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Defending Our Integrity

ONE of the most important and difficult tasks which this Association must undertake is defending the integrity and reputation of Foreign Service personnel, and thus of the Service itself. Almost from its inception, the Foreign Service has been deluged with accusations that we are undemocratic or not elite enough; too conservative or too liberal; too pro-Republican or too pro-Democratic; too pro-Israeli or too pro-Arab; too pro-Pakistani or too pro-Indian. Some criticism of this sort is inevitable and no career service is immune from it. Too often, however, such charges have gone beyond simple criticism and have become attacks on the loyalty, capabilities and dedication to duty of individuals and the Service as a whole.

Unfortunately, despite the efforts of some Secretaries of State and individual press spokesmen, the record of the three Foreign Affairs Agencies in defending the reputation of the Service and its people in the past 30 years has left a lot to be desired. As the incidents of the McCarthy era—particularly those surrounding the “China hands”—clearly proved, the failure of the Service to defend its individual members ultimately does grave and irreparable harm to the Service itself. It is no exaggeration to say that the Service, small, alone and undefended over the years, had until recently become something of a “whipping boy.”

The Association believes that it must act as the defender of our professional integrity. No one else is likely to do so unless we ourselves do. Such activity involves problems and risks—particularly as it will involve the Association in substantive and sometimes sensitive foreign policy questions. However, our pride and sense of worth demands no less.

What brings this all to a head is a recent series of accusations in the press that American Embassy personnel in Santiago failed to give adequate protection to American citizens during and immediately following the coup. The accusations are a typical “bum rap” of the sort the Service has faced too often, which reflects adversely on highly dedicated personnel, particularly consular officers. The other side of the story, the scores of lives saved, the risks taken, the hundreds of personnel assisted under the most trying circumstances, was never mentioned in the press.

Appalled by this outrage, AFSA-Santiago sent us an open letter spelling out the other side of the story, which we forwarded to the press and to every member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee. The response to date from the press has been disappointing; the response from the Hill very positive. We have received replies, some very sympathetic, from many key Congressmen and Senators. Congressman Fascell, whose subcommittee is investigating the matter, read our letter and AFSA-Santiago's letter into the Congressional Record. Elsewhere in this issue, we have reprinted excerpts from our letters, and a response we received from Congressman Harrington.

As unfortunate as this whole series of events was, it has had one positive benefit and one real lesson. It has reaffirmed what Senator Pell told the Association at this year's awards luncheon—that our Service is well regarded by the Congress, and that we do have friends on the Hill. We will do what we can to assure that that remains true. The lesson is that if the Foreign Service's side of the story is to be understood, it must be told with force and conviction.

Continuing The Dialogue

ON February 1, for the second time in less than four months, officers of the Association met with Dr. Kissinger for an extended discussion of the problems facing the Foreign Service. The purpose of the meeting was to introduce to the Secretary the officers of the newly elected and newly installed AFSA Board. We spent most of the meeting, as we had at the first meeting with the Secretary, discussing professional issues. We stressed to the Secretary the broad and consistent principles which have governed AFSA actions on virtually all professional and employee relations questions:

- The need to maintain an independent and increasingly unified Foreign Service;
- The need to defend and advance the professionalism of the Foreign Service; and
- The need for Foreign Service employees to have a meaningful input into the rules which govern their lives and careers.

We pointed out that each of these basic principles was under continuous attack from those outside the Foreign Affairs Agencies who would undermine the independence of the Service; from political interests desiring to politicize the Service and impair its capacity to serve the President and the Secretary; and from certain administrative managers in the Foreign Affairs Agencies who seek to stress “management prerogatives” at the expense of the well-being of Foreign Service personnel.

We also emphasized to the Secretary that as a result of the appointments he had made, and the signals he had given since our last meeting, the employee management relations system was working with respect to personnel policies in State. We expressed our concern, however, that the system was not working at all in AID, that the era of good feeling in USIA had been destroyed by USIA management's refusal to sign a promotion safeguards system according USIA employees the same rights as were already guaranteed to State personnel in a signed agreement; and that the negotiations on employee benefits and a new grievance system were not getting anywhere because management was dragging its feet and failing to implement changes already agreed upon in principle. We expect to continue our discussions with the Secretary on a periodic basis.



