other than those in the United States recognize the importance of women in family planning programs. For example, the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) is headed by a woman. In the Philippines the chiefs of most of the family planning agencies such as the Department of Health's family planning office are women. AID's direct hire staff assigned to work with these women consists of six men and one woman (myself) although the mission has condescended to hire a few Filipina women consultants.

I do not believe that it can be argued that there are no women available to fill population and/or family planning positions since there are numerous women social scientists, doctors, nurses and health educators in the United States.

In the past AID has trained numerous male program officers and administrative types in population. Why not train some of the grossly under utilized college graduate secretaries now working for AID in this field?

NANCY DAMMANN

Manila

Family Planning by Men

I AM moved to address this brief note to the JOURNAL in the thought that a wider audience should learn of the possibilities which modern medicine now holds out for the male Foreign Service officer troubled, as who has not been on occasion, by the fear that an unwanted pregnancy, at home or abroad, may disturb his tranquillity and (if he is particularly unlucky) even damage his career.

In short, I would like to inform my fellow members of the Association that members in good standing of the American Foreign Service Protective Association may now undergo, at no expense to themselves, a vasectomy. This operation, as even a lay public may know, is as sure a guarantee as can be found of that peace of mind which is so important to the Foreign Service officer in his dealings with the dangers and difficulties of an arduous life in his country's service abroad.

The operation can be performed

by any good urologist. The patient need not be hospitalized. At most, he may have a day or two of mild discomfort. The local physician with whom I am best acquainted requires that he be shown a notarized document of consent signed by the patient's wife, but otherwise no particular difficulties are put in the way of him who would take this important step. Inasmuch as I have not chosen to consult with the Office of Personnel before undergoing this operation (though I realize that from some points of view that that office or others in the Department might well think the matter is one within its jurisdiction), you will understand my reasons for asking that, when you print this letter, it be signed only

EASTERN EUROPEAN EXPERT

Fate of the Musk Ox

APROPOS of President Nixon's recent visit to China, I thought the readers of the Foreign Service JOURNAL might be interested in the following limerick composed by our distinguished colleague, The Honorable Norman Armour.

*The gift of Musk oxen
to Mao
Means they soon will be
hitched to a plough
Which will turn the good
earth
And may even give birth
To an end of a 20-year row.*

STANLEY WOODWARD

Washington

When Life & Love Are Absent

CONGRATULATIONS on your splendid China issue, but I missed your regular feature "Life & Love in the Foreign Service!" Fu Manchu and his ilk of the silent movies could have supplied an ethnocentric stereotype in contrast to the somewhat greater knowledge of cultural differences today.

With or without humor, the contrast might have been an instructive reminder of distance traveled—and of distance still to be covered.

In any case I hope you will reinstate "Life & Love" in future issues.

ROBERT W. EHRLMAN

Washington

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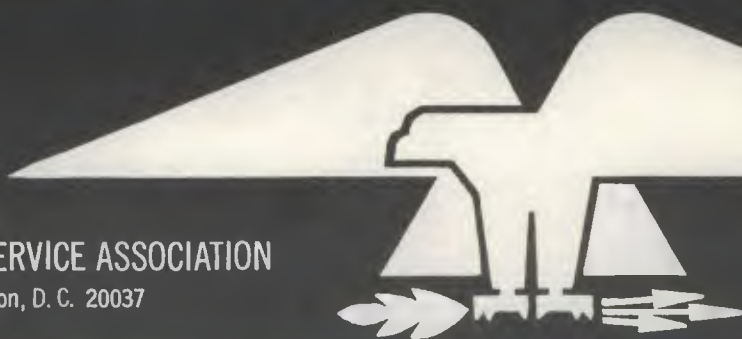
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AFSA's Committees

The Board of Directors of AFSA approved the following committee chairmen on March 13:

