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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL
OCTOBER 1972 60 CENTS



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AFSA PLATFORM

1. **Independent Foreign Service.** First and foremost, AFSA supports a separate, unified Foreign Service, serving as a professional corps responsible for the conduct of our country's foreign affairs. We reject efforts to place Foreign Service people in separate categories either by rank or by agency. It is our shared experiences in living and working overseas, often under difficult or dangerous circumstances, that give us uniqueness and a special common spirit. We are proud of our Foreign Service traditions, of our competitive system, and of our record of professional service to the nation. AFSA will oppose any effort to meld the Foreign Service into the Civil Service either from above (the Magnuson Bill or the Oliver Committee recommendations) or from below, through the efforts of a Civil Service union such as AFGE with different values and an overwhelmingly GS membership.

2. **Co-determination.** AFSA is committed to co-determination of employment conditions and personnel systems by management and Foreign Service people themselves acting through their exclusive representative. As the elected exclusive representative, AFSA pledges to be the aggressive advocate of the men and women of the **entire** Foreign Service and to make the system responsive to their needs. That AFSA will mean ACTION in the future is demonstrated by these specific examples of AFSA getting ACTION in the past.

- Payment of Transfer Allowance up to \$950.
- Government shipment of foreign-made automobiles.
- Retroactive payment of allowance increases denied during pay freeze.
- Expansion of tax deductions for official business, training and home leave expenses.
- Travel on foreign flag airlines.
- Mandatory payment of overtime when due.
- Payment of supplementary post allowance upon departure from post.
- Strong support for USIA career legislation adopted in 1968.

3. **A Professional Foreign Service.** AFSA will remain a professional association concerned with the nation's overseas interests and devoted to the expert performance of foreign policy responsibilities. A unified Foreign Service of high competence should be matched by progress toward a single foreign affairs budget. We seek effective interagency leadership in foreign affairs for the Secretary of State and the unified Foreign Service with full regard for the essential contributions each of the foreign affairs agencies must continue to make, particularly in cross-cultural communication and human development. AFSA will continue to sponsor programs designed to increase communication and interaction among Foreign Service professionals and leaders in Congress, business, other government agencies and the academic world. We believe the unified Foreign Service should be responsible for coordinating all the nation's varied programs overseas.

4. **Pay Comparability.** Foreign Service people of all grades and ranks do not have comparability either in pay or allowances with their Civil Service colleagues. AFSA is determined to press for the correction of existing pay scales so that Foreign Service salaries will be comparable to Civil Service salaries at the same level. Our studies indicate that at the middle and lower grades equitable salaries would mean increases for our people of around \$2,000 annually.

5. **Staff Corps.** AFSA insists that the Staff Corps is an integral part of the professional Foreign Service. Our goal is complete equality of privilege for Staff Corps people. If agreement—for example, on free entry of automobiles—cannot be obtained from host countries, then it is our position that the US Government should pay whatever extra costs are required to ensure equality of treatment. AFSA has been working and will continue to work to remove

(Continued on inside back cover)

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FSJ

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Praise for a Cogent Study

■ I have read with much interest and satisfaction Edward M. Cohen's article entitled "Rank Injustice" which appeared in the August issue of the JOURNAL. Mr. Cohen has presented a crystal-clear and concise exposition of the argument for semiautomatic promotion of middle grade officers.

As you know, Task Force II on Performance Appraisal and Promotion Policy was extremely attracted to the concept of semiautomatic or phased promotions for the middle grades of the Service (O-6 to O-3) and strongly urged further study of the feasibility of such a system and of the most effective method for its implementation. The Task Force would have itself urged implementation except that it recognized that further study was required to see if this proposal would fit in with other plans regarding future size of the Service, distribution of officer grades, use of FSRU and the need to keep a dynamic flow.

Mr. Cohen has presented an extremely cogent study which explores the issue along the lines conceived by the Task Force, which I chaired, and has arrived at seemingly valid and compelling conclusions. I believe this strengthens the Task Force's recommendation that the Department should give this proposal the serious study which it merits.

I am very appreciative of Mr. Cohen's endeavor and only regret that we did not have the benefit of his help on the Task Force itself.

JOSEPH JOHN JOVA

Washington

... and a Firm Yea

■ As a Placement Officer who has read literally hundreds of performance files since coming into personnel work two years ago, I can strongly subscribe to E. M. Cohen's case for semiautomatic promotion of middle grade officers ("Rank Injustice," FSJ August 1972).

I was particularly taken by Cohen's argument that if semiautomatic promotion were adopted, efficiency reports would be utilized primarily for determining onward assignments. This is a most important point. The inexorable march of eval-

ation reports toward the superlative which has accompanied and been prompted by the drop in promotion rates (the "How Can I Get Joe Promoted" syndrome) has just as steadily reduced the value of these reports as useful tools in the assignment process. Assignment officers are not, after all, seeking supermen when they try to fill most O-4 positions. They are looking for officers with particular skills and interests. If they must choose among a large array of officers *all* of whom combine the political insights of Cardinal Richelieu with the management prowess of Harold Geneen, the drafting skill of William Shakespeare, and the ability to get along with foreigners and Americans characteristic of Shirley Temple Black, they can be forgiven if they occasionally give more credit than otherwise to corridor reputations.

HOWARD B. SCHAFFER

Washington

Butterflies and Pachyderms

■ May I comment on AFSA News, Volume 2, No. 3—August 1, 1972—, entitled "GAO Upholds AFSA View that Overseas Allowances Not Subject to Freeze: Retroactive Payments Due to All Overseas Foreign Service Employees." The news release in question implies, without exactly saying so, that heroic little David—read AFSA—has once again knocked down big, bad Goliath—read Departmental management—in the question of whether overseas allowances were subject to the 1971 wage-price freeze. The implication is not credible to those who realistically think through what probably happened. Butterflies do not disturb pachyderms—but elephant ticks do. Isn't it much more likely that the Comptroller General and those who manage the Executive Branch were more influenced by the very large numbers of Department of Defense personnel affected than by our small numbers in the Foreign Service? May I commend a little less self-importance and a little more of a sense of proportion to those we elect to manage AFSA. The deeds that AFSA management so frequently advise us they have performed are all too frequently not meaningful. Such claims risk the value AFSA can have for the For-

eign Service in the future. Some of us down here are getting a little impatient with all this Mickey Mouse.

VICTOR WOLF, JR.

Copenhagen

REPLY FROM THE BOARD:

With respect to AFSA's actions on overseas allowances and the pay freeze, let us just describe what we did in chronological order.

When the pay freeze went into effect on August 15, 1971, the Department immediately suspended all increases in overseas allowances which were due to go into effect after that date.

AFSA immediately protested this action, claiming that overseas allowances are not salaries or wages within the meaning of the Presidential pay freeze order. Furthermore, we determined that the Defense Department, which employs 50% of US Government civilians abroad, had decided to ignore the pay freeze as far as overseas allowances were concerned. Despite the fact that both DOD and Foreign Service allowances are paid under the same legislative authority, the Department's lawyers refused to budge. They insisted that the problem be sent to the Federal Pay Board for a determination.

The Pay Board, of course, was overwhelmed with requests for advisory opinions. The overseas allowances problem did not come up for a decision until after Phase I was over on November 15, 1971.

The Pay Board decision merely stated that overseas allowances were not subject to the wage guidelines set up for Phase II of the program. This decision implied, but did not state, that allowances should not have been subject to the freeze in the first place. The question that then arose was what about retroactivity.

About January, 1972, we noticed a brief item in the newspapers which stated that the Government Accounting Office had ruled that periodic step increases due during August 15-November 15, 1972 should be paid retroactively to government employees notwithstanding the pay freeze. AFSA decided that if periodic salary step increases were not covered, how could overseas allowances be subject to the

(Continued on page 31)

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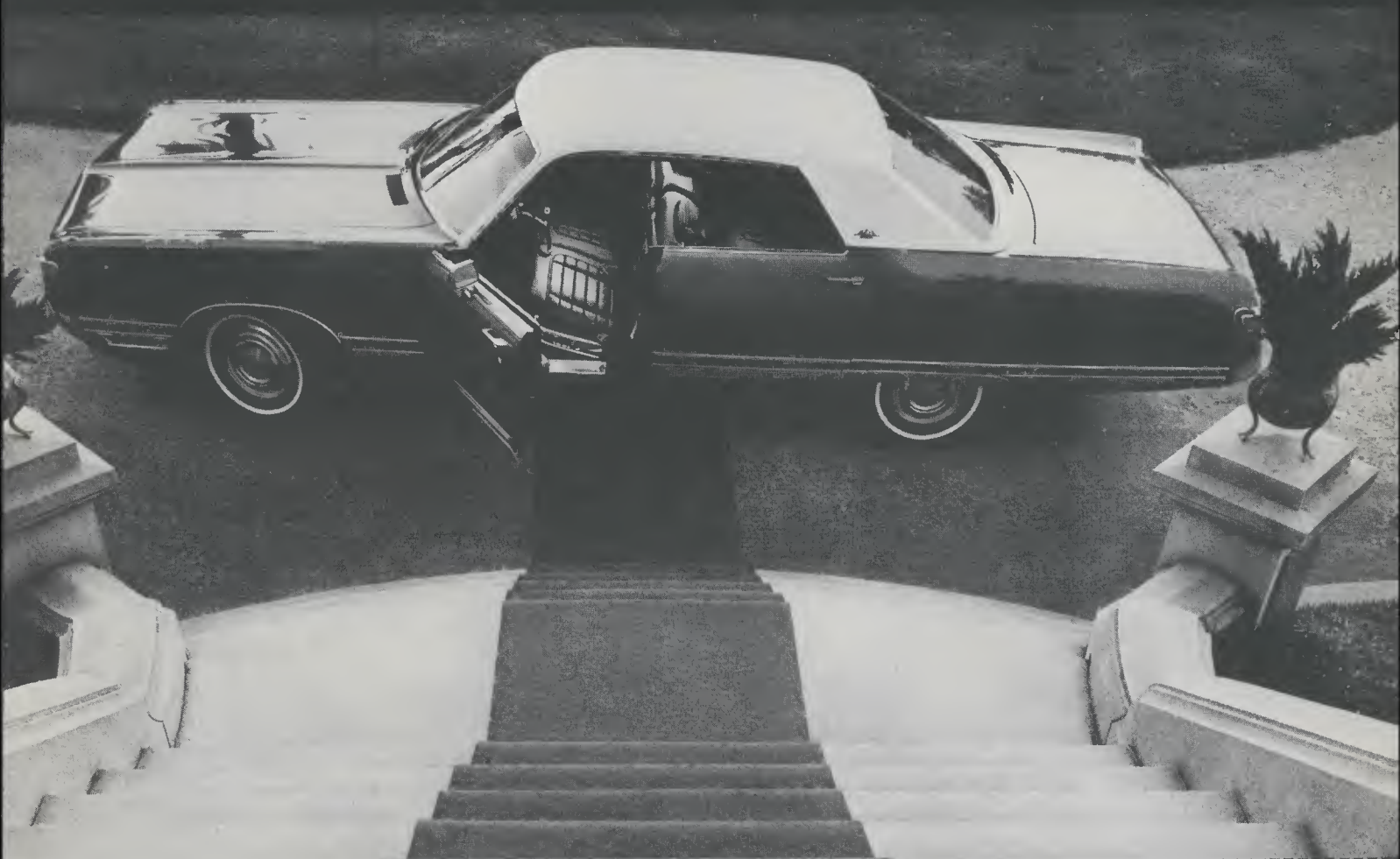
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The State Department's Revolution in Executive Management

R. T. CURRAN

THE Secretary of State and his Under Secretaries (the so-called "principal officers" of the Department of State) have been faced with a growing management dilemma. Progress has been made through the improved focus on foreign affairs issues in the National Security Council (NSC) Study Memorandum System (NSSMs)

R. T. (Ted) Curran has been Deputy Executive Secretary of the Department of State since August, 1970. An FSIO-2, he has worked in Berlin, Tuebingen, Amman, Taiz and Mexico City.

Curran was on the AFSA Board from January 1967 to September 1968 and was Secretary-Treasurer of the Association during the last twelve months of that period.

and the NSSMs have resulted in more precise definitions of foreign policy objectives. In addition, the State Department itself has implemented a review and resource allocation mechanism for better utilization of resources in support of the President's foreign affairs objectives laid down by the NSC. But the new management dilemma comes from a difficulty in controlling the burgeoning information available for the improved definitions and the increased knowledge of foreign affairs resources.

The growth of electronic communications systems and the increased flow of information between embassies and the Department and among the Departments and agencies sup-

porting the Secretary and the President in the conduct of foreign relations are reaching a point where the officers and equipment in State have difficulty absorbing, finding and using the increased data in formulating decision recommendations.

Practical experience in automated executive information systems (even the equipment!) available in the private sector is extremely limited. Most firms prefer to use their computer equipment for accounting and other "practical" applications. Three years of studying the Department's existing information flow system including the handling of information in the Secretary's own office and that of his principal officers on the seventh floor resulted



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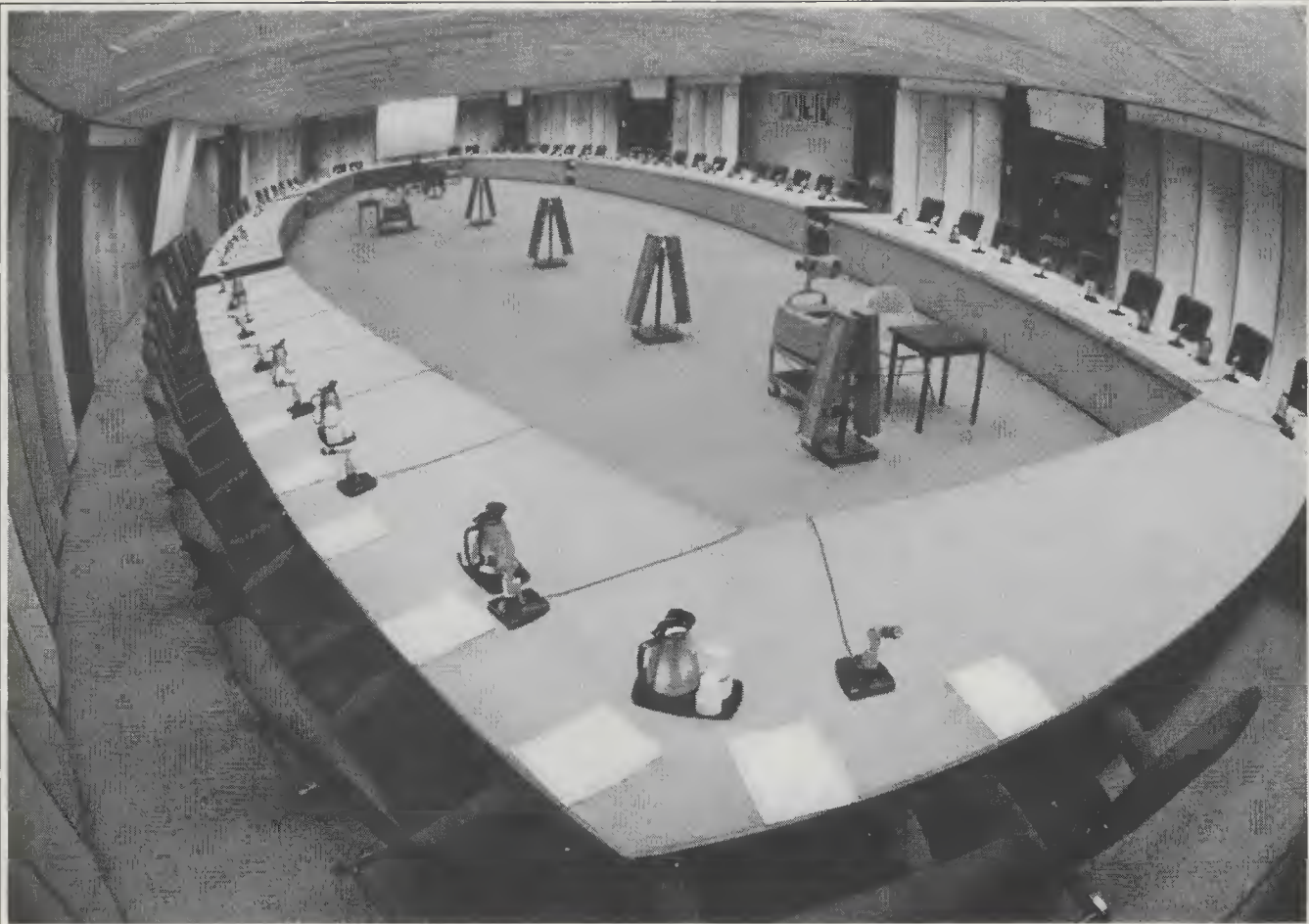
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in moving modern electronic machines into the midst of the glum portraiture on "mahogany row," in charting a path for future development at State and in interesting several private companies in a pilot program for building executive office management systems.

Until the early 1960s, much of the State Department's handling of substantive (that is political-economic reports and recommenda-

tions) communications and information was non-electric, that is, non-telegraphic. Embassies overseas prepared memoranda and reports which were sent by pouch to Washington for analysis and eventual submission of recommendations on policy issues to the seventh floor for decision and possible delivery to the White House. Telegrams were supplementary to this main show of substantive information messages

and were used only to report unusually significant meetings or political events possessing an urgency that might require immediate attention at the seventh floor level of the Department of State.

Parenthetically, the news media were among the first private or public entities to begin using electronic media—telegrams and telephones—almost exclusively for their own reporting from overseas. This development and the increasingly acute attention paid by the US public in the 1960s to the conduct of foreign relations tended to increase the pressure to produce decisions more quickly.

As this pressure for faster decisions built up, the late '60s saw the growth of executive staffs around principal officers in State and elsewhere. These executive staffs try to select material "most important" for their principal officers and prepare it for decision-making. (The recent rapid growth of the Executive Office in the White House is in part, at least, a direct reflection of the Presidential frustration with slowness of information flow from government departments in the past decade.)