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COMMUNICATION

Re:

They Have Moses and the Prophets

JOHN W. MACDONALD

WILLIAM TURPIN's cleverly written, but vaguely titled article "they have Moses and the Prophets," was stimulating but should have been worked into a less subjective, more thoughtful article before publication. This is the sort of topic which could be beneficial for the entire foreign service. Conversely, it could result in internecine, journalistic warfare among the shaky triumvirate at present constituting the United States' non military overseas presence. AID itself could conceivably produce a word artist to archly peel away (in the passive voice) the glamour surrounding USIS, using the JOURNAL as a forum. Undoubtedly, after reading Mr. Turpin's article, there is no lack of eager aspirants for this job among AID's army of literary giants. Mr. Turpin has at his command a somber and noble style, as one can see in his sweeping, apologetic and forebearing sentences. After a careful search the readers find sev-

eral culprits. These are: (1) the more obstinate and belligerent of the LDCs, (2) AID organization and methods and most subjectively of all, (3) AID personnel.

Mr. Turpin was correct in urging that the psychological reasons for a lack of enthusiasm among the body politic for US funded economic and social development in lesser developed countries be closely examined. However, his examination does nothing to enhance the objectives of AID. Traditional means of transferring resources (AID) will not do the job he says, or rather, the traditional familiar truths no longer carry the ring of conviction. The failures of non-successful countries are not dealt with by AID. That is to say, why has each and every AID recipient not "taken off" as did Greece, Europe, Korea and Taiwan. AID apologists have never felt the need, statutory or otherwise, it stands to reason, to document why some AID recipient countries (which exist for the slenderest of economic if not political reasons) have not burgeoned forth. This situation, where it exists, often speaks for itself, i.e., their lack of success or modest success is all that could be reasonably expected. In this category you have countries which have surmounted sectoral or specific problems only. AID apologists, it is hoped, would say only that there are, as in all other things, degrees of success and accomplishment as well as success measured solely in Mr. Turpin's scheme of things. Inputs seldom equal outputs especially in missionary work and much less so in AID type efforts.

AID has been guilty of unilaterally continuing pa-

Continued on page 25

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Imperatives of Land Reform

ARCHIE M. BOLSTER

PRACTICALLY every economic development plan mentions the need for land reform, but when it comes to making changes in the distribution of income from the land, which may affect the power structure, the will is often lacking. In many developing countries American economic advisers have had the opportunity to encourage governments to undertake effective land reform programs, yet have often failed to do so. In the face of a growing body of data substantiating the economic benefits which can result from an effective land reform program, why has there often been this reluctance? Should not the United States be doing more to encourage land reform during this era of worldwide food shortages?

Lack of US Support for Land Reform

United States economic advisers have generally shied away from

The author is a Foreign Service officer who has served in Cambodia and Iran and is now with the American Embassy in New Delhi, India. In 1971-72 he studied land reform at the University of Wisconsin's Land Tenure Center on a Department of State fellowship. The views expressed in this article are the author's own—no endorsement by the Department of State should be implied.

land reform programs because they have been reluctant to engage in "social engineering." While the US has stood ready to provide technical and financial assistance to many a developing country, we have not wanted to advocate institutional changes because we thought this went beyond our scope of interest in countries with which we had diplomatic ties. (Post World War II Japan was an exception to this rule, because we took on the responsibility for remaking that society.)

A second reason is that we have found the political support of land-owning elites useful to us in a search for "stable governments," even though such regimes have often proven to have feet of clay. Thus, as many other writers have pointed out, a government born in revolution has frequently found itself backing the conservative forces of the status quo.

A third reason the United States has shied away from advocating land reform in underdeveloping countries is concern that land reform's equity benefits would be outweighed by its costs in political turmoil. Yet in 1970 a major AID paper on land reform commented: "In general, the results indicate that land reform can be politically

de-stabilizing over the short run but if effectively carried out is likely to be stabilizing over the long run."

A fourth argument against land reform has often been that division among peasants would result in very small, inefficient plots and hence lower production. Debunking this view, Dr. Erven Long commented to an AID Conference on land reform in 1970: "The most important finding of the review itself, I feel, is that the social and political goals of wider distribution of opportunity, power, and employment among farm people are *not in conflict* with but *consistent with* increased agricultural productivity and efficiency . . . at any given level of technological development, farms of the size which result when land is distributed as equally as possible among all those who must live from the land are at least as efficient as larger size farms."

A final reason which could be added is disagreement among the United States and other advisers as to the proper methods to be followed. For example, was a cadastral survey a prerequisite for an effective land reform program? Should landlords be compensated for land seized for distribution?