AID Advisory: Samuel C. Thornburg, Linda Lowenstein. **Awards:** Howard B. Schaffer. **Bylaws Revision:** Lars H. Hyde, Richard C. Hagan. **Club:** Samuel R. President. **Editorial Board:** John D. Stempel. **Education:** Alton L. Jenkins, David W. Loving. **Elections:** Stephen T. Johnson. **Executive Order:** Richard H. Melton. **Finance:** Samuel C. Thornburg. **Grievance:** Alan Hardy, David B. Timmins. **JFSOC:** Lars H. Hyde. **Keyman Coordinator:** Arthur L. Lowrie. **Legal:** Marian L. Nash. **Luncheon:** Andre J. Navez. **Members' Interests:** Herman J. Cohen. **Memorial Plaque:** Harrison Symmes. **Openness:** Arthur A. Hartman. **Face to Face (AFSA/Carnegie):** David E. Biltchik. **Participation Coordinator:** Thomas D. Boyatt. **Reform:** Thomas S. Tracy, Lewis D. Junior. **Staff Corps Advisory:** Barbara J. Good, James L. Holmes. **USIA Advisory:** John J. Tuohey, William R. Lenderking.

All committee chairmen may be addressed in care of AFSA headquarters.

By-Laws Revision

A committee, chaired by Lars Hyde, has been appointed to consider revising AFSA's by-laws. The proposed revisions will be circulated to Active members of the Association for comment next month.

Members wishing now to suggest amendments should submit their suggestions as soon as possible, in writing, to the By-Laws Revision Committee, c/o AFSA.

Amended Resolution on the Merit System

The following amended Resolution was adopted by the Board of Directors of the American Foreign Service Association on March 7, 1972:

"RESOLVED that the Board of Directors of the American Foreign Service Association in order to protect the career merit system from possible political abuse, and at the same time in order to make clear the possibility of promotion as the ultimate compensation for a grievance suffered, proposes an amendment to the Foreign Service Act as follows:

"Sec. 623 (a). The Secretary is authorized to establish, with the advice of the Board of the Foreign Service, selection boards to evaluate the performance of Foreign Service officers; and upon the basis of their findings, **which shall be submitted in rank order by class or in rank order by specialization within a class, to the Secretary**, the Secretary shall make recommendations **on the basis of selection boards' findings** to the President for the promotion of Foreign Service officers. No person assigned to serve on any such board shall serve in such capacity for any two consecutive years.

"(b). **In special circumstances, which shall be set forth by regulations, the Secretary may recommend to the President the promotion of a Foreign Service officer who has received a recommendation for a promotion by a grievance panel, or by an Examiner or Board under the Federal Equal Opportunity provisions.**

"The Board further believes that the standards under which a promotion should be recommended

as compensation for discrimination or a grievance, should be a matter of negotiation between the exclusive employee representative and the agency. In the absence of authority to negotiate effectively for an equitable grievance procedure for the Foreign Service, the Board of Directors of the American Foreign Service Association continues to support passage of the Bayh Bill. We consider this legislative proposal to be fully consistent with our continued support for the Bayh Bill, S. 2659."

New Career

Daniel Haley of Waddington, New York, former FSO who served in Saigon in 1953 and with AID in Brazil in 1958-1960, is the first Democrat in history to be elected to the New York legislature from St. Lawrence County.

Foreign Service Artists

Late March found several Foreign Service artists participating in a group show at the Folger Gallery, 201 East Capital Street. The show continues through April 8, open from 10 to 4:30, except Sundays.

Among those exhibiting are Mary Betts Anderson (Mrs. W. Stratton), Patty Day (Mrs. Henry), Isa Dreier (Mrs. John), Mary Caroline Herter (Mrs. Christian) and Janet Leighton Maechling (Mrs. Charles).

The work of Agnes Nasmith Johnston is currently on exhibit in the Foreign Service Club. Mrs. Johnston began her study in 1954 and received third prize in pastels in 1969 at the Department of Commerce art exhibit.