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The difficulty with the "executive staff solution" to information flow is that it separates the top decision-maker from the officers with direct control and blurs the exchange of ideas on the basis of which final decisions are made.

It is also perversely true that executive staffs themselves become increasingly burdened with information and correspondingly slow to react leading to the addition of another layer of "special executive assistants" who dilute and select even further for their principal. In addition to the substantive disadvantages of executive staff solutions, layering is bad for morale (and productivity) in the organization and stimulates suspicion within and outside the organization as to the ways principal officers are being influenced in the decision-making process.

In the middle '60s, with the assistance of an extraordinarily able data processing office (ADP) and rapid development in State's Office of Communications, telegrams increasingly became the medium for substantive communications. Computer-assisted cryptology made it

possible for messages to be transmitted and distributed with much greater speed. Length of messages became less important since computers were able to process with a high degree of speed and accuracy. Communications speed improved but, once the telegrams arrived in the Department, they were still processed through the desks in traditional fashion and the higher volume of traffic made it more and more difficult to locate information filed in the various Departmental file cabinets.

To respond to Secretary Rogers' 1969 order to improve information handling, his executive staff set up an informal working group with participation of the Department's administrative personnel in operations, communications and data processing. The first result of this group's efforts was the construction of a computerized filing system for executive documents—the telegrams, letters and memos prepared for or signed by principal officers. The previous, non-automated filing system involved the preparation of several copies of a log card (much like a library index card) on which

basic reference data, including a number, were typed by hand. The cards were then filed by hand in a large revolving drum by country, by subject, by date and by one or two subject headings. The process was time-consuming and document location using the index file was slow and frequently unsuccessful.

The new computerized index (acronymed SADI for Secretariat Automated Data Index) was designed so that secretariat employees could "type" log cards directly into the computer's memory using a device called a CRT (Cathode Ray Tube) which looks like a combination television set and typewriter. The CRT enables its user to see what he types. Pertinent information (including much more subject information than was possible under the old log card system), on each document and its secretarial reference number are entered into a CRT and reviewed for accuracy. When completed the information is flashed to a computer storage disk and held for instant recall. Each time a document is moved from place to place within the executive offices, its "card" is recalled from

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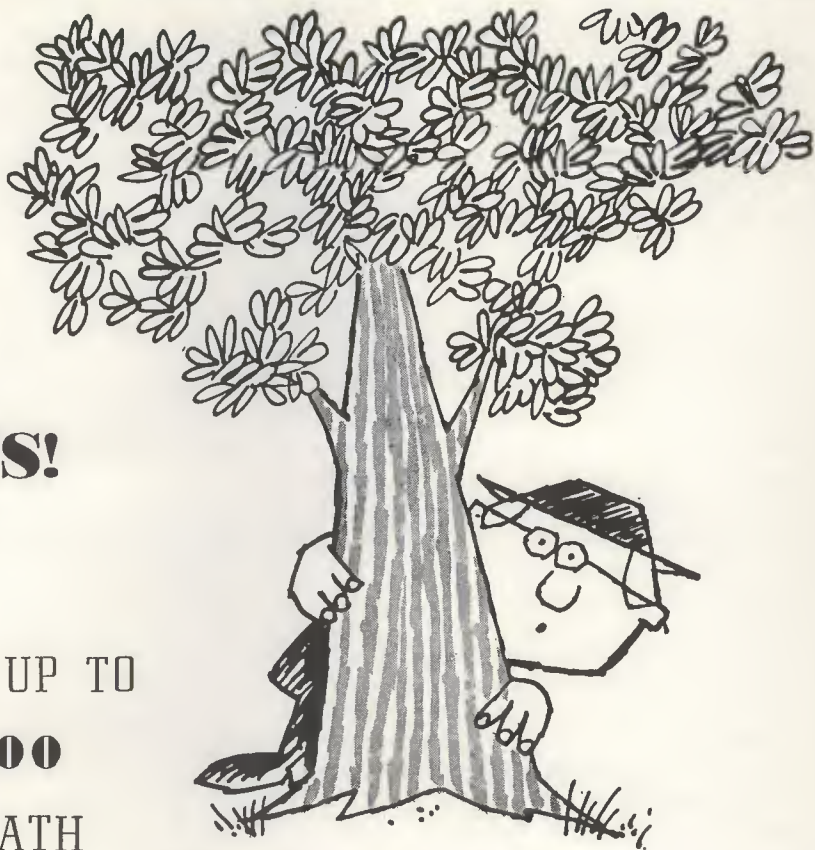
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the computer disk, amended as to the type of action taken and returned to the computer.

As a result of SADI's successful completion, Secretary Rogers has far more accurate control over the work in the Department of State. SADI gives him two other advantages. In the event that he or his staff is looking for a document, and does not have the index number, the computer takes all the information the searcher can provide, searches all documents on file with the characteristics provided and flashes them up on CRT screens for review and selection. In addition, each document assigned to a Department office for action is given a due date. SADI and the computer keep track of the due dates relentlessly and advise when work is overdue. As can be imagined this latter feature may be more popular on the seventh or executive floor than in the working bureaus.

A second major technological innovation has been the filing of State telegrams in the computer. An incoming or outgoing telegram was once stored in a file cabinet where a message might be or might not be

found in an emergency. Now, when a message is required, a simple signal is sent to the computer which then produces the required message on a high speed printer. The system is sophisticated enough to provide increasing degrees of protection for the sensitive classified telegrams.

The whole State Department is also making use of automatic typewriters which, once a text is cleared, type the telegrams accurately and rapidly onto special forms which can be inserted directly into the computer for processing by an optical scanner without further need for handling by staff.

The next step planned by the Secretary's office is to have the texts of telegrams transmitted from the computer to CRT screens on the seventh floor, eliminating the need for printers. There are some formidable technical problems to establishment of this procedure, but now seems likely that the technical obstacles can be overcome. Once it is possible to put the text of telegrams on CRT screens, executives can dictate telegrams which can be typed directly on to a CRT. The text can then be sent electronically to

the offices who need to give approval. When the text is approved, and one feature of the new CRT's is that they permit text editing, a key will be punched on the CRT in the Secretary's office (or the final authorizing officer) and the computer will do the rest.

Once telegrams are handled electronically, there is no reason why all other communications — letters, memoranda, etc.—should not be handled in the same fashion.

The Secretary, then, through his own CRT, will have direct access to the information flow of the Department. To reassure the legions of persons making their living as special assistants, some organization of the information flow to the executives will still be necessary. However, the executive will have independent and virtually instantaneous access to telegraphic and other document references he comes across.

Technical difficulties (particularly in protecting the new equipment from electronic penetration), are playing and will play a part in how rapidly the new communications can be installed. Naturally, close consultations with Congress will be

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required also to be sure that Senators and Congressmen are fully informed on the methods and types of data to be handled and stored. It is likely that the new developments will be welcomed, contributing as they must to greater efficiency.

More serious than the technical problems are a series of bureaucratic impediments which are hindering efficient development of improved computer systems. The worst of these impediments is the present swamp of procurement procedures required before departments are able to purchase or lease new computer hardware. These buying procedures, conceived with the admirable aim of keeping the computer manufacturing firms competitive with each other in the marketplace, are stifling efficiency and cutting off vital contact between government users and the private firms. As an example of the problem, the State Department worked for 14 months to get approval just to send out a bid on the computer needs.

As irksome as the complicated paperwork seems, even greater impediments to progress in the application of computer technology to management are the obstacles placed in the way of consultative contact between private businesses and the government. The extreme nervousness over anti-trust actions has made it difficult, for example, for the Department's special working group on executive applications of computer technology to consult with scientists working in the private sector. Since these scientists are extremely advanced in thinking about ways to attack executive problems, the communication blockage is doing significant damage to the Executive Branch's attempt to improve its service to the President and the taxpayer.

Under the present leadership at State, the application of computer technology to modern executive problems has made remarkable progress. The progress in itself has indicated how much further electronic wizardry could take us.

If solutions can be found to the technical and bureaucratic problems mentioned in this article, the staid old Department might find itself as a model for private and government executives trying to cope with World War III—the paper war! ■

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VISIONS of Fellini's epic "8½." The film opens with the protagonist, the director, agonizing soundlessly in the claustrophobia of stalled automobiles. I watched the vehicles daily jammed around the front of the Fontainebleau Hotel, the drivers packed wordlessly in air-conditioning so intense it pebbled the car glass with condensed droplets. Fellini's director could escape by a dreamy float out of his car, but these drivers remained encapsuled on steamy Collins Avenue. . .

Fellini flashes back to a childhood reminiscence wherein he watches the mountainous La Sarghina dance on the beach, her massive limbs and grotesque countenance wrapped in black rags and hair. Her Miami Beach equivalent was the caboose of a nightly train of freaks who marched from Flamingo Park to demonstrate at the Convention Center. She dominated the middle of the street, singing, twisting her colossal thighs, attracting little children and dogs. Wonderfully blatant and like much of this place, appealing in its repulsiveness. . .

A background element of the movie is an immense, undefined rocket-launch structure, intended for use in an abortive film, the material incarnation of the director's indecision. The convention hall housed a massive platform topped by cameras and projection equipment and commanding the convention floor. Layers of flat-blue plateaus, supremely ungainly, sparkling in low light, the rig poignantly proclaimed its own impermanence.

Situations, persons and objects representing the dreams of "8½" matched the sometimes fantasy-like atmosphere of Miami Beach during the 1972 Democratic National Convention. The convention recalls the film not because it echoes the still-born creativity of the movie's filmmaker, but because that week in

Miami Beach shared something of the bizarre flavor of the film.

At the Hotels

This convention is a Scene. Its daytime center was the luxury hotels, like a parade of white cakes, along the upper half of Miami Beach. The real action was at the Fontainebleau, Democratic National Committee (DNC) headquarters and the convention home of many party dignitaries and members of the media mob. Opening Monday finds the lobby a tumbling mass of people looking for action. One gets a feeling of tremendous atomization, people sensing events are happening all about them yet finding no confirmation of such events and no coherent pattern of activities. The hotel is amazingly open, people milling everywhere, the famous and the humble battling for elevators. A CBS film unit, blazing with arc-

lamps, fills a corner of the lobby, plucking interviews from passing celebrities.

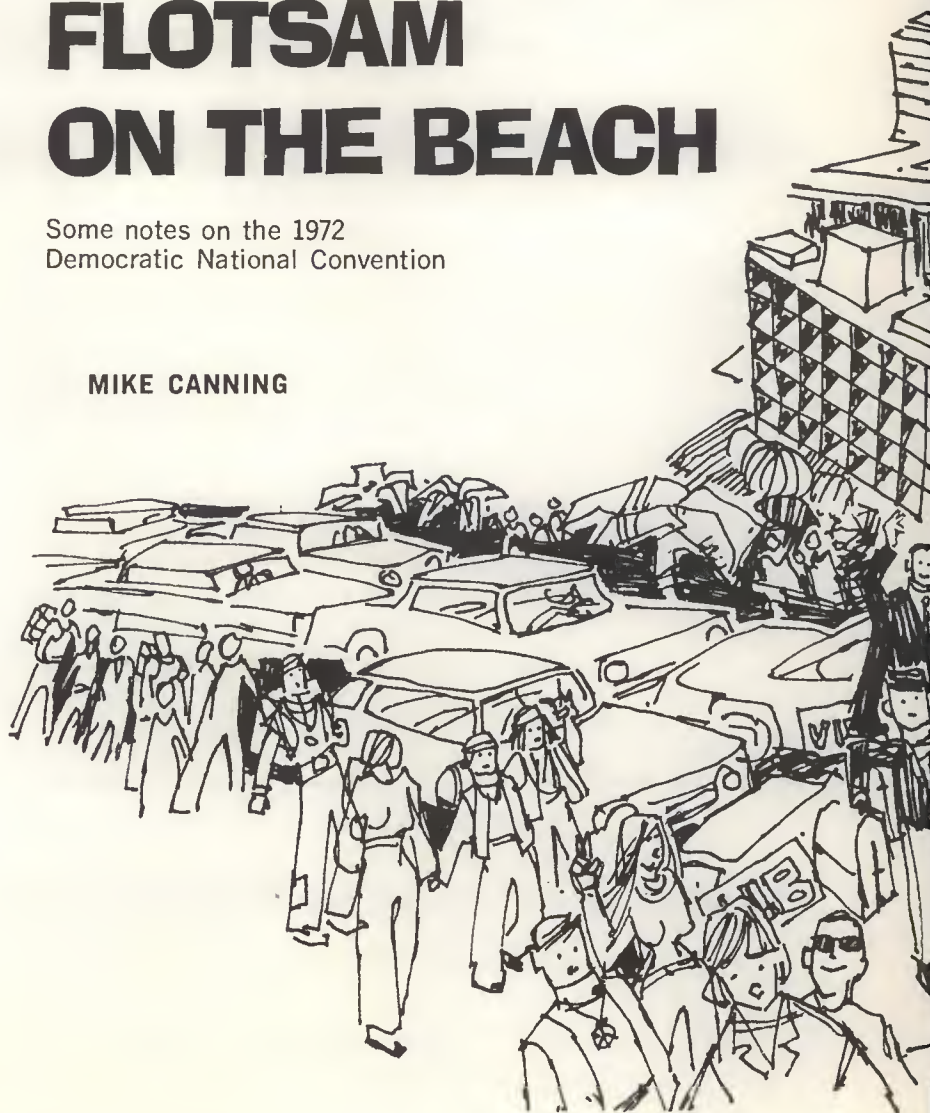
There are plenty of the latter, sometimes in incongruous pairings. A mellow James Reston moves down the mezzanine steps followed closely by Abbie Hoffman carrying a media card with POPULAR MECHANICS scrawled upon it. Speaker of the House Carl Albert is interviewed by a TV crew and spectators nearby wonder who he is, but the same people instantly recognize Stanley Arnold, a total unknown seeking the vice-presidency, as he heads across the lobby. Alan Ginsberg goes in one revolving door and Colonel Sanders of chicken fame pops out the other.

The media is omnipresent. Its legions stuff the hotels, voraciously sucking up rumor, declaration, idiosyncrasy, any manifestation of quirkiness. The figure usually cited

FLOTSAM ON THE BEACH

Some notes on the 1972
Democratic National Convention

MIKE CANNING



Michael Canning is an FSIO who has served in Managua, Lima, Washington—and Miami Beach. He finished his recently-completed Washington tour as a Congressional Fellow, an assignment which, along with a timely beneficence from this magazine, gave him the chance to cover the 1972 Democratic Convention as the exclusive "correspondent" for the JOURNAL.

for mediamen is 8,000; there appear to be twice that number roaming Miami Beach. The competition for news is savage. A reporter stands outside a major restroom in a hotel housing an important delegation, hoping to catch a stray delegate with his pants just up. Candidates' and DNC press releases are devoured. It becomes hard to define the line between whether the DNC press room is producing real news items or feeding an insatiable appetite for "material." Lines of journalists form with no clear idea of what is to be received at the other end. Lunchrooms and lobbies abound with exchanges on what major newsmen have already written after

speaking with other newsmen. The ruminations of David Broder, Tom Wicker and Peter Lisagor are discussed more than candidates' statements or convention floor actions.

The media is particularly ferocious in its coverage of the candidates. A candidate's appearance at the Fontainebleau creates an instant crush of press mingled with the curious. The candidate, shrouded in Secret Servicemen, slices slowly through a crowd. There is much laying on of hands. Radiomen from obscure stations hold their mikes in his path, hopeful of snatching a random "live" comment which can be filled into a story later. When the crowd grows too dense for movement, the network television gangs—either more agile or aggressive than the others—grab an exclusive interview on subjects which are forgotten hours later.

The form is seen splendidly in the aftermath of the Monday afternoon conference of the candidates called by Senator Muskie at Chairman Larry O'Brien's suite in the Fontainebleau. The meeting fails because McGovern refuses to attend a gathering he sees as designed to block his nomination. One by one the candidates come down through the hotel mezzanine and lobby. Muskie is nearly crushed in a hallway. Humphrey is stalled on the lobby steps and burnished under TV lights in a three-minute interview. Jackson bulls his way to the hotel's main revolving door before he is suffocated by a media swarm. The meeting is a bust, yet each of

them must comment, with variations, on what did not happen and how it did not happen.