A Clear Case for Land Reform

The "Spring Review" of Land Reform held in Washington in June 1970 brought together land reform experts from all over the United States. Thirty-two country studies were compiled, as well as five regional summaries, 13 analytical papers and four implementation papers. To the government official concerned with policy matters, the key document of the Spring Review on land reform is its "Findings and Implications for AID." The first major finding was that "There is a clear economic case for land reform." This forthright statement represented a great step forward in AID's attitude toward land reform, but the Assistant Administrator for Program and Policy Coordination, Ernest Stern, cautioned at the closing session that the initial decision to have a land reform program had to be an indigenous responsibility. "Once a country decides on a land reform program and seeks external assistance, donors should provide both technical and financial support. Support yes, promotion no." Stern was advocating support for programs once they were undertaken, but he stopped short of encouraging countries to undertake land reform in the first place: "If I were to encapsulate my conclusion, I would characterize the change in style I am suggesting as moving from apathetic neglect to benign interest and a willingness to share in the effort." It seems to me that the "clear economic case" made for land reform ought to have resulted in a forthright statement of US support for land reform, including its advocacy with the governments of developing countries.

The second finding of the Spring Review was that "both the political will and the political capacity for land reform are critical for success." Elizabeth Carter, author of the implications paper, amplified the point as follows: "No amount of enabling legislation, administrative skill, or budgetary support can substitute for a *dominant political will* that land reform be effectively carried out. This will must be indigenous." Perhaps there is only a fine line between "benign interest" in land reform as a development policy, and advocacy of reform while recognizing that the main im-

petus must be indigenous. But there are many countries in need of land reform which will find it convenient *not* to carry out land reform until such a course of action is forcefully advocated by experts from outside the country. Considering the vast array of information favorable to land reform brought out by the Spring Review, and the universal interest in this important policy topic, why has the United States been so reluctant to espouse the cause of "land to the tiller?"

A perfect example of this reluctance is South Vietnam. Author Douglas Pike and AID officials such as Gittinger, Ladejinski, Cooper, and MacDonald, all saw early in the game that land reform was imperative if the South Vietnamese and their American supporters were to gain the allegiance

'There is a great need to provide employment for growing numbers of people entering the labor force. Industrialization has not provided sufficient employment, in part because it is so often based on labor-saving techniques imported from developed countries. Land reform can not only keep workers on the land who would otherwise drift to the cities in search of work, but it can also provide additional employment if properly managed.'

of people in the rural areas, but they were unable to gain consistent support from AID Directors or the Embassy. Robert Sansom writes in his book, "The Economics of Insurgency in the Mekong Delta of Vietnam," that land reform "was opposed by young political officers from the US Embassy in Saigon, who argued that a land reform would topple the Vietnamese government." The period 1959-60 saw the United States give financial support to land documentation efforts, but for the next five years land reform was forgotten. In

1968-69, the Vietnamese went ahead on their own, and the mission then agreed to provide complete support for a photogrammetric land title system. This has given a whole new dimension to the cadastral survey question by providing a computerized system in which the farmer receives a small aerial photo of his land on the IBM card carrying the description of his plot of land. This successful implementation of a complex program provides a happy, if belated, end to the story.

The Case for a Pro-Land Reform Policy

In my view there are four very strong arguments in favor of a policy of encouraging land reform in underdeveloped countries. The first is that land reform is needed as a means of providing the incentive for increasing food output, even with the existing technology in use in these countries. Technological progress in the form of Green Revolution inputs has made a valuable contribution to increasing food supplies, but even these depend in part on sufficient incentive to purchase and make effective use of them. This incentive stems from land ownership, or at least secure tenancy. Such technology often is available only to the richer farmers, in which case it only adds to the frustrations of the poor farmers and farm laborers, and threatens to bring rural unrest in its train.

A second reason for the United States to urge underdeveloped countries to carry out land reform programs is to help them achieve the longer-run political stability which will result from distributing agricultural income more evenly throughout the populace. Most of the underdeveloped countries have populations consisting of at least half rural dwellers, and without such a step these people are unlikely to share in the nation's development.

Thirdly, there is a great need to provide employment for growing numbers of people entering the labor force. Industrialization has not provided sufficient employment, in part because it is so often based on labor-saving techniques imported from developed countries. Land reform can not only keep workers on the land who would otherwise drift to the cities

in search of work, but it can also provide additional employment if properly managed.

The final point is that the Nixon Doctrine provides an excellent rationale for US encouragement of land reform in underdeveloped countries. By that I mean that our announced intention not to involve ourselves so directly in other countries' affairs, unless our security is directly affected, should permit us to take a more objective view of the need for such reform and to advocate it on a more disinterested basis. We are in an excellent position to do so because of the expertise which academic and governmental Americans have gained in the study of land reform programs around the world.