Magnuson Bill. AFSA Chairman Bill Harrop testified on February 18 before the Senate Commerce Committee in opposition to the provisions in the Magnuson Bill which would transfer economic and commercial activities and their overseas representation from State to a separate commercial foreign service reporting directly to the Secretary of Commerce. Copies of AFSA's statement are available at AFSA. Harvey Ferguson, E/ITP/EWT, Rm. 3815, of the E Participation Committee is collecting letters of commendation from American business to Economic/Commercial Officers to be transmitted to the Senate Commerce Committee. AFSA needs help to tell the Senate what the Foreign Service has done for US business. AFSA members should be aware that this is a serious legislative proposal which most members of the Senate Commerce Committee appear to favor.

Foreign Service Retirement for AID. Members of the AFSA Board called on Dr. Hannah and urged AID to act to bring its Foreign Service employees under the Foreign Service Retirement System. AID Foreign Service personnel serve almost exclusively in hardship posts and clearly deserve equal treatment regarding retirement. This is a tough enduring issue AFSA is determined to crack. Dr. Hannah assured us that he will endeavor to obtain the needed legislation. However, he could not be optimistic in the short run, in light of Congressional attitudes.

20-Year Retirement. AFSA has again raised the 20-year retirement proposal with both the Department and OMB. The outlook for the 20-year plan is not presently favorable, given the recent

blast by Senator Stennis against 20-year retirement for the military, and the Administration's concern about the budget cost of setting such a precedent in a civilian employee system. However, the lobbying of AFSA members has produced favorable interest in the 20-year proposal in the last few weeks from Sen. Frank Moss (D., Utah), Rep. Morris Udall (D., Ariz.), Rep. Sam Gibbons (D., Fla.), and Rep. Roger Zion (R., Ind.). Please write **your** Congressman, with a copy to AFSA. This is not only a desirable option for a member of the Foreign Service to have, it is also the most promising way to work toward correction of structural imbalances in the officer personnel system of all three agencies.

Annual Leave Legislation. AFSA Board member Hank Cohen testified on February 22 before the House Civil Service Committee for legislation to improve the Federal Annual Leave System. AFSA argued for liberalization of leave ceilings, and pointed out to the Committee that Foreign Service people have particular problems in taking annual leave, especially when they are involved in long-term training assignments, when they possess scarce specialties such as a communicator, and when they are pressed to report (e.g. secretaries) for an assignment at a specific time or forfeit the assignment. At AFSA's request, the Committee agreed to redraft the legislation to allow liberalization provisions to apply to the 360 hr. ceiling as well as to the 240 hr. ceiling. This point had been overlooked by the Committee draft.

Outplacement: AFSA has requested Director General Hall to give alternate career planning activities in the foreign affairs agencies greater priority. AFSA arranged last year to have a senior General Electric Company expert advise State, AID and USIA on improving their external placement program. Despite the 5% cuts and the reduction in the AID program, too little has been done. One very positive note, and a sign of new attention and priority, is that the State External Placement Office has been relocated from

Rosslyn to Room 910, SA-12, Universal North Building (x23760), in the center of Washington's business district. USIA has just conducted a seminar on external placement.

Grandfather Clause applied to Selection out of State Jr. Officers: State's management, in response to requests from AFSA and JFSOC, announced that a "grandfather clause" will apply to the selection out of junior officers. This new development in due process guarantees that junior officers who entered Classes 6 or 7 before June 1971 when the maximum time-in-class was four years, will not have that time-in-class maximum reduced. AFSA regards this as an important precedent.

Retroactive Cost-Of-Living and Quarters Allowances: AFSA has petitioned the General Accounting Office to allow the retroactive payment of cost-of-living and quarters allowances for the period August 15 to November 14, 1971. Foreign Service employees were unfairly asked to endure the hardship of a freeze on allowances without the protection against increased prices afforded their Civil Service colleagues stationed in the United States. AFSA has urged the GAO to rule in favor of making overseas allowance adjustments retroactive to August 15, 1971, especially those which would have conformed to fluctuating exchange rates for the dollar. Several AFSA overseas Chapters have been providing AFSA with guidance and back-up material.