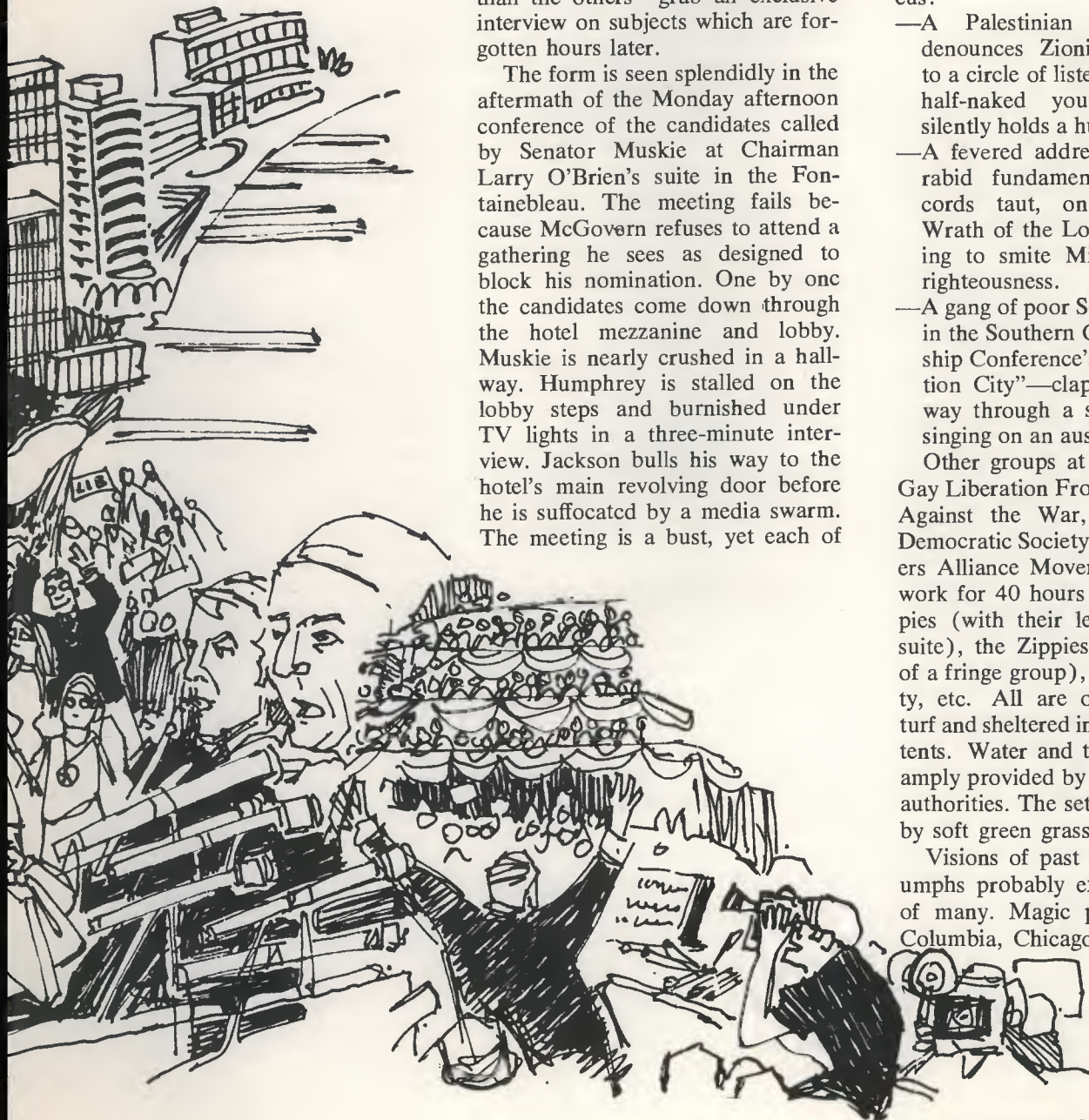
Local Color

Flamingo Park—33 acres of "love and peace"—is the designated freak site for the week. Much touted, its situation is not ideal. The park is but several blocks away from the Convention Center, yet it seems totally removed from it. The park is surrounded by a modest neighborhood of tile-roofed, adobe-walled homes; behind brick walls and shrubbery, it sneaks up on one. Its occupants personify the fragmentation of New Left radicalism which began years earlier. One stroll through the park revealed the following not atypical three-ring circus:

- A Palestinian Arab robustly denounces Zionist expansionism to a circle of listeners while a tall, half-naked youth beside him silently holds a huge Israeli flag.
- A fevered address is given by a rabid fundamentalist, his neck cords taut, on the Imminent Wrath of the Lord and His coming to smite Miami Beach into righteousness.
- A gang of poor Southern blacks—in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's new "Resurrection City"—claps and shouts its way through a session of gospel singing on an austere stage.

Other groups at the park are the Gay Liberation Front, Vietnam Vets Against the War, Students for a Democratic Society, Atlanta's Workers Alliance Movement ("30 hours work for 40 hours pay!"), the Yippies (with their leaders in a hotel suite), the Zippies (a fringe group of a fringe group), the People's Party, etc. All are on neatly defined turf and sheltered in batches of bright tents. Water and toilet facilities are amply provided by the Miami Beach authorities. The setting is dominated by soft green grass.

Visions of past struggles and triumphs probably exist in the minds of many. Magic places—Berkeley, Columbia, Chicago, Washington on



a number of occasions—are summoned by persons too young to have been there and with hopes that Miami Beach might be added to the honor roll. But the Youth Army has been dissipated. Their numbers are pathetically small. More than a focus for adherence or outrage, they have become merely amusing, a sideshow to the Miami Beach extravaganza. There is no steady tension or anticipation. The day is mostly boredom, cross-legged before your tent, hunting for a joint, with periodic forays out to titillate the natives. One can always hope for more action in August with the Republicans.

The freaks have their day on Wednesday at the Doral-on-the-Beach, the McGovern headquarters hotel. Activity increases every day as more persons float near the soon-to-be-anointed. Early afternoon sees the arrival of a miscellany of young protesters. No particular group dominates, a melange of signs and tee-shirts proclaim a variety of causes. The long walk under a vicious sun and the prevalence of deshabelle among the protesters create an aroma from pungent flesh that the hotel's air-conditioning cannot combat.

The gang is there to summon McGovern and have him answer for recent Vietnam statements. They are uncoordinated; no program links their exhortations. Of course, the media is there in force, and a succession of speakers take advantage of ready microphones to vent their tiny cause. An SDS spokesman demands the candidate's support for an "anti-racism bill." Another denounces the so-called "Talmadge amendment," assumedly named after the Georgia Senator (I ask one fellow next to me who is chanting "Down with the amendment!" whether the Talmadge he is castigating is the "Congressman from New Hampshire"; he assures me that's the one). A Worker's Alliance speaker states his case. Women's Libbers follow. There is no connection, no linkage between these raw complaints. There is only unfocused demand and an appeal to see the candidate.

The tactics are sit-down and stand-in. After an hour or so one can barely move through the choked lobby. It is weary guerrilla theater.

A wonderful incident: four Miami Beach matrons, in flowered dresses

and all over sixty, come up from the basement coffee shop to encounter the jangly, sweaty, bare-backed mob in the lobby. Obscenities fill the air in a noisome chant. With nary a blink, the lead lady of the group looks back to her companion—as if the lobby scene brought it to mind—and says: "Edith, how are your roses coming?" The four proceed, oblivious to the crush, to burrow their way through steaming flesh and out of the hotel.

There is much worry that the situation is explosive. An early appearance by the Florida highway patrol feeds the tension, but McGovern aides insist that the protesters be allowed in and the cops are called off. But there is little reason for fear. The protest quickly stabilizes—then stagnates. Again, the pathos rather than the fury of the radicals is evident. The protest's life depends on coverage and a focus. After six hours, television eventually tires of covering it. McGovern's appearance (not his statements) ends its meager focus. The candidate returns to his suite; the cameras move on to the convention; and the protesters, bewildered and dumb, break up.

REAMS are written, most of them Committee-generated, on the "representativeness" of the delegates, on their reflecting the populace in terms of sex, race, age, income level and occupation. The press talks endlessly of the delegates as amateurs, citing the vast proportion that is new to Democratic conventions. What seems not to have changed—in fact, has been accentuated in this convention—is the common fact of the delegates' political involvement and sophistication. Whatever their percentage breakdowns, they are still an American political elite, articulate, relatively skilled in political and public meeting techniques, much motivated by the promise of partisan rewards. So might the New Politics be cynically dismissed as just another version of the Old Politics, yet it could be no other way. Relative affluence, intensity of commitment, certain career patterns, chances for the exploitation of leisure exist as much in the lives of these delegates as with any such gathering. The Democratic National Convention can

little echo the rudimentary political instincts of a newly-hired young secretary or respond to the desires of the gas station attendant passionate about his motorcycle.

However multifarious, those assembled here are still Americans who rule.

On the Floor

Like any convention, this one too is filled with speeches, most of them ignored and unmemorable. The hoped-for trimmed down convention is little successful in its cutting down the remarks of party dignitaries. Each night the floor movement is more chaotic and less subject to control by the chair. More and more, an address by a party figure becomes an excuse to obtain a Pepsi, a conversation, or bodily relief. The convention celebrates the three longest sessions in all convention history, the earliest evening breaking up at 1:30 AM, the latest (Marathon Tuesday) at 6:30 AM.

The verbiage was to be reduced by set times and number for issue statements and nominations, but American party conventions have rarely if ever seen such a detailed treatment of issues. Openness produces prolonged discussion. Scrupulous fairness devours time. The credentials and platform battles allowed minority views under time constraints but never allowed so many and varied views to be expressed. Perhaps the handling of minority views was merely an exercise in deference (so it seemed with the shouting down of the substitute Wallace planks to the platform), but the convention treatment of party rules, welfare rights, abortion, tax reform, foreign policy, and the rights of homosexuals was relatively complete and wholly serious, given the cumbersomeness and diversity of a large convention body. There was much lamenting that the real impact and business of the convention was out of prime time and thus out of mind for the American electorate. But that assumes that the media was to be fed and the television audience was to be enlightened. Another view might be that this was principally a group of party members addressing itself as representatives of a broader partisan constituency. The aim, besides nominating a presidential hopeful, was a

legitimizing of party reform (credentials and rules) and the adopting of acceptable party symbols (platform) for the delegates assembled, not an adaptation of party deliberations to video performance.

In a sense, the nation was looking in publicly on what was one entity's "internal affairs." One can little demand that it be sexy or dramatic. The public will have to judge this convention and the Democrats as lousy, dilatory television or serious (however tedious) politics.

Firsts: the convention's first dashiki at the platform is that of Cecil Brown, delegate from Wisconsin, who speaks on the Alabama challenge. The first "new voter" to speak at a convention is a nineteen-year-old girl. A Puerto Rican delegate delivers what is probably the first speech in Spanish at a national convention. In the very wee hours of Wednesday, gays speak to a party convention for the first time in history.

IN a very divided atmosphere, there is one great unifying issue: the war. Its steady denunciation during the week earns spontaneous applause again and again. Keynoter Governor Askew gets his biggest reaction with an impassioned "end-the-war" appeal. The foreign policy platform plank, appropriately introduced by former Oregon Senator Wayne Morse, an early opponent of the war, generates cheers when Morse decries the war. McGovern's nomination brings out massive signs on the floor and in the stands: STOP BOMBING THE DIKE. The outbursts in the Kennedy and McGovern addresses ("halt the senseless bombing"), the whoops and stamps, the real abandon, comes when the two address the war and urge its end.

Wait a second; there is a second unifying theme: the total detestation of Richard M. Nixon.

Plenty of show-biz around. A tour around the galleries and the margins of the floor one evening finds: Art Garfunkel and friend twirling through a turnstile; Lorne Greene and wife, hurtling past a guard; Jack Nicholson, in light beard, goes unrecognized; Shirley MacLaine, in anything, is too recognized; Betty Friedan moves around in a granny dress; Dick Gregory

moves around with flashy threads on his 95-pound frame; David Susskind marches through crowds; Barbara Walters shows up on the back of a motorcycle; Norman Mailer glowers in and out of the press section.

I see a husky fellow wandering around the galleries in blue jeans, a green-and-yellow jersey and a life-like grinning face mask of Nixon. Placing the customary fingers in the air and hunching his back a la David Frye, he greets spectators and hawks similar masks. I have a thought: if enough such masks were sold, one might witness a convention full of rapturous rubber Nixon faces cheering a McGovern nomination in the vast hall . . .

The recognition of race: about half the speakers during the first two evenings are black. Even more significantly, the platform, in all its language about minorities, never even mentions black Americans. Others have inherited that status.

One evening I note a young man carrying a two-year-old boy over his shoulder. I am struck by the fact that I have seen no children all week. Miami Beach at convention time is in a strange way sterile—childless.

Nomination night brings in a troop of Wallace delegates properly fctooned. They are laden with straw hats, ballons, ribbons, noisemakers, looking forward to being noisy when their man is nominated. The groups filing into the hall are not from the Deep South, however, but from Indiana, Texas, Michigan—big Wallace primary victories. Alas, it is a bad year for hullabaloo, and the Wallacites are slightly patronized because, in their zeal, they don't yet realize it. Their man is placed in nomination in a typical "the man who" speech: ". . . the man who'll put the A-B-C back inna education and take the B-U-S outta education." The faithful get their chance to cheer but there is no explosion. Noise comes from very localized spots on the floor for but a minute and a half. This is not the convention for demonstrations.

The Last Day

McGovern has it and his staff calls a 10:30 AM announcement by the candidate. That appearance is cancelled and rescheduled at 1:00

PM. One o'clock comes and goes and the pressmen around the Doral Hotel grow irritated. They can't leave; they can't eat lunch; they can't go down the hall to the bar. The McGovern vice presidential nomination is the only story of the afternoon and they have to hang around for it. One reporter plays with headlines:

McGOVERN PICKS KENNEDY . . . WOODCOCK . . .
GILLIGAN . . . RIBICOFF

The press room jumps at the least provocation. A guy comes in with biodata on Governor Pat Lucey of Wisconsin and draws a crowd. A McGovern spokesman turns all heads with an announcement that there will be a 2:00 PM announcement.

You fiddle around. Read the wire service file. Wonder if you could take a chance on a carryout sandwich. Think about a long distance call to an editor. Pick up a stray release. But 2:00 PM does come and the media gather in the hotel press conference room to hear the "announcement" from the nominee's office. The press aide stations himself at a lectern bristling with a metal excrescence of microphones as the room swells with newsmen. He says the McGovern campaign director, Frank Mankiewicz, will be down in a minute to make an announcement.

"Bill, is it about the vice president?"

"I don't know. I was told Frank will make the announcement. I don't know its content."

Snickers snake through the crowd. Of course, it's the veep. A dozen names circle around as bets are laid and knowing faces hide the Name. Fifteen minutes and no show by Mankiewicz. The media grow edgy and bitter. "What the hell, Bill?" comes a backroom gripe. The spokesman says it will be just five more minutes. Ten minutes pass. Cold cynicism emerges. Jokes pop about what happened to Mankiewicz. The press spokesman, sweat sparkling his temples, says he has something—not the announcement, mind you—but something that might interest the group. We then learn that the Senator awoke at 8:45 AM this morning and had breakfast around 9:15—orange

(Continued on page 26)



PURGATORY IN EXURBIA

DAVID E. SIMCOX

PURGATORY for this part of the world lies just beyond the Beltway, only 24 miles from the heart of the District of Columbia. The Shirley Highway takes you to Lorton Reformatory quickly and easily, speeding you through the bedroom communities of southern Fairfax county, through the heartland of the crime-fearing middle classes which, though not always law-abiding, at least have the good taste to limit their crimes to those which society does not often punish with imprisonment.

The split-levels and the ramblers begin to thin out. You leave Shirley Highway, travel briefly through a winter-bitten landscape that might be described as decaying rural and approach Lorton prison, its low skyline unobtrusive on a slight rise.

Its functional, undistinguished brick buildings, many dating from before World War I, do not make it immediately recognizable as a place of confinement. There is no high

outer wall, no massive steel gates, but a chain-link fence topped with barbed wire. It could as easily be a military base, an orphanage, or a factory making brick and tile.

The sign at the approach road is the giveaway: "Lorton Reformatory—D.C. Department of Corrections."

They don't call them prisons anymore, or even penitentiaries. The names they give them now are a testimonial to man's capacity for optimism—or for euphemism. Terms like Reformatory or "Correctional Facility"—the supremely ironic label borne by the prison at Attica—proclaim to the doubters at the outset that their mission is not to punish but reshape, reform, rehabilitate society's errant.

With a buzz from the control tower the wire gate swung wide and we entered the prison grounds with more ease and fewer personal security procedures than when one enters the Pentagon. We were inside. Five middle-class Caucasians visiting this alien environment as part of a brief course of the National War College on "American Social and Cultural Problems." It is a revealing measure of America's current introversion and her sensitivity to her ills that the training of senior military officers and diplomats now includes visits to prisons, public housing projects and treatment centers for narcotics addicts.

Our escort, a ramrod straight young Corrections Officer, briefed us on the workings of the prison, his speech coated with the accents of middle Pennsylvania. He seemed to know his job and love it. He was the sort of man you felt grateful for—grateful that he did with professional competence that which you would not do and would not want your children to do. His comments were unmarred by any taint of contempt for those he supervised. Separated as they are by a chasm of fear and suspicion, prisoners and guardians alike seem strangely bound together by a subtle spirit of institutional necessity.

The institution has its conventions and its own peculiar value system. Our escort introduced us to some of them. I had transgressed asking innocently: "How many guards have you here?"

The Lieutenant's rebuke was mild. There are no "guards" here. We have 360 corrections officers on the staff. We do not recruit educated men, train them and pay them ten thousand a year to be "guards." It soon came out as well that prisoners are not prisoners, or even inmates, but "residents." And Lorton has no "Warden," but a Superintendent. The euphemistic reworking of labels is understandable. Dignity is a frail and cherished commodity in the debasing environment of prisons and must be carefully nurtured.

Mr. Simcox is an FSO recently assigned to the Embassy in Madrid from the National War College where he has spent the last year. He has previously served in Mexico City, Panama, Accra, Santo Domingo and the Department. "Purgatory in Exurbia" is Mr. Simcox's most recent contribution to the JOURNAL. Readers will remember "My Own, My Affluent Homeland" and "The Gift of Tongues" in earlier issues.

The problems of the prison that he recited were by now familiar ones. The explosion at Attica had made prison conditions and reform a major area of social concern. Lorton has not escaped most of these problems. The Reformatory itself was built to house 900 at most, but it now must accommodate 1600. The adjacent youth center and minimum custody institution are also overcrowded. The absence of facilities in which inmates might work or learn means that many of them spend their days in idleness—or worse. The Reformatory once operated a farm and a cannery, but the conviction among the District's policy makers was that agriculture was unsuitable training for prisoners who came from a totally urban community and who would probably return to it.

Our escort shook his head at this reasoning. "Maybe so," he said, "but if you can train some of these men just to get up and go to work every day—any work—it would be doing them a lifetime favor."

Homosexuality and narcotics abuse are prevalent. But racial strife among inmates is not critical. Lorton's population is overwhelmingly black. The less than ten percent of the prisoners who are not black have become quite understandably a submissive and accommodating minority. Nevertheless, race is additional venom in the uneasy relations between inmates and guards. A prison staff that is 65 to 70 percent white oversees a prison population that is 90 percent black—a certain recipe for alienation. But we were assured that the number of black staff members is increasing rapidly.