In an article in the spring issue of *FOREIGN POLICY*, Roy Prosterman argued for the use of AID funds to purchase land from landlords to remove their reason for opposition to land reform programs. I very much agree with this view and with his agenda for agricultural development: 1) land reform; 2) increase of food production "in the context of land reform"; and 3) population control. My only reservation about using economic assistance funds to guarantee land payments is that it would be necessary to insure that payment made to a landlord should be restricted to use in some domestic enterprise beneficial to the economy.

Land Reform as Political Change

Philip Raup, in an excellent survey chapter in Southworth and Johnson's "Agricultural Development and Economic Growth," commented as follows on the politics of land reform: "Above all, economists must recognize clearly that political considerations dominate land reform. Always it involves restructuring of patterns of wealth, income flow, social status, and prestige. These are the raw materials of politics. It is almost a truism that pressures for land reform are predominantly political." The point may seem obvious, but too often land reform is prescribed as an economic development program without sufficient attention to the painful political changes which may result from it. Can the political consequences of land reform be predicted and held within bounds?

I believe the answer is yes, if the program is properly planned in advance. The experience accumulated in recent years provides ample basis on which to base planning, provided that each step is thought through in detail. The "establishment" in an underdeveloped country probably has two major fears about land reform: loss of income from land and violence on the part of peasants. Compensation for land (preferably arranged so as to promote investment of the funds in the country) should suffice to give reassurance on the first point, particularly if the compensation is guaranteed by outside aid. As for the second fear, experiences in other countries indicate that if peasants are given land and provided with credit they will be more interested in getting on with the job of raising their incomes than in getting even with the landlord by resorting to violence. (The People's Republic of China might appear to be an exception, but even there the period of vengeance was relatively brief.)

US Policy Toward Land Reform in Developing Countries

I have said earlier why I think the United States should encourage underdeveloped countries to undertake land reform programs. I believe we should do so both within the context of our membership in the Food and Agriculture Organization and in our bilateral relations with countries where land reform is needed. What are the operational implications of such a policy change?

The first is that we should consider land reform as a type of politico-economic change. For too long we have placed land reform solely in the domain of agricultural economics without sufficient attention to its importance as political development. Within our missions overseas land reform has often been left to AID and largely ignored by Embassy political officers. AID's concern with productivity in agriculture has sometimes caused its personnel to counsel against land reform on grounds that parcelization would cut yields. In countries where AID has supported land reform activities there have been cases of "success by self-appraisal"—situations in which reports sent back to

Washington overstressed accomplishments and glossed over problems encountered, so that the AID mission would get good marks back in Washington. In South Vietnam our full support for land reform came woefully late. My purpose here is not to place any blame for tardy support of effective land reform in South Vietnam or anywhere else, but simply to point out that land reform is a subject which should be studied by every agency represented on the Country Team.

Effective mission coordination of land reform policy should be mirrored by better coordination in Washington. A committee of experienced officials from State, AID, and USIA should be formed to accomplish this, utilizing people who now have land reform as one of their responsibilities or who have worked with such programs overseas. Functional specialization on land reform within AID would assist the process. The group should be kept very small and should be required to coordinate its activities with the Planning and Coordination Staff of the State Department and with the National Security Council.

A final recommendation is that the United States ought to establish a small but experienced team of economists and political scientists from various universities, familiar with land reform programs in various countries, which could be used to assist countries in planning effective land reform programs. Perhaps Land Tenure Center experts could provide a nucleus for this purpose. The team could be made available under FAO auspices to lessen the identification with US policy.

In his chapter referred to earlier, Philip Raup gives four reasons why land reform will play an important role in agricultural development in years to come: improvement in mass communications, availability of cheaper transportation, the changing status and role of women, and the "welding and propelling force of nationalism." Land reform, like population control, must come at some point in every country's development if it is to make a proper balance between people and resources. I believe that US policy ought to be geared to making that day come sooner rather than later. ■

Diplomats in Striped Pant-Suits

JUNE BINGHAM

THE cultured wife of a distinguished American was only half facetious: "I have founded a new organization," she said. "It has one other member. She and I call ourselves 'The Voluntary Slaves.' We are wives who love serving our husbands and their careers. We think that Women's Lib has missed the whole point of a happy marriage and a happy life."

"Voluntary Slaves" might also be the term of opprobrium applied by the rebel Foreign Service wife to those older colleagues who, in her view, have allowed themselves to be conned by a Male Chauvinist State Department. It was not, after all, so long ago that the Department was openly boasting that in sending a married Foreign Service officer abroad, it was getting "two for the price of one."

Today the Foreign Service is riven between the two kinds of wife, with age 32 roughly the dividing line and exceptions appearing on both sides of it. So deeply do feelings run that a seemingly insignificant phrase causes fists to clench and voices to tremble. More serious are the depressions and malignant drinking said to be triggered, the divorces that might otherwise not have occurred, and the loss to the Service of first rate officers.