AID BAN on Ship Travel: AFSA has protested AID's unilateral action banning ship travel, and will work to reverse the action. AFSA is aware of AID's critical financial situation and is prepared to work out an acceptable position which would both assure the right to travel on ships and relieve AID of excessive financial outlays associated with ship travel.

BOARD MEETINGS

AFSA Board meetings are held each Monday at noon in Room 3524, NS. AFSA members are encouraged to attend. Any member wishing to place an item on the Agenda should contact his Participation Committee Chairman.

Question: I sold all of my property in Virginia and moved out lock, stock and barrel directly to an overseas post without any definite intention to return to Virginia. Must I continue to pay Virginia state income taxes while overseas?

Answer: If you previously established legal residence (domicile) in Virginia, you can only abandon it by changing your domicile to another state or country. A Foreign Service assignment abroad does not establish a new residence as it is clearly temporary in nature. Therefore, you would still be a legal resident of Virginia. Virginia, like the District of Columbia and Maryland, but unlike most other states, requires its citizens to pay state income tax even though they are living elsewhere.

On the other hand, if you did not establish legal residence in Virginia, although you may have owned real estate and paid income tax while living there, you are not subject to Virginia income tax after you leave Virginia.

Question: Can I deduct the contributions I make to foreign charities?

Answer: Federal income tax regulations do not permit deductions for direct contributions to foreign charities. Yet most Foreign Service employees stationed abroad find it impossible to avoid contributing to local causes such as the churches they attend, charity drives promoted actively by the local governments, and the local equivalents of organizations which are familiar to us in the United States. Indeed, as responsible, although temporary, members of their adopted communities, most employees abroad desire to participate in worthy causes.

There are two tax deduction methods currently utilized by Foreign Service employees with respect to foreign charities which AFSA members may wish to note. First, some employees are claim-

ing certain charities as unavoidable business expenses related to the proper conduct of the business of diplomatic representation. If it is clear that employees at specific diplomatic posts or consular districts cannot function adequately without contributing to local charities considered extremely important to local custom, a business expense deduction is clearly called for. Certification by an administrative or principal officer would certainly be helpful in convincing a skeptical internal revenue auditor. AFSA is aware of one successful claim under this category.

Second, some employees have arranged to contribute to foreign charities through American charitable organizations. Many American organizations, especially religious, are already engaged in disbursing tax deductible funds abroad. If Embassy personnel, especially those attending the same church or engaged in another common charitable activity, can arrange to make their contributions to an American organization, which in turn could disburse funds back to the local charity, it's deductible.

NOTES

AFSA Board members discussed the specialist promotion precepts with USIA management. AFSA questioned the alphabetical listing of candidates for promotion from the 2 to 1 level among specialists and the proposed alphabetizing of the bottom 10% of each class. AFSA objected to the 10% figure for low ranking as being too high and the "any two times" provision for selection out. USIA management indicated that they would review these issues.

AFSA strongly opposed the Dominick Bill which would have established a sixty million dollar a year Foreign Service scholarship program leading to careers in the Foreign Service. The Bill, which would allow Congressmen to appoint the candidates for Foreign Service training, lost by the close vote of 48-42.

At the AFSA Board's invitation

Foreign Service Authors

John L. Brown, FSO-retired, authored a book on contemporary American writing and society published by Gallimard last December, under the title "Panorama de la Littérature Contemporaine au Etats Unis." The French *syndicats des critiques litteraires* chose it as one of the six best books of literary criticism published in France in 1971 and *Le Monde* ran a three column review describing it as indispensable.