Overcrowding is the one pervasive problem that complicates all others. The country hasn't spent much on prisons in recent years, either to improve the existing ones or build new ones. After all, who is there among our many raucous, competing special interest groups that will gain by raising his voice in behalf of bigger and better prisons? Even so, the crime rate and population growth have not waited for us to revise our priorities. Lorton, like other prisons in the country, seems to be approaching the point where it must hang out a "no vacancy" sign.

The pressure on facilities is probably the most compelling reason for

the Corrections Department's liberal policy in granting paroles and its experiments with such controversial programs to introduce inmates gradually to the responsibilities of freedom through "half-way houses" and "evaluative furloughs." Perhaps, in this way true prison reform will come about, not because of the efforts of well-intentioned and humane penologists, but because of society's flat refusal to go on adding the resources to keep burgeoning numbers of men penned up.

"Is there room at Lorton?" is a question now that the courts of the District must keep in mind in meting out sentences. In and out promptly has become prison policy. "There was a time," our escort recalled, "when you could get to know the inmates. They stayed around for a while. It's harder now. There's so much turnover. Some stay as little as 30 days . . . then out to make room for someone else who is waiting to do time. Of course, some of the repeaters turn up again. You get to know them. But a lot of the repeaters do their second or third stretch in institutions in Virginia and Maryland."

We boarded a battered prison bus for a tour of the grounds. It was driven by an inmate. A heavy wire mesh separated the driver from the passengers. This security arrangement would be even more appropriate to shield the drivers of suburban school buses, insulating them from the daily cargo of anarchy they must haul.

"Can a man get hard drugs here?" one of us asked. Our escort huffed at the naivete of the question. "You can get a fix as easily as I can get a cigarette—for five dollars." He gestured to the driver. "Is that the going price, about five dollars?" Face unrevealing, the driver stared ahead at the road. "Don't ask me. You know I don't f— around."

There is too much contact with the outside, the officer explained, to shut off the flow of narcotics altogether. Visitors can bring it in, wives, lovers, attorneys. Inmates returning from furloughs might bring it. Even Lorton's basketball team, choral group and dramatics club, which perform outside the walls, are not above suspicion.

For those of us who knew little

about prisons, the most striking fact about life at Lorton is that most of the residents do not live behind bars. We approached a cluster of low red brick dormitories, open and unbarred. Originally built to accommodate 35, each dormitory now houses from 50 to 70 men. Although it was early in the afternoon, a number of idling inmates were there to eye us without curiosity as we walked through. Card games and letter writing were in progress. Several inmates sleepily watched a TV soaper, chosen through democratic processes by the dorm TV committee.

We noticed that many inmates were idling in the dormitories and asked how this could be, since work details supposedly are not dismissed until 3:30. Most of them have no work to do, our escort explained, not even "make work." A detail of forty or so men may be assigned to a task that requires no more than two or three earnest workers. The redundants drift back to the dorms. You can't blame them. It's a sad fact, he confessed, a man can spend an entire stretch at Lorton eating, sleeping, rapping, and loafing in the dorms. Even the totally managed community can't escape the scourge of unemployment.

There was a time, the officer added, when residents were carefully restricted to their own barracks. Movement among areas of the complex was carefully controlled. Security rules of this sort have been the victims of the massive expansion of the prison population and the shortage of guards.

Prisoners, except those in maximum security, may move around among the dormitories, within limits. Of course, it makes for mischief. Without enough corrections officers to give close and continuing attention, the dorms have of necessity become in part self-policing. The irony was striking: a place of confinement is forced by events to move toward "participatory management." Self-policing seemed to be working. The dorms, while ancient and crowded, were clean and uncluttered. Conditions could be described as only slightly worse than those in an Army barracks, but considerably better than those associated with the popular image of a prison.

Our escort pointed out a dormitory no different from the others in which prison officials had once tried to segregate all known homosexual inmates. A justifiable experiment, but one could as easily confine the wind or the crabgrass. There are just too many homosexuals at this or any other prison, and in the weird environment of confinement the dividing line between those committed to that preference and those who are not is exceedingly vague.

Rampant homosexuality is nothing new in American prisons. It's just that the popular prison films of the forties and fifties, with Cagney, Raft and Garfield in roles of alienation and self-pity, delicately avoided sexual deviation and violence in the stereotype of prison life that they fostered in middle-class America. Our escort declined to estimate the percentage of inmates who are homosexuals, commenting only that sooner or later, willingly or unwillingly, most engage in homosexual acts at some time during their stay.

The impression was clear: prison authorities, confronted by so many evils, were compelled to take a more tolerant approach on this one—an approach one might argue that does nothing more than mirror changing attitudes in American society. Recalling my visits to prisons in Latin America as a Consular officer, I could only puzzle once more over what may be the hang-up in the American ethic that steadfastly rules out conjugal visiting in our prisons.

The thick brick walls and surveillance towers of the maximum security area loomed before us—a prison within a prison. Some 250 men live confined in three double-tiered cellblocks on the ten acres within these walls. Most are there because they are judged to be the prison community's more dangerous men. Some few, for reasons of race or behavioral incompatibility, are not well accepted by the community and are there for their own protection. Maximum security—"inside the walls" in prison jargon—was the only place that seemed to conform to the popular image of the prison, with its high wall, clanging of heavily barred cell doors and armed guards on the alert. It too is overcrowded. Four men often inhabit

cells originally designed for two.

For every man inside the walls, the Corrections officer said, there is another just as dangerous living in the dorms. Accommodations in maximum security are among the prison's rationed items. If someone is added, someone must be released.

"If we had the space," he added, "there are men who we would put in here right away—men who are capable of blowing the lid off this place." Attica has made us all aware of growing political activism among prisoners, and Lorton has not escaped it.

Did Lorton's inmates share the notion of those at Attica that they were "political prisoners," victims of an exploitive, racist system? By and large they have not was the answer. But our host spoke with a mixture of concern and grudging respect on a handful of erudite, persuasive prisoners with enormous potential for disruption and schooled in Frantz Fanon, the Soledad brothers and Malcolm X. Some of them see the law as a weapon, reading constitutional cases, counseling and filing petitions.

The prison population is crisscrossed by factions, creeds and tendencies. The Panthers are there, as are the Muslims. There is a shifting array of smaller, ephemeral groups. Not all are a threat to prison peace and discipline. Some are agents of rehabilitation. Our escort spoke admiringly of the Muslims' contribution to the stability of prison society.

Most prisoners realize, the officer assured us, that they—not society—have erred and therefore must pay. But I wondered. Would the prisoners agree? What came to mind was the hoary anecdote about Pope Innocent's inspection visit to the Papal prison. Interviewing prisoners, he was told time and time again that they were innocent, framed, victimized by corrupt or vindictive jurisprudence. Finally meeting up with a rogue who readily admitted he had taken great satisfaction from cutting an enemy's throat and was gladly paying for the act, Innocent ordered the Warden to set the felon at liberty lest he corrupt the many honorable gentlemen who resided there.

Noting the growing activism, the scarcity of guards, the air of permis-

siveness, the prison officer felt no shame in admitting that . . . "the residents could take this place over any time." That this has not happened seems to be attributable to a subtle, unspoken armistice between those who supposedly have all the power and those who should have none at all. The jailers rule to some degree with the consent of the jailed.

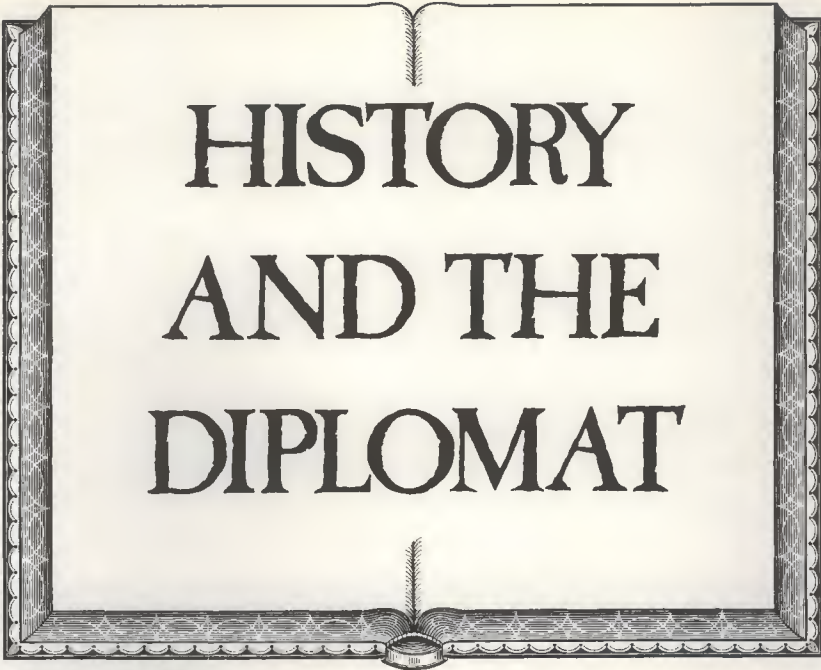
This equilibrium is fragile at best. There were incidents at Lorton in 1968 and again in 1970, the latter ending up with several hundred thousand dollars of prison property destroyed by fire. Yet one senses that the rigidity and despair that led to Attica are not so deeply rooted here. This clearly is a comparatively open, even participatory penal institution, and those who live in it do not feel their powerlessness so keenly.

We asked our escort that question so beloved of bureaucrats and planners: "What are your priorities? Where are additional funds most needed?" The day's tour had left us above all with a sense of the Institution's diverse and urgent competing needs. "More staff, particularly Correctional officers," was his answer. His reply was without hesitation. If he had his own safety in mind, one could easily sympathize. The proper balance of power between guards and prisoners, in his view, had to be restored before other fundamental reforms could begin.

Asked the same question, another prison official told us later that the overriding need was not more guards, but more funds for training, academic and vocational. Surprisingly, no one gave top priority to more space to house the growing numbers of residents. "It would be better," one official explained, "for us to do more work in the rehabilitation of offenders without confinement. D.C. is far ahead in such innovations as half-way houses and furloughs. But it lags behind many states in the use of probation as a substitute for incarceration."

Imprisonment is expensive and, like everything else, is becoming more so. Lorton's budget is now more than six million annually. With something like awe a prison official commented that it costs the taxpayers about six thousand a year

(Continued on page 28)



HISTORY AND THE DIPLOMAT

FOY D. KOHLER

DIPLOMACY is no longer a matter of dealing with a handful of courtiers or of influencing a sovereign. It bears only a remote resemblance to the picture of personal intrigue that emerges from old histories and romantic novels and exciting whodunits. Modern diplomacy is rather a continuing and exhausting study of whole societies and of their inter-relationships. It requires a knowledge of the history and culture, of the political, economic, technological and social forces at work in the society in which the diplomat resides. It requires a careful evaluation of the direction in which these forces will move within that society and of the effect they will have on relations between that society and other societies, in particular his own.

If this definition is correct, then it's clear that the practicing diplomat must have a profound knowledge of history, not just of diplomatic history but history in the broadest sense, of his own country and of the world.

In my case, my early posts were in the Balkans, in the Near East, in England and Russia, and then I had shorter assignments as an evaluator of our aid programs in Southeast Asia and on the Indian sub-continent and in Latin America. Repeatedly I found myself being drawn into making my own comparative chronolo-

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gies, and all this drove home a great many lessons, above all that out of the past—only out of the past—can you have a full understanding of the present.

The most striking example in my own experience, of course, was Russia, because no one can hope to understand Russia who doesn't appreciate the fact that the beginning of constitutional government in the West, with the granting of the Magna Carta in the early 13th century, roughly coincided with the Mongol-Tatar conquest of the fledgling Russian state in Kiev and the occupation and the despoliation of the Russian lands by these invaders for the next three centuries. The isolation of the Russians from the world thereafter under these Tatar Khans and a succession of Tatar-influenced tsars, while the West was progressing under the stimuli of the Renaissance and the Reformation and the Age of Exploration and Discovery, goes far to explain to the Foreign Service officer Russian mentality and prejudices, and the difference in views on a multitude of subjects between the Russian and himself. It also enables him to understand the fundamental antipathy that continues after those seven centuries between the Russian and the Chinese, because the Mongol-Tatar invaders were Chinese to the Russian. An

appreciation of this kind of background leads the diplomatic practitioner to one of the fundamental conclusions that he must reach if he's going to be any good in dealing with Soviet affairs, and that is that the greatest mistake you can make is to think that this civilization or this country started 50 years ago.

So much for history and the diplomat. Now some reflections on the diplomat and history. In cables and dispatches from his posts, and in memoranda and oral briefings to his superiors in the Department or the White House as he moves into what we call "desk officer" or regional or functional working level jobs, the Foreign Service officer calls not only on the background of the printed record but also on the growing store of knowledge and experience that he has acquired first hand. He does the same when he's called upon to testify before Congressional committees or, more rarely, to give background briefings to the press. As the professional moves into policy making positions, at levels of Assistant Secretary or above, he relies increasingly on this storehouse and on the personal information retrieval system in his own mind in reaching decisions. More often than not the pro will either do, or ask a subordinate to do, an explanatory memo for the

record backing up or justifying any decision—but not always. So this may well mean that many elements of a given decision are not a matter of public record and that the reason for that decision could be understood and reconstructed only by the individual in question or by a researcher with a good knowledge of the mental formation of that individual. Indeed, as I have found out in connection with some of these popular oral history projects nowadays, even the individual himself finds it very difficult to recall the exact conjuncture of circumstances at a given moment in the past. This has been more true since security regulations, especially after the days of the Joe McCarthy witch hunts, and the sheer pressure of work in the higher echelons of the Department and the Foreign Service make it both undesirable and impractical, if not downright unhealthy, to keep a daily record of events of the kind that served as a basis for diplomatic memoirs in the past.

I note that some political appointees in the White House or the State Department are now trying to fill that void, but I think I would have to sound a certain note of caution on the works of such in-and-outers. To the extent that I've delved into them I have found that the impression tends to be created that they played a role well beyond what I have reason to believe they played. I have read some rather lengthy and learned memoranda on foreign policy or what foreign policy should be which so far as I know never entered into the decision-making process.

At best, records of decisions and actions and conversations are something less than complete. Even so, as the United States has assumed its present position in the world, the sheer bulk is overwhelming for the policy-maker and, later, for the historical researcher.

In view of the traditional practice of anonymity—of all documents being in the name of the President or the Secretary of State or the Chief of Mission who may have seen only a small fraction of these papers, and probably did see only a small fraction—it's of some importance for the researcher to note who the drafting officer actu-

ally was. We try to train a Foreign Service officer to be accurate and never to yield to the temptation to record as said what he only thought afterwards he should have said. We try to impress on him that his record should be exactly the same as that of the man he talked with, or what that man's record should be if he reported accurately himself.

Contrary to popular myth about diplomats, the longer one is in the Foreign Service the more one comes to realize that the greatest asset he can develop, not only inside his own government and with his own colleagues but with the foreigners that he has dealt with or may have to deal with in the future, is a reputation for absolutely unquestionable honesty and integrity. He doesn't have to have a reputation for telling all the truth but he does have to have the reputation for never, never ever saying an untruth. Senior professionals, as a matter of fact, like to have the records of their conversations with foreign colleagues prepared by junior officers who were present, so that they can have a kind of objective account of what they actually communicated. This can't be counted on with an untrained official. I remember a very distinguished high level political appointee, dealing with a critical event, coming late to a meeting and explaining that he had been working on a memorandum of conversation with a foreign diplomat. It was an important talk, he said, and everything had to be just right. Well, I'm afraid some of us commented that if it hadn't been said just right there was not much purpose in making the record show that it was.

Sometimes top officials get carried away by what they consider dangers of leaks or by notions of personal diplomacy. The most aggravating case, of course, was the era of FDR when the State Department was more likely than not to get copies of the President's correspondence with Churchill or maybe even with Stalin, not from the White House but from the British Embassy. This not only hampered the conduct of current foreign relations but it greatly confused the record keeping. Others occasionally tend to get a foreign diplomat off in the corner for a "private talk" and

only too often this top officer may forget or be too busy to make a record of this conversation. Since one can be sure that the foreign diplomat reports such conversations fully, the net result is that the foreign government has a good record but the United States Government does not.

I may surprise you by saying that a professional diplomat is nearly as frustrated as a historian about the problem of access to relatively current records. During my career, the filing system in the State Department was a nightmare of disorder and inefficiency amounting to almost total inaccessibility. Senator Jackson asked me a few years ago, when I was testifying before his Government Operations Subcommittee, what should be done to enable the State Department and the missions to do a better job. I had no hesitation or trouble in replying—and I quote myself: "I think we should modernize . . . should have better communications . . . should have IBM systems that give us access to information more quickly, and to quotations from people we have talked with . . . We have modern techniques now that ought to be applied to the diplomatic process."

During my last year in the Department, after I came back from Moscow, there were a couple of striking examples. I had occasion to want to review a paper on the Near East that I had written back in 1953 when I was in the Bureau of Near Eastern affairs. After a search of the informal files of the State Department revealed no trace I was told that it had probably been shipped off to storage in St. Louis or somewhere in the middle west, and that it would take two or three weeks to take a look for it. It struck me as a little preposterous, and it still does, that records of a function that has the continuity of foreign affairs should be buried like gold in Ft. Knox, but I ordered the search to be made. Well, to make a long story short, it wasn't two or three weeks. The paper was just never found.

At this same time—this was, as you may have suspected, the time of the Arab-Israeli June war in 1967—the researchers prepared documents for all of us on the 7th

floor—all about previous US actions and commitments on both sides. But when the Israeli Foreign Minister came to visit us in the State Department he presented us with the original record of an important commitment that Secretary Dulles had made to him at the time of the Suez Crisis ten years earlier which was not included in our papers. There wasn't any question about the authenticity of this paper; it was properly signed and initialed. A search was launched, but as I recall we never did find our own copy.

Dr. William M. Franklin has given us an account of the problems of the historical office in this respect and I am supplementing a bit with my own experience. Anyway, on account of the inadequacy of the filing system, the country desk officers and area and functional researchers have generally developed the practice of maintaining copies of important documents in their own unofficial files, covering roughly the period between the latest "Foreign Relations" volumes and the present time. I thought we were careful to keep only copies, not originals, but I suppose I have to accept Dr. Franklin's testimony that these "lots," as I think he referred to them, did sometimes contain unique and sole copies.