June Bingham is the biographer of Reinhold Niebuhr and U Thant. She writes for magazines as varied as the NEW YORK TIMES and GLAMOUR, the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PSYCHIATRY and REDBOOK. She is married to Jonathan Bingham (D., N.Y.), member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee who served for more than three years under Adlai Stevenson at USUN. "Being the wife of an ambassador is harder than being the wife of a congressman," June Bingham says. "You use many of the same muscles but the hours are longer and need for discretion is greater."

Both the traditional and rebel wife feel threatened by what the other *is*, as well as by what she *does*. And from their respective points of view, both are probably correct.

The traditional wife fears that the liberationists are subverting the values to which she has devoted her life. What she has long assumed to be morally right is now accused of being almost worse than wrong, marginal. Her let-down is comparable to that of the Catholic who had dutifully fasted every Friday, only to have the custom vanish, or like the parent who had long sacrificed for his child's education, only to have him drop out.

The rebel wife, on the other hand, fears that the traditional wives want to chop her down to fit their antique Procrustean beds. If, on some posts, she took part in every activity they request of her, she would have no time for what *she* considers significant. In past days a young wife had no redress if asked by older wives to help unpack their china, set their table for a formal dinner, decorate their garden for a fete, take their laundry, or play bridge for high stakes. Even today the young wife may unofficially be expected to appear early and stay late at every official function regardless of pregnancy, a cast on the leg, tropical tummy, sick babies at home, or her own houseguests.

Yet the fact remains that official entertaining is an important facet of the diplomat's job. Only the wife of the clergyman, college president, or politician has the same opportunity, through her social skills, to advance or blight her husband's career. "I feel it's a privilege to represent your country abroad," says an ambassador's wife en route to her second hardship post. "I

God created woman. And boredom did indeed cease from that moment — but many other things ceased as well! Woman was God's *second* mistake. — Nietzsche

want the people who come to an American home, some for the first time, to have the best food, the best service, the best conversation, the best time." So ingrained is her discretion that, when asked if her name could be appended to this unexceptionable sentiment, she said, "Oh no. I don't want to make waves for my husband."

To the rebel wife such an attitude is redolent of sexism, role-imprisonment, and neglect of the wife's need to realize her own potential. This potential is viewed as important not only psychologically but economically. Haunting is the situation of the traditional wife, aged 38, whose husband took off with a younger woman. The ex-wife, stranded with three children, had no marketable skill to list on the resumé she had no idea how to prepare. During the twelve years she had helped her husband overseas she had informally acquired skills such as languages, knowledge of art and anthropology, political science, public relations, and, in a minor form, hotel management. Yet because she had not been connected with an institution of higher learning, she had no degree to show for it. And because no silver had crossed her palm, she had no fee to report to a prospective employer. Even the State Department that strives to employ the Foreign Service widows has no jobs for the divorcees.*

This helpless kind of traditional wife is, for the liberationists, a hazard not only to herself but to them. For unwittingly she is engaged in a form of union-busting: being willing to work for inadequate compensation, she is, in ef-

* Only 38 per cent of American fathers ordered to do so have been paying full child support after the first year (HASTINGS LAW JOURNAL, November 1971).

fect, a "scab."

Yet for many traditional wives their compensation feels adequate. Where else than in the Foreign Service, they ask, can a housewife achieve the thrill of being a team-player with her husband and contributing with him to a purpose higher than them both, the well-being of their country? Where else does she have the chance, perhaps, to give history a tiny nudge by acting as an extra set of eyes and ears for her government and, at times, a tongue as well. For it is she, after all, who sits next to the officials of the host country at all those dinners.

In the context of team-playing, even hardship and danger are taken in good part. "I remember one time in Buenos Aires," said a ranking wife. "I went to tea with the wife of an American businessman. She had invited eight of her colleagues to meet me. The phone rang. A husband was calling to warn his wife to hurry home: a major riot was brewing in the Plaza de Mayo. Seven more times the phone rang. All husbands but mine had called. I was embarrassed to have the other ladies see how little concern my husband had for me. At last the phone: 'There's a riot at the Plaza de Mayo,' my husband said. 'Hurry and meet me at the northwest corner. We can get a good look at what's going on.'"

To the traditional wife, her husband's work comes first. And as he rises through the military-type hierarchy, so, in effect will she. "Imagine," said the wife of a newly promoted ambassador. "Now I can dine with kings and dance with prime ministers."