FSO Michael Davis' book, "The Image of Lincoln in the South," published last year by the University of Tennessee Press, has been selected by the Civil War Round Table of New York as the winner of its Benjamin Barondess Award. The award was presented on February 16 in New York and is made yearly for the best literary contribution to the greater appreciation of the life and work of Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Davis' study begins just before the Civil War and extends through 1909, describing the changes in Southern attitudes toward Lincoln during the war and after his death.

DACOR has designated William O. Boswell as the liaison for the AFSA Board. This appointment will improve coordination between AFSA and DACOR on subjects of interest to our retired members.

The Government's appeal to remove the lower Court's injunction of the FAS program is scheduled for a hearing on April 21. The Government has also moved to amend the injunction in the lower Court, to allow the conversion to FAS of employees who are now in other Foreign Service categories.

Wise Wives Policy: AFSA applauds the fine work done by the Open Forum Panel in drafting the new policy guidelines for wives of Foreign Service employees. Please let AFSA know of any problems which may arise regarding the implementation of these new guidelines. AFSA and the WAO Wives Committee plan to follow closely the implementation of the new guidelines.

MARRIAGES

Bowen-Hagerty. Elizabeth Ann Bowen was married to Herbert G. Hagerty in Oslo on December 18, 1971. Mr. and Mrs. Hagerty are both assigned to the American Embassy in Oslo and will remain there until the end of their tour in 1973.

Bean-Qutb. Elizabeth Ann Bean was married to Syed Nazim Qutb February 29 in Bethesda, Maryland. Mrs. Qutb is a former FSO having served in Paris, the Hague and Washington. Mr. and Mrs. Qutb will reside in Islamabad.

BIRTHS

Barmon. A daughter, Alicia Williamson, was born in Washington to FSO and Mrs. Ward Barmon on February 14.

Burrows. A daughter, Ellen, was born to FSO and Mrs. Hugh Burrows in Capetown December 9, 1971.

DEATHS

Clark. Anne Clark, wife of Honorable Lewis Clark, died at her home in Carmel, California on January 7. She is survived by her husband of 152 Del Mesa Carmel, Carmel, California 93921, a daughter, Mrs. Phillip Jelley, her mother, Mrs. J. Harry Covington of Washington, a brother and three grandchildren.

Colman. George T. Colman, FSO-ret., died December 13, 1971 at his home in Greeley, Colorado. Mr. Colman had served in Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Natal and Belem, Brazil. He is survived by his wife, Myrth, of 704 22nd St., Apt. 405, Greeley, Colorado 80631, two daughters and two sons.

Donald. George K. Donald, FSO-ret., died in early January at his home in South Woodstock, Connecticut. During his 33-year career, Mr. Donald served in Maracaibo, Guatemala, several cities in Canada, and Southampton, England. He is survived by three children, Katharen Donald of South Woodstock, Robert, Richard, who is with the Embassy in Djakarta, and five grandchildren.

Feis. Herbert Feis, economist and historian and long an adviser on international affairs to the State

and War Departments, died March 2 at his home in Winter Haven, Florida. Author of several highly regarded historical works, Dr. Feis was most active in government during the Roosevelt Administration. He is survived by his wife, Ruth, of Winter Haven and a daughter, Mary Felicia Gomes.

Haynes. Albert H. Haynes, a division chief with the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, died suddenly in Arlington on February 15. Mr. Haynes had been with the State Department since 1944 with all of his experience being in the Latin American region. He is survived by his wife, Martha, two daughters and a son, all of the home at 6322 Abbington Drive, Oxon Hill, Md. 20021.

Hill. Isabel Preston Hill died in Camden, South Carolina on February 21. Mrs. Hill had been secretary and aide to the Honorable J. H. Whitney during his tour as Ambassador to the Court of St. James. She is survived by her son, John C. Hill, a Foreign Service Inspector, a daughter and five grandchildren.