In any case, these informal files tend to be the working files of the State Department and they're in constant use. In the last year or so some progress has been made in computerizing the decoding and the distribution and also the filing and, as I understand, the retrieval of cable traffic. However, it is an awesome comment that the best retrieval system in the State Department today is the memory of individual officers. This will inevitably be true for some years to come, even if we start tomorrow to index and to program a modern retrieval system that goes back into years past.

In place of keeping diaries these days—post McCarthy days—individual Foreign Service officers do keep personal files of published or unclassified materials and chronologies of events in the hope that these will recall some still classified discussions, actions, decisions

behind the developments in foreign policy in which he's played a role.

I would like to join those who urge that the files be open earlier and that the schedule for publication of "Foreign Relations" volumes be pushed up from the present lag of 22 years. It would help the professional diplomat as well as the historian. I do have to admit, however, that there are some problems. In his letter inviting me to come to this Conference, Dr. Gustafson told me that in the 1940 files there were certain documents which it was decided could not be printed in the '44 volume which were specifically prepared by me personally, apparently relating to the situation in Lebanon. Frankly, I don't remember what these documents are. I suppose they're related to some still living personality playing a political role in Lebanon or to some actions by General de Gaulle, who was at the time trying to reimpose the French influence, or maybe the government of Lebanon itself opposed publication of the material. In any case, I didn't make that negative decision. This responsibility was that of the Assistant Secretary in charge of Near Eastern Affairs at the time it was decided to publish. I will say that I probably made some similar decisions respecting other documents that I didn't prepare myself when I was Assistant Secretary for European Affairs.

There will always be some materials that it will be injudicious to publish for a long time and I thought Dr. Franklin gave us a dramatic case in talking about the Chamizal documents this morning. So, what is better? Is it better to publish at shorter intervals with deletions? Many deletions actually probably wouldn't mislead or falsify the record and are not crucial to a basic understanding. Maybe the reasons really relate purely to transient problems connected with personalities. But how is the historian to know? If he were shown for his information what has been omitted, could he be depended on not to publish these spectacular and attention-getting tidbits, or if the information were critical to an understanding would he be satisfied to be guided by, but not use the sensitive

parts? These specific questions raise a more basic question, as to whether selection and discrimination in giving access will be either possible or desirable. Not everyone wanting earlier access to files, you must remember, is an objective historian. There are sensation-seekers and those with political axes to grind. How do you eliminate them? Ideally, I would say, a historian should have access to information up to the day before yesterday, at least for his guidance in using public sources, if not for direct use; but would the historical community accept the kind of restrictive and censored arrangements that would be necessary for this? Would historians be willing to undergo security checks, to submit their work for review in return for early access to the records? I think only the historical community itself could answer such questions. If any of these answers were in the affirmative then I think perhaps they would strengthen Dr. Franklin's hand in the continuing battle that he has to wage, to make these records available at the earliest possible date. I do know from experience that you can depend on the Historical Office to push the political officers hard in this respect; and maybe we could all help Dr. Franklin and the Archives, in turn, by asking our Congressmen to give them more money, more employees.

The Historian and History

Finally, I'm going to be bold enough to make a few remarks not about diplomats and history, but historians and history. Even if the problem of access to United States government records were solved, it seems to me that this is not enough for the writer of diplomatic history, because all international questions involve two sides, if not more, and the diplomatic historian must understand both sides. It's true that foreign archives are even less accessible than American archives, especially in the Communist-ruled countries. On the other hand, it would be an understatement to say that the publicly available sources are sufficient to give a basic understanding of the motivations and aims of the Communist leaders.

In this connection, I have been bothered, since I came back to the

States at the end of 1968, by this rash of "revisionist" histories of the so-called "Cold War."

I confess I've only read a couple of them but I have examined a number of very scholarly analyses which highlight the principal revisionist propositions, notably:

- that Russia's weakness dictated post-War cooperation with the West but that Western leaders' hostility to Communism prevented them from seeing this fact, an understanding of which might have prevented the Cold War;

- That abrupt termination of lend-lease in August, 1945 and US failure to lend the Soviet Union two billion dollars for post-war reconstruction left Stalin little choice but to act as he did;

- that the Cold War cannot be understood simply as American response to Soviet challenge but rather an insidious inter-action of mutual suspicions, blame for which must be shared by all;

- that after the United States acquired the atomic bomb, American diplomats tried to take back what they had implicitly conceded at Yalta with respect to Eastern Europe; and, finally,

- that American policy in the early years of the Cold War must be seen as a part of a larger pattern of American globalism reaching as far back as 1898.

Before such an informed and learned gathering as this, I don't want or need to debate or try to rebut these propositions in detail—to examine the dreary record of the Soviet take-overs in Eastern Europe, or their attempt to partition Iran, or the territorial demands on Turkey, or the support of the guerrillas in Greece, or the blockade of Berlin, or the first rape of Czechoslovakia, or the attack in Korea. Neither do I need to review the measures that were taken inside the Soviet Union in these years to tighten the screws on the Soviet peoples themselves. Nor do I need to stress that the tragedy of the history of the first 40 years of this century was not a continuation of the adolescent aberrations of 1898 but American retreat into isolation and neutrality and our consequent failure even to make a good college try at helping to prevent World War II.

What I do want to stress, though, is my view that the basic fallacy of these revisionist theories is their authors' ignorance of the other half of the equation. Anyone who can read would understand that Stalin's so-called election speech of February 9, 1946, renouncing the war-time alliance and proclaiming a return to what we then called Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, was an official declaration of what we came to know as the Cold War between Communism and Capitalism. It's true that Stalin's official recognition only belatedly confirmed a line that had already started to develop in action, both internationally and inside the Soviet Union. This is really beside the point, however, because anyone professing to be a student of political systems should understand why Stalin both acted and spoke as he did. He should know that the answer lies in the first instance in the question of legitimacy. It's important always to remember that Bolshevik rule in the Soviet Union constitutes a minority monopoly of political power, by their own definition. Even today, membership in the Communist party is about 14 million people or roughly 5 percent of the population. After the war, despite the war-time inflation of membership, it was even lower.

Now, the Bolsheviks are just as sensitive as any other sovereign—perhaps more sensitive—to the need to justify their right to rule. Lacking the accepted doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings or the constitutional systems of our Western democracies, the Communist countries seek—and must seek—their legitimacy on the basis of Marxist-Leninist doctrine (we've dropped Stalin nowadays), which justifies the dictatorship of the proletariat in the name of the inevitable world revolution against Capitalism and Imperialism. If the Capitalist and Imperialist states were no longer the mortal enemy to be struggled against and to be overthrown, then there would be no justification for the continued maintenance of the single Communist party system and for depriving the Soviet peoples of the right freely to choose their own leaders.

Now, maybe it was unnecessary for me to go into this much detail

Lacking the accepted doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings or the constitutional systems of our Western democracies, the Communist countries seek . . . their legitimacy on the basis of Marxist-Leninist doctrine . . .

to justify my reaction to the revisionists. I might simply have suggested to them that if they want an accurate description of the continuing Cold War they really only have to read the Soviet definition of what they call "peaceful coexistence." There are many sources for this—the Declaration of the Moscow Conference of the Communist Parties in 1960 or many, many declarations of the Kremlin leaders. I will pick just one, by the man who is the titular president of the Soviet Union, the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet, Nikolai V. Podgorny. At the 23rd Party Congress, he explained, and I quote him: "The principle of peaceful coexistence is the principle of relations among states with different social systems. It is absolutely inapplicable in the class struggle between exploiters and those exploited, in the struggle between colonialists and oppressed peoples, in the struggle between socialists and bourgeois ideologies. Under present conditions, the implementation of this principle facilitates victories by socialism in economic competition with capitalism and favors the successful struggle of all detachments of the world workers and national liberation movements."

We'll probably have a new definition out of the present sessions going on in Moscow, but I assure you that the Communist definition of peaceful coexistence will be word for word my definition of Cold War. ■

For Hispanophiles

PORTRAIT OF SPAIN, by *Tad Szulc*. American Heritage Press, \$8.95.

PORTRAIT OF SPAIN is made to order for the reader who wants to obtain considerably more than just travelogue information about that country but hasn't the time nor inclination to take on the more academic and detailed works on Spanish history and politics.

Proceeding from an account of Spain's physical features, cities, museums, etc., Szulc then gives a tight summary of all of Spanish history and, finally, a perceptive and highly impartial look at the Franco regime and where it and Spanish society seem to be heading. One of his basic points of view is that Spanish history tends to keep repeating itself century after century, and that there is very little on the political scene today which has not happened before in similar fashion. Szulc is one of those non-Spaniards who so often develop a lasting fascination with Spain's culture and its psychology. His method of portraying Spanish society is itself Hispanic—he writes in terms of the people he has talked to and tells of their particular opinions and worries, avoiding any manner of social-science analysis. Excellent photographs by Jack Manning emphasize the faces of the people, which so often in Spain tell you a great deal about life and personality.

Designed to be carried by the traveler, the book contains a very useful appendix of names and addresses of private firms, Spanish government agencies, museums, golf courses, and a calendar of events. It even tells you how to apply for an archaeology license if you want to organize your own dig.

—AMBLER H. MOSS, JR.

USIS + CIA = Action

SLOTH AND HEATHEN FOLLY, by *Edward L. Robinson*. Macmillan, \$8.95.

SOMEWHERE in Southeast Asia Henry Parker struggles against local disinterest, monsoons, and bureaucratic ennui to establish an effective United States Information Library in a remote province of the emerg-

ing nation Gamalia. Having entered the Service as a no-longer young idealist, Parker now moves between the capital, where he endures inbred Mission cocktail parties and backwater schools, where he shows utterly useless films to the ever polite Gamalese. Even friends and make-work cannot fill enough of the day to prevent brooding questions on the value of the entire diplomatic structure. Suddenly the CIA decides that he is the only man who might be able to find and convince the insurgent leader Saw Twin to change his politics, thus saving Gamalia from "ungodly Communism" and certain civil disaster. Needless to say, Parker has little time for further introspection as he becomes embroiled in guerrilla politics.

This first novel shows a fine sense of story-telling and Mr. Robinson creates excitement without losing credibility. As a former Information Officer, the author has a multitude of criticisms of the Service; indeed, many more would quite overburden the reader not involved in interdepartmental diplomatic maneuvers. The characters, however, are the best part of the book. The dreamy

idealists, the overbearing local functionaries, the misunderstood Prime Minister, the drunken wife, the goldenhearted secretary are all present, though none can compete with the desk-bound Hawkins who hates everything about the Service except the prestige and cheap liquor. With "Sloth and Heathen Folly" now on the stands, we hope Mr. Robinson will not be long in giving us another first rate book.

—WILLENE MORGAN

The New China

800,000,000 THE REAL CHINA, by *Ross Terrill*. Atlantic-Little Brown, \$7.95.

IN 1971 an Australian student of Chinese affairs at Harvard spent 40 days in journeying 7,000 miles in mainland China. A personal account of his travels and his impressions of many things in China originally appeared in the ATLANTIC. These articles have now been doubled in length and made into a book. His approach is informal, often amusing, and sympathetic to the new China.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

"Prophet With Honor"*

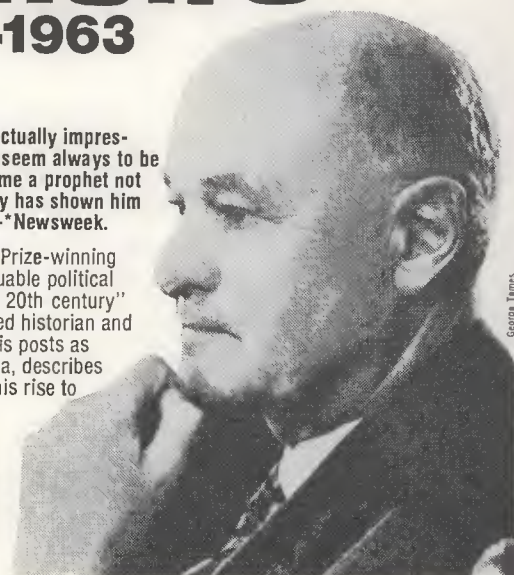
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George Temes

FLOTSAM ON THE BEACH

form page 17

juice, poached eggs. . . The room breaks into guffaws and the wise-cracks pour:

"How were the eggs done, huh?"

"What color was his bathrobe, Bill?"

"Can you tell us how the man dumped?"

The bitterness is total. An apology is made about the phone breaking down in the upstairs suite. McGovern's pressmen confer. Forty-five minutes have passed. Another apology. One hundred newspeople captured at the core of the day's business, horribly dependent on the pronouncement of the new chief.

Near 3:00 PM, the spokesman calls off the meeting to general bitching mixed with relief. Everyone files back into two large press rooms, hungry, harassed and harried, all still dangling men.

Finally, at 4:00 PM, the crowd is called together again. By now exas-

peration is complete. It is announced that Mankiewicz will show and make a statement concerning the vice-presidential nominee. Snide remarks abound; names continue to be dropped. Anticipation blended with sneer.

At 4:15 PM Frank Mankiewicz strides into the press room accompanied by sardonic applause, and, after a final few minutes of tease, offers the day's story, the selection as running mate of Senator Thomas Eagleton of Missouri.

THE voting for vice president is a script written by the Marx Brothers and read by Bob and Ray. It is the convention's equivalent of letting its hair down and letting it all hang out simultaneously. It is a gigantic release valve for the week's steady earnestness.

The nomination process is a preview with eight names of the greatest variability being placed in nomination. Besides Eagleton, there

is Endicott Peabody of Massachusetts, one of those actively seeking the nomination; Frances (Cissie) Farenthold, state representative from Texas and candidate of the Women's Caucus, placed in nomination by Gloria Steinem (surprisingly attired in mini-skirt); Mike Gravel, Senator from Alaska, lugubriously seconding his own nomination after a tiff with the vice-chairman; Hodding Carter III of Mississippi is in—no, he's out; Stanley Arnold (Stanley Arnold??), named in one of the vaguest nominating speeches in convention history; Peter Rodino, a Congressman from Newark who isn't even at the convention, as the Italo-American candidate; and Clay Smothers, a black Texan and Wallace backer, who goes a step further than Gravel and nominates himself, to the confusion of everyone.

The 90-minute roll call, beginning at 12:30 AM, moves quickly to the ludicrous as names of politicians, celebrities and nonentities

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string out. Most large states, in a seeming desire to one-up each other, produce a list of delegate whimsy. Named are Archie Bunker, Dr. Spock, Martha Mitchell, Roger Mudd, the Berrigans, Cesar Chavez, Jerry Rubin, Eleanor McGovern, Ralph Nader, etc. One waits in vain for the name of Harold Stassen. Each new listing brings moans and hoots. A group of British journalists get into the spirit by listening attentively for votes for Stanley Arnold so they can raucously wave the small Arnold poster-fans they received as early evening handouts. The totally unknown—perhaps the invented—make their appearance: Joe Magnoli, Morris Jones . . . The roll call drones on, becoming more and more hilarious or mischievous, depending on your point of view.

About two-thirds of the way through the vote, a gross irony appears: the chosen Eagleton does not even have a majority! A hurried flurry of McGovern votes move to the Missouri Senator and save the convention the embarrassment of

going into the first second ballot vote since 1956 on this most risible of roll calls.

The Convention Center has seen several high points, but none prepares one for the arrival of Edward Kennedy. Eagleton has accepted his nomination, Gladys Knight and the Pips have offered a soulful apotheosis of America with "United We Stand, Divided We Fall." Enthusiasm begins to flow into the seats like slow blood filling new veins.

At 2:35 in the morning of July 14th, upon a one-line introduction by Larry O'Brien, Kennedy enters the hall to a paroxysm of cheers. For the first time all week, the floor's total attention is riveted to the chair. The mass of delegates pressed to the base of the speaker's podium churns and pummels itself with state masts. The clichéd sea of faces has become a macadam of heads. Everyone is standing.

The fellow next to me states aloud what I have been thinking. It's crazy and strange: here is the

man who has them aching for him, the man who could, even now, appeal to the convention for his nomination by acclamation this instant and receive it, gladly, yet he steps away from it. The incongruity of the moment and the place is stupendous. That exhausted phrase, the Kennedy Magic, is palpable in the air. The man who could have it for the asking introduces the dogged man who got it.

The hall is rapt. "Mr. Chairman, delegates, and fellow lettuce boycotters . . .," the hall swoons.

He introduces "our leader." I see the dignified John Kenneth Galbraith towering from the massed Massachusetts delegation, a giant bent mantis, clapping, then flashing the peace sign. The nominee comes on to give his call to "Come home, America." The fatigue of this week will be felt later. The big hotel bars will finally get some steady business later. I hang in the wings until the last line: ". . . the great challenge that beckons us home," and I hurtle for a cab, needing sleep. ■

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PURGATORY IN EXURBIA

from page 20

to keep a man at Lorton. "You could send him to Yale more cheaply."

Later, I had the chance to talk with two young inmates about Lorton's needs and advantages. Both were personable, articulate and newly politicized. Their speech was a jarring mix of street and prison argot salted with the jargon of bureaucracy and the social sciences.

Everybody out here agrees that Lorton needs more money, I said to Richard H., an amiable felon in his mid-20's. "Where do the prisoners themselves think it should be spent?"

"Naturally our priorities aren't going to be the same as the people running the place." The assurance in his manner suggested that he had been asked the question before by some reporter, legislative investiga-

tor or itinerant do-gooder. "We need more space in the dormitories, better food in the mess halls, and more opportunities to study. Dudes that have to work here have got to get paid more. If they're paid more, they'll respond. They'll keep this place better and things like the food in the mess halls will improve. Morale along with it."