Until recently, his wife's behavior was routinely subject for comment on an officer's Performance Evaluation Report. His promotion might well be influenced by the impression she had made on the wife of his rating officer. Says a reviewing officer, "A star in the Department wouldn't have his career blighted by an uncooperative wife, but lesser lights do. Sometimes it has been just enough to tilt the decision between two men with otherwise equal qualifications."

Howls of glee from rebels and woe from traditional wives greeted the official notice on April 17, 1972 that no longer to be "discussed" in

the Performance Report was the "Spouse," together with "alcoholism or efforts at rehabilitation . . . race, color, creed, national origin, medical problems, comparison with other identifiable employees and ranking by previous selection boards."

To the liberationist this meant that she could no longer be blackmailed into attending the Monday diplomatic wives' luncheon, the Tuesday morning at the Ambassador's wife's favorite charity, the Wednesday class in flower-arranging, the Thursday one in gourmet cooking, or the Friday meeting of the American Wives Club (to which the wives of the many American business men abroad also repair).

The new regulations, in fact, went so far as to define the "spouse" as "a private person." Said one of the liberationists, "Now they've got to stop calling me a junior wife; I'm the wife of a junior officer, but I'm not a junior wife." Yet habit dies hard. A full year later, in the Newsletter of the American Association for Foreign Service Women, the suggestion that "embassy groups [be] organized on a non-hierarchical basis" was followed by announcement (italics added) of a "special course for *senior wives*."

To some "senior wives" the new regulations felt like a slap in the face. "I've spent my whole life helping my husband," said one. "I was proud to be part of his rating report. With that gone, what do I have to show for all those years?"

Interestingly, it is often the wife who had an independent career before marriage who does not feel diminished when outer recognition fails to attend her current efforts. So long as her husband appreciates them, she is content. "I spent six hours blowing up balloons," said an ambassador's wife whose "junior wives" (she still uses the term) had balked on her. Her cheeks were sore but not her ego.

Why did the younger wives balk? Each had been notified she was expected to bring a tray of appetizers to the National Day celebration on July 4th. Offensive to one wife was the lack of previous consultation with the group. To another the implication that this was all she was good for was worse even than the out-of-pocket expense. True, Con-

gress appropriates money for "representation" (or the care and feeding of foreigners), but the sum is rarely adequate and never includes recompense for the wife's time. "As long as we stay on as unpaid houseworkers and errand girls," she said, "we'll never be taken seriously. One way you define yourself as a human being is by your work. Someone up there must be thinking I'm Mickey Mouse."

Yet from the point of view of the ambassador's wife, their non-compliance could cripple the party's value. She can blow up the balloons unaided but she cannot unaided perform all the introductions needed between nationals and members of the American community. Nor does she have room in the Residence refrigerator for the necessary complement of deviled eggs. And in the tropics, if food is not cold until the last minute, hospitality may turn out to be agonizingly counterproductive.

From the point of view of the rebel's husband, he is in a true bind. Of course he does not want his wife to be unhappy. But neither does he want his boss's wife to be unhappy with his wife. Even though his wife no longer appears on his rating report, there is no way to legislate against the gossip that flourishes in foreign posts as it does on campuses. Between his marriage and his career, how is he to decide? How, in today's fluidity of values, is he to choose the criteria by which to decide?

To the old school ambassador, any wifely brouhaha is a damn nuisance. "Some of these young wives should have their fannies tanned. They should have known when they married into the Service that they would have to measure up and do their part."

But what, ideally, *is* the part of an American wife today? Does she help her husband most by broadening his perspective through her independent observations, or by remaining in the role former Ambassador to India, John Kenneth Galbraith, characterized as *geisha*.

In the '50s in Tokyo an American wife with a Ph.D. was able to get away with teaching at the University because the other wives never discovered it. Then, by doing something different, she would have seemed a reproach to them. Today, at least to the

GENUS F.S.W.*

younger wives, she would be worthy of emulation. Says a young wife just back from Nigeria where the local women run the markets and head successful enterprises, "I was forever having to explain to my African friends that American women are not 'lazy or stupid.' They kept asking why we don't have more women doctors or lawyers at home, and why in Africa our embassy wives 'do nothing but drink coffee and play bridge.'"

Recently home from Africa a young American wife is suing for divorce because, in part, she was forced to doubt whether she, as an individual, even existed. "Everything I did was for, or because of, my husband," she says. "And nothing I was asked to do was really meaningful." In addition she was repeatedly warned that she would ruin her husband's career if she voiced strong opinions or refused to do her share of what she termed "those icky little jobs."