A memorial scholarship has been established in the name of Mrs. Hill by her friends and colleagues. Contributions to the Isabel Preston Hill Memorial may be made to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

Holmes. Henrietta Allen Holmes, widow of Ambassador Julius C. Holmes died at her home in Washington, January 31. As a Foreign Service wife, Mrs. Holmes lived in Bucharest, Tirana, New York, London, Tangier, Hong Kong, and Iran. Two sons, Henry, an FSO stationed in Paris, and Richard, a daughter, Elsie Jane Peck, and six grandchildren survive.

Ives. Ernest Linwood Ives, brother-in-law of the late Adlai Stevenson, died March 4 at Southern Pines, N.C. Mr. Ives joined the old US Consular Service in 1909, serving in Germany, Hungary, France, Belfast, Constantinople and several smaller posts until his retirement in 1939. He is survived by his wife, Elizabeth, of 1316 E. Washington, Bloomington, Ind. 61701, and a son. The family requests that contributions in the name of Mr. Ives be made to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

Knowles. Nathaniel Knowles, FSO-ret., died in Washington on January 17. After long service in the government, Mr. Knowles entered the Foreign Service in 1960 as commercial attache in London. He is survived by his wife, Florence Linduff of Littlestown, Pennsylvania, a sister, two daughters and a son.

Persinger. David Persinger, FSO-ret., died January 20 in Virginia. He entered the Foreign Service in 1955 and served as Consul General in Panama. He also served with the US delegation to the UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Mr. Persinger is survived by his wife, Mary of 302 Little Falls St. Falls Church, Va. 22046, two sons, and two grandchildren.

Pierce. Bolton S. Pierce, FSR-ret., died October 15, 1971 in Lakeland, Florida. After his retirement from the Army, Mr. Pierce served eleven years with the Voice of America. He is survived by his wife of 204 E. Beacon Road, Lakeland, Florida 33803.

Reber. Samuel Reber, FSO-ret., died December 25 in Princeton, New Jersey. His assignments took him to Peru, Liberia, Belgium, Algiers, Italy, London and Germany where he served as Deputy High Commissioner. His brother, retired Army Major General Miles Reber, of Tyngham, Mass. 01264, survives.

Rowell. Mary M. Rowell, wife of FSO-ret., Edward Rowell, died January 24 in Berkeley, California. Mrs. Rowell served with her husband in Rio de Janeiro, Recife, Copenhagen, Bucharest, La Paz, Geneva and Washington. She is survived by her husband of 1626 Spruce St., Berkeley, California 94709, two sons, four grandchildren, two brothers and two sisters. The family requests that contributions to the AFSA Scholarship fund be made in memory of Mrs. Rowell.

Sullivan. Eugene F. Sullivan, FSR (AID), died January 21 at Addis Ababa. He was serving as private enterprise officer in Ethiopia at the time of his death. Mr. Sullivan is survived by his wife, Hope, and seven children. Mrs. Sullivan may be reached at USAID, APO N.Y. 09319.

EXECUTIVE ORDER COMMITTEE

As promised in last month's *Journal*, the Committee has developed guidance on standards of conduct and unfair practices as defined in Sections 12 and 13 of Executive Order 11636. Members and officials of an employee organization must comply with the prescribed standards of conduct in order to gain and retain recognition. Responsibility for insuring compliance with these provisions is assigned to the Employee-Management Relations Commission (EMRC), a committee of the Board of the Foreign Service which is composed of Board members from the Department of Labor, the Civil Service Commission, and the Office of Management and Budget.

Standards of Conduct. Section 12 of the Order identifies good behavior principles which an employee organization must observe in order to become eligible and maintain eligibility for recognition. Broadly, these are: freedom

from corrupt influences and practices; freedom from influences opposed to democratic principles; maintenance of democratic procedures and practices, including periodic elections.

Section 12 also requires that a recognized employee organization file certain documents and periodic reports with the EMRC to show that the organization is conforming to the above standards.