George D., convicted of armed robbery, had the sensitive chiseled features of a young Paul Robeson. He liked to talk and commented that from time to time he visited churches and community groups in the Washington area to rap about prison conditions. He had done time before at Danbury, Connecticut, a Federal prison administered along more traditional lines. Since he had sampled the old ways and the new, did he like Lorton's open, innovative approach?

"Danbury was better for me. Open dormitories are noisy and dangerous. There are fights. They destroy a man's privacy. At Dan-

bury, isolated in your cell, you can 'sublimate' your time. A man can really read and think."

George warmed to his prison philosophy. "For real rehabilitation a man's got to change his values. But he don't get no help from Lorton to do that. Before I was busted, even in bad weeks I made at least \$500 pushing narcotics on the street—sometimes that much in a single day. How does someone like me go back outside and work as a busboy or parking attendant for less than that much in a whole month? A big change in values. A man's got to work out his own therapy while he's here. For me it's the drama group. Some others find it in the Muslims . . . or in reading . . . or politics."

Prison officials gave us some copies of periodicals published by the residents. Illustrating the institution's tolerance was the COMMUNITARIAN, a crudely edited radical underground paper circulated with the administration's sufferance, if not its endorsement. It spread its rage thin-

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ly over diverse domestic and international grievances, combining the rhetoric of the ghetto, prison reform, African liberation, the New Left and District of Columbia Democratic Party politics. It partook of the same deariness of tone of other mimeographed ideological messages of rage and hope ground out by humorless, earnest men in fringe groups over the world:

"As men in confinement we must progressively change our old direction and chart out a bold new course that will lead us to complete liberation."

The prison-sanctioned publication, *TIME AND TIDE*, was more professional in make-up, but only slightly less indignant. Random issues carried articles on Angela Davis, criminal law, black sociology and prison reform, along with chatty articles on inmate social life and experimental programs.

An amateurish cartoon that caught my eye caught some of the prevailing cynicism about the lofty

goals of Lorton in particular and penitentiaries in general: One inmate tells a depressed looking fellow con—"be thankful yer in a correctional institution instead of some old prison."

The visit was over. Our escort showed us without ceremony to the front gate and beyond, not once bidding us to return soon, and we stood outside the fence in the world of the straights again.

I looked back at the cluster of fading brick structures in the uncertain sunlight. What we had seen was indeed a risk-taking, innovative institution, but still a cheerless place at best. As we moved toward the cars that would take us back to warmth and security of family, hearthside and cocktail, a cold wind was blowing across the parking lot, and I felt my liberal instincts once again in conflict with notions of my own personal security and that of my family.

The visit had brought home to us the essential humanity of the dangerous men behind the fence. But

their dangerousness rather than their humanity is the primary object of the community's concern. Custody and rehabilitation are the underlying, perhaps even contradictory, objectives of prisons. But rehabilitation, successful, lasting rehabilitation, has shown itself to be a baffling, costly process, which tends to lead to risks that the community considers unacceptable. D.C. police officials have spoken out against the risks inherent in Lorton's furloughs and half-way house schemes. The custodial role of prisons is uppermost in the public mind, notwithstanding the clamorous polemics of penologists or the vast literature of prison innovation and reform. Succinctly put, it's "cure them if you can, but keep them off the streets."

A visit to teeming, volatile, beleaguered Lorton leaves one sensing that our prisons, as now financed, have outgrown their ability either to correct or control the mounting numbers that our urban decay spews forth and which a baffled society deems dangerous. ■

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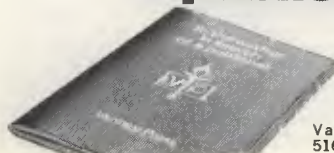
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We'll bet the kid evades the draft.

Congratulations, Henry T.
God grant thy new wife pleaseth thee.
She ought to grace thy kingly bed,
Provided that she keeps her head.

To Mr. O'Connor the ten dollar award for the June competition.

This month readers are asked to imagine themselves junior officers asked by their Ambassador to arrange a lunch in honor of one of the following: Rasputin, Savonrola, Genghis Khan. They should submit a guest list, menu and brief talking points for the Ambassador.

Entries by December 15, please, to the JOURNAL, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

THE THREAD

*A single thread's enough, if it be strong.
One guided Theseus through the labyrinth,
One knots in place a plethora of pearls.
One will suffice to hold ideas
Beaded upon a certain line,
Provided only it's not lost.
It's here revealed in the light of a word
And there concealed in the forms it binds
But one's enough, if it be strong.*

Enid Saunders Candlin

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LETTERS from page 2

freeze. Since the GAO had rendered the decision on step increases, we figured we had nothing to lose by appealing directly to the Comptroller General.

We received a reply from GAO in which the Comptroller General said he agreed with our arguments. However, the GAO could not take formal action until its opinion was requested by a government agency.

AFSA sent its exchange of letters to the Department's management. After additional delay, and AFSA's constant prodding, the Department wrote to the GAO. The GAO replied that overseas allowances are not wages or salaries and are therefore not subject to the wage freeze of August 15-November 15, 1971. The Department therefore withheld increases illegally.

Would retroactive payments have been made anyway even if AFSA had not prodded and written to the GAO? Maybe, but we don't think so. Did the GAO render its decision on the basis of law or for other considerations? The DOD people were already ignoring the pay freeze. If the GAO had decided against AFSA, maybe the DOD payments would have had to be reimbursed. That might be the case, but our view is that the DOD lawyers were right in the first place—anybody can see that overseas allowances are not wages or salaries—and that the Department's lawyers were just too cautious to make a decision.

Toward Professional Discipline

■ I should like to advance a modest proposal, to some extent as a test of the Association's professed desire to be a professional association.

One of the normal distinguishing features of a profession is its ability to impose professional standards and professional discipline on its members. It is true that with doctors and lawyers, the State has, as I understand it, normally granted to the professional association legal powers to admit or bar from practice. In the case of the foreign affairs profession, admission is not legally certified, and to the extent that its practitioners are Foreign Service employees, the admission process is indistinguishable from the hiring process.

This state of affairs, however,

does not necessarily preclude the Foreign Service Association from taking an active role in forming and enforcing standards of professional conduct on its members. And if we, as Foreign Service people, believe that we are "professionals" in some more than complimentary sense, then I should have thought it incumbent on us to make it clear what we mean by bestowing the title on ourselves, and, even more, to prove that we mean it by setting up and enforcing genuine standards of professional conduct.

I suggest, therefore, that the Association consider what steps would be necessary in order to institute a process of formally excluding from its membership those "professionals" who show themselves unprofessional by their conduct. It is not inconceivable that selection boards could take at least as much cognizance of such an exclusion as they do of letters and other comments included in personnel files; in a reasonable world, they would be instructed to do so. Moreover, it would seem not without value for the Association to demonstrate that it cannot only chip its teeth about grievance procedures and due process, but actually run a system which permits decisions on charges of unprofessional conduct.

I do not propose here to set out a definition of the "profession," nor to draft a code of professional standards, but every officer of the Foreign Service must have experienced a number of examples of flagrant breach of such elementary principles of professionalism as suppression of unpleasant reporting. I have, for instance, been told, "Bill, you can't send this; it would make the Department unhappy."

In many of these cases, no doubt, "good judgment" and "tact" amply excuse some trifling with the hard facts. But, surely, there must be cases in which "judgment" is pressed to the point of prevarication, which is a moral dereliction, and of deceit of the US government, which is something else again. Why should not the profession's professional association take on itself the responsibility of making formal judgments, by means of a visibly fair process, as to when professional ethics have been breached by the practices of "professionals" and

when not? We expect, of course, the Department to do it; but is it not the case that a demonstration of our willingness and ability to handle our own dirty laundry would be of some value?

In short, I think it is time, to paraphrase St. Augustine, that we be what we claim we already are.

WILLIAM N. TURPIN

Washington

Praise for Public Members

■ Recent charges relating to the appointment of William Figy to two selection boards during the time his brother-in-law, William Crockett, was Deputy Under Secretary for Administration are being given wide distribution among members of the AFSA and obviously will be picked up by the press.

I believe something should be said about this singling out of Mr. Figy as a whipping boy in this unpleasant controversy. As the chairman of the 1961 selection board for Class 7-8 officers, I served with Bill Figy for nearly three months. Along with our fellow members, I gained a highly favorable impression of his disinterestedness, his background as a public-spirited man who had been active in foreign affairs oriented civic activities, his fairness and his integrity. Service on that board was a grueling, soul-searching task, and the results were, I believe, as thorough and accurate as is humanly possible in any system where a jury takes on the awesome duty of forecasting future leaders and deciding in the process who are less well fitted for forward career motion.

It happens that I can also make a comment about the 1963 FSO-2 board which may have some relevance. That board could have selected me for promotion to Class 1: I thought it should have. But it has never occurred to me to charge nepotism, favoritism, or administrative mismanagement to the board or its members because of a difference in judgment about the result.

Service on selection boards is not a political plum; it has not been easy to obtain the services of good public members for what at least used to be a tough and demanding public service chore. Bill Figy was, I am certain, one of the best we ever had.

A. GUY HOPE

Richmond

Elections: The Name of the Game

THE upcoming exclusive representation elections are the culmination of 18 months of difficult negotiations, involved legal battles, and plain hard work for those of us directly concerned. The relationships between those who make the rules of Foreign Service life and the rest of us who live by these rules have undergone a quantum change in a period shorter than the average overseas tour. Changes so abrupt within a time frame so short naturally distort perceptions. Our immersion in the daily legal and political skirmishes of the evolving employee-management system has undoubtedly warped the view from AFSA headquarters. At the same time most people in the Service are understandably more concerned with their vocations and avocations than with "still another" change in the system taking place in Washington. We believe the immediate pre-electoral period provides a good opportunity for all of us to step back and to try to get an over-view of what has happened these past months and what it means for the future.

A first and basic consideration is that the structure of employee relations has changed. The paternalism of former days—usually benign, sometimes negligent, and occasionally vicious—based upon the essentially unlimited power of the Department's primary administrative officer, his staff and other senior officers, is gone. Executive Order 11636 establishes the organized representation of employees *vis-a-vis* administrative management. In one form or another, the people of the Foreign Service will co-determine our working conditions and our personnel systems. Some decry this as "dirty-handed unionism"; some see it as a cure-all; most of us probably view the situation with a combination of hope and caution: hope for improvement through participation by those who live by the rules in the making of the rules and caution because of previous disappointments. However one feels about employee representation and participation in personnel matters, the new system is a fact. The only question is who will do the representing of Foreign Service people.

The second consideration, then, is *who* will represent the men and women of the Foreign Service and *how* this will be done. Two organizations aspire to be exclusive representative: AFSA and AFGE. There are real differences between them. AFGE is a huge national union, a part of the AFL-CIO, and represents some 600,000 GS employees. The bulk of AFGE's members

and leadership in the Foreign Affairs Agencies comes from the Civil Service. AFGE makes no claim of concern for the professional dimension of Foreign Service life. On employee issues AFGE has forsaken bread-and-butter matters and concentrated on two issues with GS connotations—replacing selection out with the RIF practices of the Civil Service and preventing the conversion of both Foreign Service and Civil Service personnel to the FAS program.

AFSA, on the other hand, is a relatively small organization of approximately 7,000, independent of national union affiliation, and composed only of the women and men of the Foreign Affairs Agencies. We assert our commitment to the professional aspect of the Foreign Service both because AFSA is dedicated to professional excellence and because we know that professional and employee concerns are thoroughly intertwined. On the issues of everyday Foreign Service life AFSA has lobbied in the Executive Branch, Congress and the three Foreign Affairs Agencies on everything from pay comparability to kindergarten allowances. We have not achieved everything we wanted but successes far outnumber failures. AFSA is similarly committed to sustaining the independence and uniqueness of the Foreign Service of the United States. We will oppose any proposal that would lead to the destruction of a separate Foreign Service and its absorption into the Civil Service. Finally, AFSA will use its worldwide committee and chapter network to maintain communication with overseas personnel (as now) and as a means of decentralizing the employee-management system. Our *active* Chapter and Committee personnel outnumber AFGE's Foreign Service members. We have a functioning worldwide organization already working for Foreign Service people.

Undoubtedly every reader of this editorial has at some time in his career complained about "the system," about financial inequities, about "those tinkerers in Washington." Now, we the people of the Foreign Affairs Agencies through our Executive Order have the opportunity to present our positions to management in an institutionalized negotiating framework in which we—through our exclusive representative—are co-equal with management! Think about it. In the upcoming exclusive representation elections the name of the game really *is* representation. And we believe AFSA will best represent all of us. ■



FOREIGN SERVICE NEWS

Elections! At Last

On September 26 the Employee Management Relations Commission directed an exclusive representation election for Foreign Service employees of State. Ballots will be mailed on October 10 and the election period will run for 52 days.

In USIA all sides have agreed on election details. We expect the Commission will order the USIA election to be run concurrently with that of State. In AID we are still meeting with AFGE and management. However, we are not sanguine about an early election since AID management insists on excluding categories of personnel from voting who are, in AFSA's view, eligible under E.O. 11636.

The situation, then, is that AFSA will be running for exclusive representation among Foreign Service employees of State and USIA. The ballots will be mailed on October 10 and will arrive with the first air pouch to get to your post after that date.

With the moment of electoral truth fast approaching, the temptation to exhortation is very great. We will resist the temptation, however, since all sides have already presented their positions to you. The AFSA Board has mailed letters to all eligible voters in State and USIA spelling out the reasons why we believe you should vote for AFSA and reject "AFGE" and "neither." On the inside covers of this *Journal* is AFSA's platform. It is clear that these elections are vitally important to each of us and to the future of AFSA both as a professional and an employee organization. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that these elections are crucial to the future direction of the Foreign Service.

AFSA stands for a separate and independent Foreign Service of the United States, for action on employee interests, for professionalism, and for co-determination of personnel policies.

VOTE FOREIGN SERVICE—
VOTE AFSA

Another Word on Standards of Conduct

We are now in the final and decisive phase of our efforts to secure exclusive representation. It is more important than ever to avoid any action which could be interpreted as an "unfair practice." Executive Order 11636 is new and complicated, so, at the risk of being repetitive, let us go over some of the "rules of the game" again.

—avoid anything which might be interpreted as establishing AFSA as a "favored" organization by virtue of special assistance from management (e.g., use of official letterhead stationery, reproduction facilities, or any materials or service).

—make no effort to enlist and do not accept the aid or support of anyone identified as a "management official" or "confidential employee" (at most posts this will include the Ambassador [Principal Officer], DCM and Chief Administrative Officer).

—the operating rule should be —when in doubt, err on the side of caution.

Pay Comparability

AFSA testified before the Presidential Advisory Committee on Federal Pay on September 13. AFSA Board member, Tex Harris, outlined the growing disparity be-

tween the Foreign Service pay system and those of the Civil Service and private enterprise. The linkages between the Foreign Service and the Civil Service Commission's pay system were established in 1962. However, since that time there has been considerable change in the structure of the Foreign Service personnel system; but the linkages have not been reexamined, let alone changed. The Association pointed out the differences in pay philosophy between the Foreign Service and Civil Service systems. The Foreign Service has a **progressive** pay philosophy—in which each succeeding promotion is worth more money. The Civil Service pay structure is **regressive**, as earlier promotions are worth more money than are later promotions. Thus, under the Civil Service pay philosophy, an employee earns more money at an earlier stage of his or her career and it is cumulative. This is especially important if the employee does not make it to the higher grades.

The Association urged the Committee on Federal Pay to recommend that the President's Pay Agent and the Bureau of Labor Statistics discharge their responsibilities under the Federal Pay Comparability Act to compare "the rate of pay of the statutory pay **systems** with the rate of pay for the same levels of work in private enterprise as determined on the basis of appropriate annual surveys that shall be conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics." [5 USC, 5305 (a) (1) (A)]

In the past, the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the President's Pay Agent (OMB and the CSC) have

not carried out their statutory obligation with regard to the comparability of the Foreign Service pay system. AFSA has urged the managements of the three Foreign Affairs Agencies to ensure that next year's Federal Pay Comparability Review includes the Foreign Service.

FSR Conversion to Career Status

The Association was pleased to learn that Deputy Under Secretary Macomber has recently confirmed that the State Department Foreign Affairs Specialist Program will be used only for the entry of bona fide specialists into the career Foreign Service and not as a back door entry route for political appointees and generalists. This is the basic position of the AFSA Board as outlined in the AFSA red top of August 30, 1972.

AFSA Board members have discussed the FAS program with management officials in State and USIA. Both agencies are drafting implementing regulations for the FAS program. AFSA has restated its deep concern that conversions to career FSRU status should be limited to (1) FSRs with demon-

strated technical skills which cannot be found or developed within a reasonable time in the career service, or (2) former career Civil Service employees with reemployment rights. AFSA has urged that a certification panel be established in each Agency to ensure that these basic standards are met.

The previous USIA regulations were substantially better drafted than the State regulations. In USIA a bureau must certify that the officer proposed for conversion to career status is a bona fide expert and that the bureau needs his or her specialty. Unfortunately, the previous conversion regulations in the State Department were very broadly drafted. Board members have met with the Director General to discuss the concerns of AFSA's membership with regard to the conversion of FSR political appointees or FSR generalists to career status. The AFSA Board will continue to follow this matter closely and to urge that State Department regulations be clarified in order to give effect to the policy endorsed by Ambassador Macomber and the AFSA Board.