"Resolution To The Wives' Dilemma" was the title of an article in the Foreign Service JOURNAL of October, 1973. Skillfully written by an ambassador's wife, Carroll Russell Sherer, it could scarcely have more thoroughly riled and offended the rebel wives.

In effect, the "Sherer Plan" would further polarize the Foreign Service wives whose husbands would be asked on each post to choose whether to be "I" or "D." "I" stands for "independent of assistance from spouse on post;" "D" stands for "dependent" on such assistance. The "I" wife, in return for the freedom to devote all her time to an outside job, would be deprived not merely of those "classic benefits of the Foreign Service" that cost the Department money, such as round-trip transportation and health care, but also those that do not, such as use of the pouch, being issued an official passport, and attendance of briefings at the Foreign Service Institute. She would, furthermore, be asked to pay rent for her bed, plus her share of utilities, in the quarters assigned to the person of her husband's rank, whether or not he was married, and would be ostracized from all diplomatic goings-on. Says Mrs. Sherer (italics added):

Her name will not appear on the diplomatic list and she will

EYES - for an alert expression and a demure expression simultaneously.

EXTRA EYE - to see that the ambassador (or hubby) doesn't get caught.

SERVANTS' EYE - visible only to them.

FOUR TONGUES -(concealed)- three for languages and a fourth for kitchen dialects.

EXTRA HANDS - for warm, sincere welcomes.

UNIQUE DIGESTIVE SYSTEM - can take care of any food or liquid concoction of any country.

UNIQUE PERSONALITY AND DISPOSITION - eternally cheerful, charming, gracious, composed, clever, patient, humorous. (Have we overlooked anything?) She pleases all men and gets along beautifully with all women, children, and strange dogs.

FEET - can stand up under anything.

EXTRA COMBINATION BRAIN - for cultural conversations.

FILING SYSTEM - for 500,000 names. SWITCHBOARD AND DESPATCH SYSTEM - for organizing household and children. CALENDAR-STOP WATCH - for social appointments. ENCYCLOPEDIA - of etiquette, protocol, and miscellaneous information.

OUTSIZED EAR - attuned to significant conversations yet impervious to noise.

GOWN - by herself. Looks like Paris original yet looks typically American and costs about \$7.00.

JEWELS - by Woolworth - transformed to look like Cartiers by guess who?

ANOTHER HAND - for loving the children.



* TO F.S. WIVES

Dedicated to all those unsung heroines, those power-behind-the FSOs, FSRs, and FSSs.

Adapted from a sketch by Mary Jernegan in the June 1951 JOURNAL

not be required or *even encouraged* to attend social events in her husband's Embassy . . . She may take any job she likes . . . she may sign any petition, march in any parade, or join any movement . . .

Here, Mrs. Sherer must be taking the "private person" doctrine to a tongue-in-cheek extreme. As she must know, our ambassadors are subject to being called in by the host government whenever an American behaves in an "inappropriate" manner. This may range from wearing a miniskirt in an Arab country to publicly promoting abortion in a Catholic one. Host country officials can hardly be expected to spend their day sorting out which American wives are "I" and "D."

Mrs. Sherer goes on to pull the rug out from under her own argument that the "I" wife, by working outside the embassy, is of no use to it. As she says (italics added):

I have had full-time jobs away from home in only two posts. However, I had the feeling in both cases that *my job en-*

hanced my ability to assist the Embassy rather than the other way around.

Rare is the working wife abroad who refuses on weekends or holidays to do any entertaining for her husband. For her to lose transportation and health-care money would indeed be reasonable. But Mrs. Sherer does not stop at this. She wants the "I" husband to receive an increment beyond his regular representation allowance. With it he can pay to a caterer or restaurant what the "D" husband *is not permitted to pay to his wife.*

Why not turn this idea around, some rebel wives ask? How about letting all representation money for home-entertaining go directly to the wife? The lady who does not wish to worry her pretty little head about such matters can simply endorse the voucher to her husband. But the others may find deep symbolic satisfaction in being trusted to act like something more than a mere "dependent" super-annuated child. One rebel wife, in fact, says she would be willing to pay extra for the privilege of having her

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Only in rejection could there be vindication...

Service remembers well his first meeting with Hurley on October 23, 1944. Stilwell had just been recalled, and General Hurley, having failed in his mission to bring Stilwell and the Generalissimo together, was now seeking to heal the even greater breach between the KMT and the CCP. At Hurley's request, Service called to brief him on the Communists' new and tougher negotiating terms, on which Service had frequently reported from Yenan. "It was fifty-seven minutes Hurley, three minutes Service. He went on saying, 'Don't worry, I'll bring these two sides together. They [the Communists] are going to get American arms. That's what I'm here for. . . . I've had experience with this sort of thing. I know it's going to be tough, but I've done this before.' Hurley never read any of my reports on the CCP's new terms, and while I tried to tell him that the Communists were going to be very tough and hard-boiled and were not going to yield on what they thought were the essentials, I never really got a chance to get through."