AFSA Practices. The standards included in the EMRC Rules and Regulations will oblige AFSA to pay special attention to:

- (1) **Openness** — guarantee that all members (with particular attention to non-FSOs) enjoy and exercise full and equal voice in AFSA affairs, elections, business meetings, etc.
- (2) **Dues**—ensure that dues are not set or increased, except by majority votes in a secret ballot.

- (3) **Individual Member Rights**—The AFSA constitution and by-laws must be submitted to the EMRC for review, thus assuring that they provide the essential guarantees to members. The constitution and by-laws must also be made available to all members requesting them.
- (4) **Annual Report**—AFSA is required to submit an annual report to the EMRC and make this report available to all members requesting it.
- (5) **Election of Officers**—AFSA elections must be held in accordance with the by-laws and must conform to EMRC standards.
- (6) **Fiscal Integrity**—AFSA must comply with accounting and bonding criteria established by the EMRC.

Unfair Practices. The Order is more specific regarding employee/management relations than it is in establishing standards of con-

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duct for employee organizations. Under Section 13, foreign affairs agencies, their management officials and confidential employees are prohibited from: Infringing upon individual employee rights assured by the Order; Adopting personnel policies which discriminate in favor of or against organization members; Sponsoring, controlling, or otherwise assisting an organization ("customary and routine services and facilities" may be made available to all organizations on an impartial basis); Disciplining or discriminating against an employee for having filed a complaint or given testimony under the terms of the Order; Refusing to recognize a duly qualified organization; Refusing to consult or confer with a recognized organization.

On February 29, 1972, a joint State/AID/USIA circular telegram (State 034354) containing agency guidance for implementation of the Executive Order was sent to all posts.

Section 13 similarly establishes

certain limits on employee organizations and specifically prohibits: Infringing upon the rights of an employee; Attempting to induce an agency to infringe upon an employee's rights; Coercing, punishing, or taking reprisals against an organization member for the purpose of interfering with his work; Calling or engaging in a strike, work stoppage, or slowdown; Picketing an agency in a employee-management dispute; or condoning such activity by failing to take affirmative action to prevent or stop them; Discriminating against an employee with respect to race, creed, age, sex, or national origin; Refusing to consult or confer with agency representatives.

Section 13 also contains a detailed list of practices deemed to be "unfair" and which must be avoided by AFSA and its members. They need not be repeated here. All AFSA members, however, should seek to avoid compromising relationships with management which would: (a) establish AFSA

as a "favored" organization by virtue of agency policies on hiring, tenure, promotion, or other conditions of employment; or (b) imply a "company union" tie through acceptance of special assistance from management (e.g., use of Departmental letterhead stationery, or other materials or services) unless this assistance is explicitly offered by management to all organizations on an impartial basis.

Any specific questions should be addressed to the Executive Order Committee, c/o AFSA.

Journal Reprint

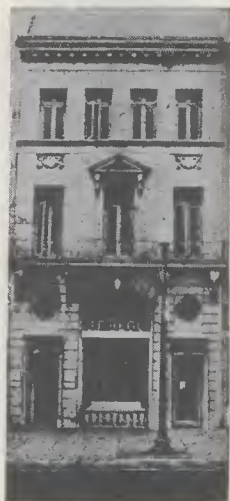
Peter Bridges' article, "In Latinum," which appeared in the April 1969 **Journal** has been reprinted by Glencoe Press in "Comment and Controversy," an English textbook. The **Journal** has been reprinted by other publications and material from its pages has appeared in other books, but it is thought that this is the first appearance of a **Journal** article in an English textbook.

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An Interim Report on AFSA

The permanent staff of the American Foreign Service Association has undergone many changes during the past year. Ambassador Thomas S. Estes' resignation as Executive Director left AFSA without permanent administrative direction until the Association appointed Gerald S. Bushnell to this position in December 1971.