Proposed Foreign Service Pay Schedules**

	1	2	3	5	6	7			
FSO—									
1	\$39,506*	\$40,823*	\$41,734*						
2	30,985	32,018	33,051	\$35,117	\$36,150*	\$37,183*			
3	24,554	25,372	26,190	27,826	28,644	29,462			
4	19,700	20,357	21,014	22,328	22,985	23,642			
5	16,007	16,541	17,075	18,143	18,677	19,211			
6	13,218	13,659	14,100	14,982	15,423	15,864			
7	11,109	11,479	11,849	12,589	12,959	13,329			
8	9,520	9,837	10,154	10,788	11,105	11,422			
	1	2	3	5	6	7	8	9	10
FSS—									
1	\$24,554	\$25,372	\$26,190	\$27,826	\$28,644	\$29,462	\$30,280	\$31,098	\$31,916
2	19,700	20,357	21,014	22,328	22,985	23,642	24,299	24,956	25,613
3	16,007	16,541	17,075	18,143	18,677	19,211	19,745	20,279	20,813
4	13,218	13,659	14,100	14,982	15,423	15,864	16,305	16,746	17,187
5	11,860	12,255	12,650	13,440	13,835	14,230	14,625	15,020	15,415
6	10,634	10,989	11,344	12,054	12,409	12,764	13,119	13,474	13,829
7	9,538	9,856	10,174	10,810	11,128	11,446	11,764	12,082	12,400
8	8,555	8,840	9,125	9,695	9,980	10,265	10,550	10,835	11,120
9	7,671	7,927	8,183	8,695	8,951	9,207	9,463	9,719	9,975
10	6,882	7,111	7,340	7,798	8,027	8,256	8,485	8,714	8,943

*The rate of basic pay for employees at these rates is limited by section 5308 of title 5 of the United States Code to the rate for level V of the Executive Schedule (currently \$36,000).

**Source: CSC and OMB Pay Memorandum to President 9/1/72.

AID

An open meeting for all Foreign Service Staff employees of AID currently on Washington rotation was held September 15th in the East Auditorium. Under the sponsorship of AFSA, this session was called to permit the newly formed Staff Corps Advisory Committee/AID (see AID News) to identify personnel issues of prime importance to Staff employees.

The following matters of immediate concern were identified: the unfair conversion of GS secretaries and the hiring of resident staff to fill overseas positions which should be staffed by career FSS; lack of training programs and career planning for staff employees; need for upgrading staff positions to include additional responsibilities to utilize the capabilities of FSS employees now on board. The group felt the Agency should establish regulations regarding conversion of limited appointments and AID/W rotation assignments. Other points raised were the need for improved personnel procedures with regard to overseas and rotation openings and assignment, Washington backstopping by Foreign Service employees, automatic language training, improved allowances and R&R practices for Staff, and the possibility of lateral transfers into State Department Foreign Service system.

Committees are now being formed from volunteers at this meeting to research each of these issues and prepare AFSA positions for presentation to AID Personnel Management. Employees desiring further information should contact Mary Ann Epley, SCAC/AID, c/o AFSA.

A Matter of Principals

We were surprised upon reading the brief recently submitted by AFGE's legal staff to the Employee-Management Relations Commission to discover that AFGE believes in seventh-floor principles, e.g., "close and confidential staff members of the highest principles of the State Department." (p. 22). The error, which popped up throughout their entire brief, made terrific reading. The AFSA brief, unfortunately, was humorless; but we hope effective.

RED BORDERS. Have you seen these? If not, contact your Keyman.

Reform Bull. No. 17 (July 18): AFSA statement before Hays Subcommittee on the Establishment of a Grievance & Appeal System for the Foreign Service.

AFSA News No. 3 (Aug. 1): GAO Upholds AFSA View that Overseas Allowances not Subject to Freeze: Retroactive Payments Due to All Overseas FS Employees.

AFSA News No. 4 (Aug. 10): U.S. District Court of Appeals O.K.s FSSO-FSO-FSIO-FSR Conversions to FAS Program (FSRU); AFSA Rejects Super Promotion Board Scheme.

Reform Bull. No. 18 (Aug. 16): Pay Comparability: The Salary Gap.

AFSA News No. 5 (Aug. 30): AFSA Position on the Conversion of Reserve Officers to Career Status.

Grievance Legislation

While hearings continue at a leisurely pace in the Hays' Subcommittee on State Department operations, the Senate Judiciary Committee reported out, on September 8, 1972, legislation to protect foreign officials and official guests of the United States, and attached as a rider to this Administration bill the Bayh-Cooper Grievance Legislation. The Committee's report stated "After substantial delay, hearings are now being held in the House of Representatives. However—even before completion of House hearings—it became apparent that efforts were underway to prevent the full House from having an opportunity to debate and vote on this important matter. This subject has been before us for several years now. It has been studied by Committees in both Houses of Congress for more than enough time. Enough hearings have been held. Enough studies have been made. Until the Congress acts, these dedicated foreign service officers will continue to be routinely and systematically deprived of one of their most basic rights—their right to procedural due process in the resolution of their employment grievances. The State Department has failed to act to provide the rights

for 26 years—now it is time for Congressional action. For these reasons, the Committee adopted this amendment in order to allow the full House the opportunity to pass on this vital issue."

On September 18, Senator Bayh took the floor of the Senate to amend the Judiciary Committee bill:

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, as all colleagues know, on two previous occasions, the Senate, by an overwhelming vote, has passed a measure which has become known as the **Foreign Service Grievance Act**. The Senator from Kentucky and the Senator from Indiana were the principal sponsors of this particular measure, an effort to try to provide a grievance procedure for Foreign Service officers which is now available for all other similar employees in other departments of the Government save the State Department. It is fair to say that we have been faced with unalterable opposition from the State Department. It seems to be the feeling down there that they do not believe it is anyone else's business what they do to their employees, even faced with some tragic consequences as a result of what I would call arbitrary and unappealable administrative decisions. . . .

The Senate has already gone on record in two separate rollcall votes this year, showing that it is overwhelmingly in favor of this legislation and that it believes that these vital guarantees of due process must be accorded as soon as possible to those who serve in the Foreign Service. However, to date action in the House has not been forthcoming. Last week when the Judiciary Committee was considering H.R. 15883 a report was carried in the press that the chairman of the House committee, Congressman Wayne Hays, had vowed not to let any such bill come out of his committee during this Congress. In addition, I had been advised that Congressman Hays would espouse the State Department position of long time opposition to any meaningful due process for Foreign Service officers. Unfortunately, I did not have time to check out the accuracy of these reports personally with Congressman Hays before the conclusion of last Friday's Judiciary Committee meeting last Friday. I should have done so. . . .

I met with Chairman Hays last week and we talked about the future of foreign service grievance legislation in his committee. He assured

me that any reports that he was determined to kill grievance legislation were absolutely and categorically untrue. He gave me his personal word that he will make every effort to get a bill out before adjournment. We both recognize, however, that it might not be possible to get a bill out of subcommittee, through the full committee and through the House and conference before sine die adjournment, especially if there is no postelection session. However, Congressman Hays suggested that if such should be the case, Foreign Service grievance legislation guaranteeing basic rights of due process to all grievants would be the first order of his committee's business in the new Congress and that no new hearings would be necessary. . . .

Unlike some who are not familiar with Congressman Hays' past efforts to secure justice and due process for aggrieved foreign service officers on an individual basis. I believe that Congressman Hays shares the concern of all who desire to see the Americans who serve their country in the Foreign Service treated as first-class Americans. Despite subtle inferences from some in the higher levels of the State Department, I think Representative Hays will be a leader in the effort to see that due process and justice are done. Because of this discussion, I ask unanimous consent that amendment No. 18, title V, beginning on page 9, which is the Foreign Service Grievance Act, as amended in the pending bill, be stricken therefrom.

The Association applauds the efforts of Senator Bayh to obtain fair grievance procedures for the Foreign Service. We are very encouraged with Congressman Hays' assurance that he will make every effort to report a bill out before adjournment and, if not feasible, to make Foreign Service grievance legislation the first order of his Committee's business in the new Congress.

Retired List Coming

The Association will issue the list of retired members again this year. Copies will be available in about a month and will be sent to all those requesting the list. This year AFSA will copyright the list to prevent its use as a mailing list with subsequent annoyance to the members. Please send your request for the list to AFSA, Dept. R, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

Chapters and Keymen

Buenos Aires	Wayne Smith
Nassau	Henry Clay Black, II
Martinique	Martin L. Cheshes
Bridgetown	Carolyn E. Kingsley
La Paz	Ronald G. Russell
Brasília	Edward Fugit
Recife	Bruce F. Porter
Rio de Janeiro	Richard C. Brown
Sao Paulo	David L. Hobbs
Belize City	Theodor C. Rumme
Santiago	Samuel F. Hart
Bogotá	Terrezone Brown
San Jose	James C. Todd
Santo Domingo	Gerald Lamberty
Guayaquil	Donald J. Yellman
Quito	Andrew J. Winter
San Salvador	Clyde D. Taylor
Guatemala	David H. Jackson
Georgetown	Leslie M. Alexander
Port-au-Prince	Gerald D. Santillana
Kingston	William R. Falkner
Mexico, D. F.	William B. Cobb
Guadalajara	Ray Caldwell
Hermosillo	Louis Villalovos
Monterrey	Wesley H. Parson
Tijuana	Henry Wechsler
Ciudad Juarez	Sam Armstrong
Managua	James R. Cheek
Panama	Robert McSwain
Asuncion	Garrett G. Sweany
Lima	Lee O. Coldren
Curacao	Stanley T. Miles
Paramaribo	Ruth McDonald
Port-of-Spain	Wade H. Matthews
Montevideo	Martin McLean
Caracas	George W. Ogg
Vienna	George Jones
Brussels	Edward Marks
Antwerp	Edward A. Berg
Hamilton	Cecelia Latimer
Ottawa	Walter F. X. Collopy
Halifax, N. S.	Meldon R. Thomas
Montreal, Quebec	Frank J. Barrett
Quebec, Quebec	Donald V. Hester
Toronto, Ontario	Hilding A. Peterson
Vancouver, B. C.	Robert C. Huffman
Winnipeg, Manitoba	Roy J. Apel
Prague	Robert D. Johnson
Copenhagen	Paul K. Stahnke
Paris	Louis F. Janowski
Marseille	George B. Kettenhofen
Strasbourg	James F. Dobbins, Jr.
Berlin	Owen Lee
Bremen	Jacques Klein
Dusseldorf	Jess F. Reed
Frankfurt au Main	Richard A. Dugstad
Hamburg	Sarah L. Nathness
Budapest	Lorane Schiff
Reykjavik	Dennis Goodman
Dublin	Ben F. Fordney
Rome	Robert P. Paganelli
Palermo	Michael A. Boorstein
Florence	Lewis R. Murray, Jr.
Luxembourg	Stephen L. Lande
The Hague	Thomas H. Gewecke
Amsterdam	David H. Hutchinson
Poznan	William E. Ryerson
Oporto	Anne E. McHugh
Ponta Delgada	Louis Lemieux
Moscow	Peter Swiers
Stockholm	Paul E. Storing
Bern	James A. Smith
Geneva (US Mission)	Roger Schrader
London, England	Dirk Gleysteen
Belfast, N. Ireland	Lars Hyde

Zagreb	Thomas Dunlop
Algiers	Jean Langhorst
Oran	Meta C. Maxim
Yaounde	Florence Bortle
Bangui	Richard K. Pyle
Fort-Lamy	Kenneth Peltier
Cotonou	John H. Lewis
Addis Ababa	Edward E. M. Bryant
Asmara	Daniel H. Clare, III
Accra	Robert L. Bruce
Conakry	Barbara K. Schmidt
Abidjan	Charles Twining
Nairobi	Samuel Smith
Maseru	Benjamin Tua
Monrovia	Rebecca Archer
Tripoli	John Countryman
Tananarive	Rufus Stevenson
Blantyre	Antoinette Blackburn
Nouakchott	Leonard Shurtleff
Rabat	Kathleen Schwartz
Casablanca	Edmund van Gilder
Tangier	Gregory Strong
Niamey	Stella G. Hatala
Lagos	Brady Barr
Ibadan	George H. Mitchell, Jr.
Kigali	John F. Wiley
Dakar	Louis F. Kahn
Freetown	Peter R. Chaveas
Pretoria	Martin Jacobs
Durban	Victor D. Comras
Johannesburg	Max E. Hodge
Dar es Salaam	David Shinn
Tunis	Frank Wisner
Kampala	Arthur S. Berger
Ouagadougou	Brenda Lee
Kinshasa	William Ramsay
Kinsangani	Harold Kline
Lusaka	Alberta Rorick
Canberra	Thomas F. Conlon
Melbourne	Emil G. Lindahl
Rangoon	James W. Carter
Djakarta	Erland H. Heginbotham
Surabaya	Jerome C. Ogden
Tokyo	Gregory Johnson
Osaka-Kobe	Norman L. Achilles
Seoul	Alan Krause
Vientiane	Peggy Brasile
Wellington	David C. Holton
Manila	Gunther K. Rosinus
Bangkok	James Krause
Chiang Mai	James Bullington
Saigon	James B. Moran
CORDS	Kenneth M. Quinn
Da Nang	Craig G. Dunkerley
Kabul	David H. Cahn
Dacca	Mark Weisburd
Colombo	Herbert G. Wing
Nicosia	Michael L. Austrian
Cairo	Arthur Houghton
Thessaloniki	John G. Peters
New Delhi	Grant Mousar
Bombay	Kenneth Kurze
Madras	Lyll Breckon
Tehran	John Washburn
Khorramshahr	Joseph C. Snyder, III
Tel Aviv	James K. Matter
Jerusalem	Stephen E. Ward
Amman	David W. McClintock
Kuwait	Joseph Saba
Beirut	Thomas Carolan, Jr.
Kathmandu	Franz Herder
Islamabad	Anthony H. Wallace
Karachi	T. Patrick Killough
Jidda	David G. Newton
Dhahran	James R. Hooper
Adana	Richard McCoy
Ankara	Art Giese
Izmir	Dudley Sippelle
Sana'a	Sylvester Satcher

Review Your Personnel File

With the recent decision by USIA management to allow its employees to review their entire personnel files (see USIA News), all Foreign Service employees now have access to the entire file which will be reviewed by the selection boards. We again urge all employees to review carefully their personnel files to insure that no false or prejudicial information goes to the 1972 selection boards. Personnel abroad should request copies from their personnel office.

Foreign Service Day

The Department of State has announced that Foreign Service Day for retired personnel will be held on November 17. Retired members of AFSA will receive an announcement and an invitation through the mail.

The Foreign Service Club will offer an English-style buffet breakfast for \$1.75 on Friday, the 17th, in the upstairs lounge from 7:00 A.M., followed by Open House in the Library with cash bar all day—a further opportunity to see old friends.

ABA Supports Grievance Bill

The American Bar Association, at its annual meeting last month in San Francisco, passed a resolution supporting "the enactment of legislation, which will guarantee to all officers and employees of the Foreign Service of the United States the right to a hearing of their grievances before an independent board of qualified members under procedures consistent with recognized standards of administrative fairness and due process."

New Officers

The State Department plans to bring in 150 new Foreign Service Officers during FY 1973. Twenty of these officers will enter under the Department's Equal Opportunity Program. In addition, the Department plans to rehire 10 former F.S. female officers who were forced to retire from the Service upon their marriages. What still is not decided is the number of officers entering in each cone. It is expected that less than 10 percent of the new officers will be in the political cone.

MEMBERS' INTERESTS NEWS

Expanded transfer allowance: As of mid-September, the long-awaited expanded overseas transfer allowance had still not been inaugurated. AFSA is assured by management that the new regulations are ready for issuance, but cannot be published until the FY-73 appropriation bills come out of Congress. The expanded allowance requires increased appropriations. Until the appropriations are enacted, the agencies must spend at last year's lower rates under a continuing resolution.

Foreign airline travel: Senator Magnuson has written to the OMB and GAO complaining that too much official USG travel is being done on foreign carriers. He wants corrective action taken or he will introduce appropriate legislation. American carriers are clearly counterattacking the liberalization of travel regulations which took place in April, 1971. With this in mind, AFSA wants to repeat last year's warning to travelers to use American airlines whenever possible on official business. The penalty provisions for use of foreign airlines were dropped for the benefit of employees who wish to travel indirectly, or make stopovers as tourists, or for family visitation at no extra cost to the government. The use of foreign airlines when American carriers are available is not justified on direct routings merely because an employee prefers the timing, service or food on the foreign carrier. The travel guidelines for employees of USIA, AID and State contained in 6 FAM 134 are now fairly reasonable without the penalty provisions, and should be followed as much as possible.

Transportation of pets: Did you transport a household pet from one post to another at your own expense this year? The cost is deductible on your Federal income tax as a legitimate moving expense. Revenue Ruling 66-305, CB66-2, p. 102 is the appropriate citation. The IRS considers moving expenses to be limited to the cost of moving from the former

residence to the new residence for job transfer purposes. Consequently, you may have difficulty including the cost of moving your pet around the USA on home leave, and may have to claim only the constructive cost between the old and new posts.

Deductions for home leave expenses: On the basis of letters to date, AFSA members are successful in obtaining tax deductions for home leave expenses at the rate of about eight allowances for one disallowance. As more reports of disallowances come in, AFSA will decide what to do about the future. Please send in your reports if you have not already done so. The Ninth Judicial Circuit, where IRS is allowing home leave deductions automatically on the basis of the Stratton case, encompasses Arizona, California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, and Nevada. If you are legally domiciled in those states, file your tax returns there in order to be assured of no trouble on your home leave deduction claim until such time as the conflict with IRS is settled on a universal basis.

AID NEWS

Status of AID Foreign Service Retirement Legislation

The effort to include AID Foreign Service employees under the Foreign Service Retirement plan remains on course. On August 10 the House passed the Security Assistance Authorization (Foreign Assistance Act of 1972) which includes a provision to bring AID Foreign Service Reserve personnel with unlimited appointments and Foreign Service Staff personnel with at least 10 years of continuous service under the Foreign Service annuity plan. The provision in the House bill conforms, with one exception, to the amendment proposed by the Executive Branch which has been strongly supported by AFSA. During House Foreign Affairs Committee markup, the age for mandatory retirement was put at 70 whereas the Executive Branch had proposed a

sliding scale arrangement over the next few years, eventually putting the age at 60 as currently in effect for State and USIA Foreign Service employees.

Although the Senate version of the bill makes no mention of the retirement, key senators have indicated informally that they would support the House provision in conference. AFSA members wishing to register their support for the provision should write to either their own senators and congressmen or to the Senate conferees for the Security Assistance Authorization who are likely to be Senators Fulbright, Sparkman, Mansfield, Church, Aiken, Case and Cooper.