Under his guidance, the Association and the staff seem to be back on the track. However, the lack of an executive officer and an accountant has resulted in the neglect of some activities and in some oversights. AFSA asks the patience of all members in giving the Association time to catch up on acknowledgments of contributions to its various funds, taking care of club dues credits, correcting computer records on membership, and so on. These matters all take time, all are receiving attention and the Association hopes to have a more favorable report on all its activities before the end of

the fiscal year. The Association's gratitude is extended for past, present and (limited) future forbearance.

For clear communication with the AFSA staff, the following areas of current responsibility are assigned: Gerald S. Bushnell, Executive Director, over-all direction, finances, information; Margaret S. Turkel, Executive Secretary, scholarships, special funds; Helen Vogel, Committee Coordinator, information on Board meetings and activities, committee inquiries; Eloise Jordan, Receptionist, luncheons, personal purchases; C. B. Sanner, Membership, dues, changes of address, subscriptions; Robert Locke, bookkeeping, accounts payable and receivable; Shirley R. Newhall, Editor, *Journal*, editorial and production inquiries; Thomas R. DeBrine, Editorial Assistant, *Journal*, advertising inquiries; Cynthia O'Brien, Foreign Service Club, reservations and inquiries.

Awards Nominations

Nominations for AFSA's Harri-man, Herter and Rivkin awards are still needed and welcomed. Closing date is April 15 for receipt of nominations by AFSA. See the January *Journal*, the Department *Newsletter*, *Front Lines* or *USIA World* for details, or call AFSA for information.

Board Resolutions

On March 20, the Board passed the following resolution:

"Be it resolved that the American Foreign Service Association supports the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, which states that 'equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex' and recognizes that existing legislation and Constitutional provisions are inadequate to prevent sexual discrimination."

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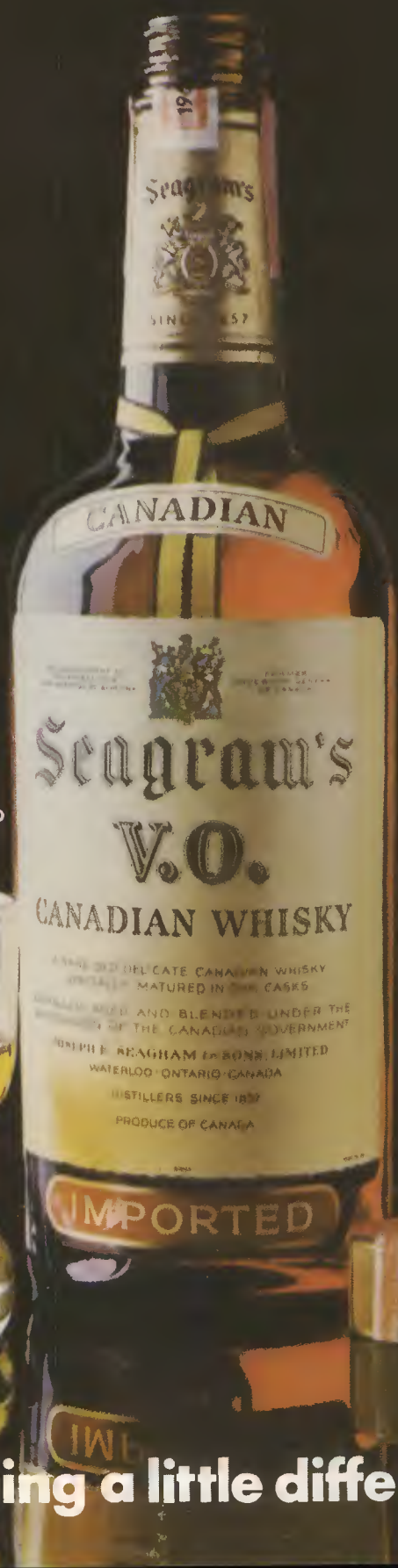
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