Formation of Staff Corps Advisory Committee/AID

The Staff Corps Advisory Committee/AID has recently been organized. The committee was formed after a number of FSS, on rotation in Washington, heard themselves "talking more and doing less." The group hopes to identify issues of special concern to Foreign Service Staff and bring them to the attention of AID's Personnel Management.

Informal letters have been, and are being, sent to staff employees overseas to solicit their ideas and suggestions. The committee requests that any Staff member in AID/Washington and/or an overseas Mission, write to a committee member with his or her opinions.

Members of the committee are: Anne C. Bradley, Felipa Chaparro, Mary Ann Epley, Donna Garverich, Dorothy Layman, Betty Orr, Beryl Sale, Phyllis Sherman, Sandra Siddons, Colette Welker, Caroline Wild, Patricia Willey, and Janet Van Camp. Write them SCAC/AID, c/o AFSA.

Additional FSS to AID's Performance Evaluation Study Group

As the result of a determined effort on the part of several members of the AID Staff Corps Advisory Committee (SCAC/AID), the AID Foreign Service Performance Evaluation System Study Group now has an additional member to represent FSS employees.

At the Study Group's first open

meeting on August 17, FSS employees became aware that the only FSS member of the Group was an FSS-4. (The Agency's average FSS grade is 7.) Subsequent discussions in the SCAC/AID resulted in a petition to the Study Group, pointing out that Staff employees represent one-seventh of the total AID Foreign Service, they are career employees as are officers, and suggesting that the addition of a FSS 6 or 7 secretary to the Group would more fairly represent their interests.

After meeting with a SCAC committee of three, the Study Group decided the arguments presented were valid, and on September 6, Miss Beverly J. Muir, DAA/SER, was chosen to serve as the Group's 14th member.

USIA NEWS

Access to Personnel Files

In response to an AFSA request, USIA management has changed its policy regarding access to personnel files. Beginning immediately, all USIA Foreign Service employees may review their ENTIRE personnel file, including the previously classified Development Appraisal Reports. The Association urges all USIA employees to do so to ensure that the files are free from any false or prejudicial information. The Association is pleased that USIA management has now joined State and AID in allowing an employee access to all the documents which are seen by the selection boards. This is a basic element of due process. However, it is meaningless unless we, as employees, exercise it.

Retirement Credit for Former Binational Center Grantees

AFSA has urged both USIA and the Civil Service Commission to provide retirement credit for former binational center grantees. The Association believes that these employees should receive credit towards retirement for the years they spent working in binational centers in support of USIA programs. Although USIA supports the idea, the Civil Service Commission has refused to permit the former grantees any retire-

ment credit for the time they worked in binational center programs. The CSC holds that they were not truly Federal employees but had only contracts with the US Government, and to grant former binational center grantees retirement benefits would open up the question with respect to all Federal contract employees. AFSA is investigating the possibility of special legislation on behalf of binational center grantees.

STAFF CORPS NEWS

Diplomatic Passports: Under Secretary Macomber has turned down an AFSA and USIA request to provide diplomatic passports to USIA Staff Corps personnel. Grade-6 and above State Staff Corps employees receive diplomatic passports, but not their colleagues in USIA and AID. AFSA has and will continue to urge the managements of the three Foreign Affairs Agencies to treat the Staff Corps personnel equally.

Overtime: The Staff Corps Advisory Committee (SCAC) continues to press for the payment of overtime. A series of meetings with management officials in State, AID, and USIA resulted in two positive steps: 1) State circular telegram 156565 (reprinted below) was sent to the field again directing administrative officers to pay overtime at the request of all employees earning less than \$15,798; and 2) an upcoming survey of all posts regarding overtime practices. We trust that our Staff Corps colleagues and AFSA Keymen will have an input into this survey. However, to backstop this survey we would like each Staff Corps member, especially secretaries, to advise the SCAC, care of AFSA Washington, of the following:

1. Is overtime being paid at your post;
2. Have you been completely informed of all regulations pertaining to overtime contained in 3 FAM 230;
3. If you earn less than \$15,798 are you being given the right to choose between overtime pay and compensatory time;
4. What type of overtime is being ordered, i.e., a) necessary work, b) "babysitting" for your boss (lock up, etc.) or c) the routine telegram that "has to go."

AFSA has begun informal proceedings in the State Department on a **class action** grievance case on overtime on behalf of all Staff Corps secretaries. No decision has been made whether a class action grievance is allowed under the skimpy management-written Interim Grievance Procedures. If AFSA's class action grievance is not allowed, the SCAC will request the Staff Corps to file **individual** grievances which the Association will combine into one case. We are asking for only one thing—that the State/AID/USIA overtime regulations be applied fairly. Under Secretary Macomber ordered the FAM overtime regulations be complied with in February 1971 with only partial success. Last month Assistant Secretary Donelan repeated the order and prepared a worldwide survey. We hope that top management's initiatives will succeed. But it may be even a disciplined Foreign Service will not be able to fairly apply the overtime regulations from above but only through our actions from below.

STATE TELEGRAM 156565,
AUGUST 26, 1972

To: Administrative Officers from
Assistant Secretary Donelan
Subject: Administration of Overtime

Ref: CA 890 dated Feb. 23, 1971.

1. It is traditional in the Foreign Service that many employees at all levels work long hours of overtime at their own initiative. Nonetheless, on such occasions when it may be necessary to order overtime work it must be done in accordance with regulations. It has come to my attention that a number of posts may not be complying with the U. S. Government's legal obligations with regard to the payment of overtime. As specifically stated in the reference, every employee whose salary is at or below the maximum rate of G.S. 10 (Dols 15,795 per annum), has a legal right to choose whether to receive overtime pay. For Foreign Service personnel this includes everyone at or below step 2 of classes FSO/R-5 and FSS-3. Employees earning more than Dols 15,795 per annum may be required to accept compensatory time off in lieu of

payment for overtime. However, before any employee can be ordered to work overtime funds must be available for payment. If no funds are available the employee cannot be instructed to work overtime.

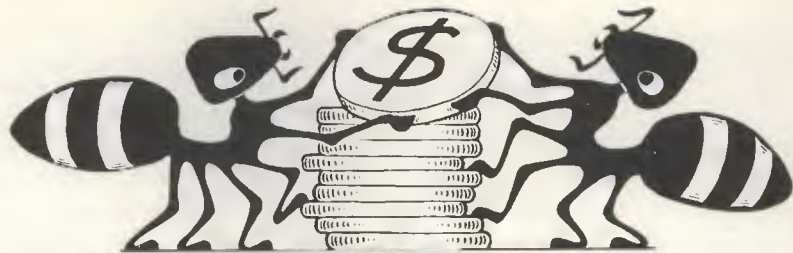
2. Good management practice dictates that overtime should be required only in the most extraordinary circumstances. Whenever possible modified work day schedules or changes in work flow procedures should be used to eliminate or control overtime. In any circumstance, you must exactly follow the department's specific instructions on the administration of overtime to assure that our overtime policies are fairly, economically and properly administered.

3. The department is currently conducting a full review of the administration of overtime. In this connection you will be receiving within the next few days further information and a questionnaire to which I would like you to give careful attention and a prompt response.

AFSA NEWS

Solicitation of Retired Members Protested

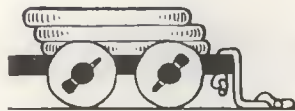
AFSA has protested the unauthorized solicitation of AFSA retired members by the Charles William Thomas Memorial Legal Defense Fund. AFSA's **Retired Members List** is published by the Association as a service for the exclusive use of retired Foreign Service employees. The Thomas Fund has never been authorized to use the AFSA **Retired Members List** for soliciting funds. The Association requested that the Thomas Fund cease immediately all solicitations based on this list. AFSA will copyright future lists which would make such unauthorized use illegal. The Association has expressed its surprise that a union as large as the American Federation of Government Employees (AFL-CIO) cannot provide legal support for its State/AID and USIA local unions but forces its locals to establish subsidiary organizations, which in turn solicit financial support from AFSA's retired members. Our apologies to our retired members.



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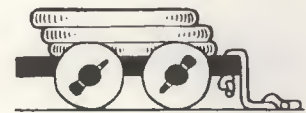
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Foreign Service People

MARRIAGES

Bell-Phillips. Mrs. Dorothy Nutt Bell was married to Joseph B. Phillips in Washington on July 16. Mr. Phillips, prior to his retirement, had been Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. Mr. and Mrs. Phillips will reside at 3702 Corey Place, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Hudson-White. Virginia J. Hudson, formerly State Department, was married to Lincoln White, former Department spokesman, on September 2 in Searcy, Arkansas. Mr. and Mrs. White plan to reside in the Washington area.

DEATHS

Cooper. Anderson Speight Cooper, FSIO, died June 12 in San Francisco. Mr. Cooper was assigned as Branch Public Affairs Officer in Pusan following four years with the Screen Service in Washington. He had also been stationed in Cambodia and Japan as Motion Picture Officer for USIA. Mr. Cooper leaves his wife, Carolyn, a son, Anderson, and a daughter, Carrie, who may be reached at 214 Fourth Avenue S.E. Moultrie, Georgia 31768.

Edgar. Donald Edgar, FSO-ret., died July 5 in South Pomfret, Vermont. Mr. Edgar entered the Foreign Service in 1930 and subsequently served in Kingston, Ontario, Hong Kong, Havana, Ciudad Trujillo and Geneva. Mr. Edgar was later assigned to Shanghai and Taipei as Consul and to Alexandria as Consul General. He is survived by his wife, Janet, temporarily at the summer home in South Pomfret, Vt. 05067, and four sons: Ian J. of North Highland, Ca., Antony T. of Needham, Mass., William T. Carter, IV of Houston, and Thomas A. of Washington, D.C.

Flood. Helen Flood, wife of FSO-ret. Douglas Flood, died July 22 in Chicago. She is survived by her husband of 40 West Schiller St., Chicago, Ill. 60610, a daughter, Jean and a son, Dwight Prouty III, and three grandchildren.

Kuniholm. Bertel Eric Kuniholm, FSO-ret., died in Geneva, Switzerland July 13. He had been a Foreign Service Officer from 1928 to 1952, serving in Moscow, Riga, Reykjavik, Tabriz, Tehran, Quebec, Beirut, Seoul and Ankara. Mrs. Bertha E. Kuniholm may be reached via the American Embassy, APO N.Y. 09777. Mrs. Tamara W. Kuniholm may be reached at Bureau Genevois d'Adresses, 31 Rue Maunoir, Geneva, Switzerland. Five children also survive: Peter, c/o Gordon Merriam, Damariscotta, Maine 04543, Joan, Bruce, Eric and Mai Lisa.

Koehler. Matilda B. Koehler, mother of Senator Claiborne Pell, died July 27 in Newport, Rhode Island.

Kreisher. Noel Kreisher, FSS-ret., died August 13 in Washington, D.C. Mr. Kreisher joined the Foreign Service in 1948 serving administrative duty in Tokyo, Jakarta, Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok and Seoul. He is survived by his wife Gloria of 2117 E St., N.W. Washington, a sister, Mrs. Ernest Brown of Indianapolis and a brother, Charles of Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Randolph. Archibald R. Randolph, FSO-ret., died at his home in Punta Gorda, Florida on July 13. Before retiring in 1957, Mr. Randolph had served in Bogota, Caracas, Guatemala, Quito, Helsinki, Asuncion, Tegucigalpa and New Delhi. Mr. Randolph leaves his wife, Sylvia of Route 1, Box 675, Punta Gorda, Florida 33950; two sons, Archibald, Jr. of San Antonio, E. Dale A. of Newberry, S.C., a daughter, Sylvia of El Paso, two brothers and a sister.

Williams. Margaret Williams, FSR-ret., died August 18 in Washington. From 1944 until 1950, Mrs. Williams worked in the public affairs office of the British Commonwealth and European sections of the State Department and later was involved with cultural affairs programs for several Asian countries. Mrs. Williams is survived by a cousin, Dr. Frances R. Brown, Farmville, Va. 23901. Contributions may be made to the D.C. Women's Commission for Crime Prevention, 1649 K St., N.W., Washington 20006 or to Up with People, Inc., Tucson, Ariz.

Wilson. Edwin C. Wilson, FSO-ret., Ambassador to Turkey and Panama, died in Washington on September 10. Ambassador Wilson served in Chile and Honduras and then became chief of the Latin American division from 1931 to 1935. He also served in Paris and Uruguay. Ambassador Wilson is survived by a son, H. Seth Wilson of Takoma Park and a grandchild. The family requests contributions be made to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

AAFSW NEWS

The AAFSW resumes its regular meeting schedule with an October 10 coffee, at 10 AM, at the State Department. The speaker will be Mary Janney of Washington Opportunities for Women (WOW). She will discuss volunteer, part-time and full-time employment.

The November meeting will feature a tour of the Kennedy Center's special rooms; including the Israeli Lounge and the Waterford Room with its newly received Spanish tapestry. A talk and coffee will follow in the atrium, November 14, 10 AM to 12 M.

A special invitation for members only is extended for a coffee at the British Embassy on November 15 at 10 AM in the rotunda. The speaker will be Lady Jackson. AAFSW members interested in attending should call Mrs. Thomas R. Buchanan at 229-1457.

Foreign Service women may join the AAFSW at any meeting or may call or write Membership Chairman, Mrs. Robert S. Steven, 7118 Hadlow Ct., Springfield, Va., 451-9087.

DON'T FORGET THE BOOK FAIR
—Oct. 17-20.

Art in the Club

Edna V. Culbreth is the current exhibitor at the Foreign Service Club. Miss Culbreth, who retired in 1970 from the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, has studied painting privately with Theodora Kane over the last 22 years. Her work has been accepted in numerous juried exhibitions and has won first prizes as well as many honorable mentions.

AFSA PLATFORM

continued from inside front cover

all discrimination against single personnel in allowances, housing, and other provisions.

6. **USIA.** AFSA supports efforts by USIA employees to improve their promotion and selection systems and opposes any attempt to undermine the merit principle. We will continue to work for a promotion system that more accurately rewards excellence of performance. AFSA opposes the USIA Director's attempt personally to select those officers to be promoted from FSIO-2 to FSIO-1, and we seek a return to the merit selection procedure established by the Foreign Service Act. AFSA believes the selection procedure must be shielded from personal or political influence. Meanwhile, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will not approve a promotion list which was compiled personally by a politically appointed management official, and a number of deserving FSIO-2 officers are being unfairly penalized. The USIA Director has the authority to resolve this issue by permitting a properly selected promotion list to go forward to the Senate. AFSA urges him to do so. AFSA will encourage through its openness, "face-to-face," and other programs, wider appreciation of the vital role of public affairs and communication in the conduct of diplomacy. We also support full participation for USIA in the day-by-day development and conduct of foreign policy.

7. **AID Career System.** For several years AFSA has been fighting for a career system for AID Foreign Service personnel. We intend to pursue this goal—in coordination with AID management if possible, but independently if necessary. AID Foreign Service people have earned access to Foreign Service retirement. If our efforts with the Congress are not successful in the present session, we will press the issue with the next Congress.

8. **A Competitive Service.** AFSA believes that the element of competition for entrance and advancement is necessary to ensure the best possible Foreign Service of the United States. At officer levels, the personnel system should provide a rational, equitable selection-out procedure which is co-determined by management and the exclusive representative. Fair play and due process should be guaranteed, and legislative authority for 20-year retirement sought to facilitate optional early retirement for those desiring second careers.

9. **Personnel Administration.** Such personnel practices as the intake of large numbers of high-ranked FSRs from political interest groups, excessive lateral entry of these and other FSRs into the career officer corps, the absorption of many FSO- or FSIO-designated jobs by non-FSOs (particularly at the higher levels), the arbitrary and often misleading classifications of jobs by rank and by cone, and the overall

reduction of the Foreign Service Officer Corps by 20% (primarily by reducing the number of junior officers) have all combined to produce many of the personnel problems of today's Service. AFSA intends to take whatever action is necessary to defend Foreign Service career interests *vis-a-vis* those of the Civil Service and administratively appointed FSRs in the foreign affairs agencies. As exclusive representative AFSA will create a watchdog committee to monitor non-career appointments to the Foreign Service Agencies. AFSA will insist that the same care and attention be given to Staff Corps personnel administration as is accorded to Officer ranks.

10. **Abuse of the Cone System.** AFSA strongly opposes the abuses of the present State cone concept, although we recognize the growing need for specialization. The current cone system does not take into account the vast number of jobs in the Service which are essentially interfunctional and the large number of officers whose training and experience qualify them for positions in a variety of cones and for jobs which involve a variety of functions. AFSA advocates the establishment of large, interfunctional cones and promotion categories at the grades FSO 5, 4, and 3. We believe that at junior and senior thresholds officers should be rank ordered competitively regardless of cone since the system must determine whether the officer merits tenure in the former case and whether (s)he has executive and leadership capacity in the latter case.

11. **Opportunity for Women.** We urge that the Foreign Service redouble its efforts to attract and recruit professionally qualified women for all categories of work in all three foreign affairs agencies.

12. **Grievance Procedures and Due Process.** AFSA believes that every individual in the Foreign Service should have the right to due process through legislated grievance procedures providing an impartial review of decisions which affect him adversely. AFSA has drafted and sponsored such legislation. It has been approved by the Senate and is being considered in the House. We intend to continue our efforts until due process for Foreign Service people is established law.

13. **Overseas Chapters.** AFSA now has keymen or Chapters at virtually every overseas post. The AFSA overseas network provides our communications link with overseas members and these Chapters will represent members' interests locally following the election.

14. **Our Own Thing.** Finally, remember that AFSA belongs to us. AFSA has more active Committee members working for you than AFGE has Foreign Service members. And we are independent. AFSA can take positions without checking with the AFL-CIO (to clear the impact on the "leadership") or with AFGE (to clear the impact on the Civil Service). **Let's do our own thing!**

★ **VOTE AFSA FOR EXCLUSIVE REPRESENTATIVE** ★

1972 - Election Year