Hurley's ignorance and inability to listen to professional advice had tragic consequences. In November he flew to Yenan, agreed to Mao Tse-tung's terms for a coalition government and even strengthened

them with a few clauses of his own. Then he returned to Chungking, got talked out of the agreement by Chiang Kai-shek and ended up wholeheartedly supporting Chiang's position in the negotiations. Hurley reported himself "convinced that Chiang Kai-shek personally is anxious for a settlement with the so-called Communists."* His subsequent insistence on exclusive US support for the KMT meant that Chiang had no incentive to compromise. Consequently, all Hurley's efforts did nothing to heal the breach between the two parties. If anything, they made matters worse.

Throughout the entire period Hurley remained blissfully ignorant of the issues which divided the two parties. To him there were no real differences of principle between the KMT and CCP. With the negotiations thoroughly bogged down in February 1945, he would report that "two fundamental facts are emerging: (1) the Communists are not in fact Communists, they are striving for democratic principles; and (2) the one-party, one-man personal government of the Kuomintang is not in fact Fascist, it is striving for democratic principles."† He saw the Chinese Communists as comparable to Oklahoma Republicans like himself: "outs, who wanted to be the ins and . . . the only difference between Oklahoma Republicans and the Chinese Communists was that the Oklahoma Republicans were not

armed."* He seemed totally incapable of comprehending the centrality of the Communists' demand for a coalition government in Chungking if they were to subordinate their military forces to the Central Government.

Counselor of Embassy George Atcheson, who was Chargé d'Affaires in Hurley's absence, felt strongly that the Department had not been getting from Hurley a complete and objective view of the situation in China. At his suggestion, then, it was decided to send a telegram from the Embassy's political officers. Though others contributed to the final message and though it went out over Atcheson's name, it was Service who initially drafted the despatch. This fact did not go undetected by Hurley: when he saw the telegram in the State Department, his response (Service was later told) was "I know who drafted that telegram: Service. I'll get that S.O.B. if it's the last thing I do."

The Situation in China

February 28, 1945
Service, pp. 109-12

The situation in China appears to be developing in some ways that are not conducive to effective prosecution of the war, nor to China's future peace and unity.

1. The recent American attempt through diplomatic and persuasive means to assist compromise between the factions in China was a necessary first step in the handling of the problem. Unity was cor-

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**Foreign Relations*, 1944, p. 699.

†*Foreign Relations*, 1945, p. 211.

rectly taken to be the essence not only of the most effective conduct of the war by China but also of the peaceful and speedy emergence of a strong, united and democratic China.

But the cessation of Japanese offensives, the opening of the road into China, the rapid development of our Army plans for rebuilding Chiang's armies, the increase of other assistance such as the W.P.B. [War Production Board], the expectation that the Central Government will share in the making of important decisions at San Francisco, and belief that we are intent upon the definite support and strengthening of the Central Government alone and as the only possible channel for aid to other groups—these circumstances have combined to increase greatly Chiang's feeling of strength and have resulted in unrealistic optimism on his part and lack of willingness to make any compromise.

This attitude is reflected in, among other things, early hopes of a settlement with Russia without settlement of the Communist problems, when nothing was finally offered but an advisory inter-Party committee without any power or place in the Government, and in recent military-political appointments which place strong anti-Communists in the strategic war areas and name to high administrative posts reactionaries such as Admiral Chan Chak (Tai Li subordinate) to be mayor of Canton, and General Ho Kuo-kuang (former commander in chief of gendarmerie) as chairman of Formosa.

2. The Communists for their part have come to the conclusion that we are definitely committed to the support of Chiang alone, and that we are definitely committed to hand in order to be able to aid or cooperate with them. In what they consider self-protection, they are therefore following the line of action (forecast in statements of Communist leaders last summer if they continued to be excluded from consideration) of actively increasing their forces and aggressively expanding their areas southward, regardless of nominal Kuomintang control, to reach Southeast China. The Department is referred to our 284, February 24, 9 A.M., reporting large movements and conflicts with Central Government forces al-

ready taking place. In grasping time by the forelock, the Communists intend to take advantage of the isolation of East China by the Japanese capture of the Canton-Hankow railway, to make themselves as nearly invincible as possible before Chiang's new armies, now in process of formation in Yunan, are ready, and to present us the dilemma of accepting or refusing their aid if our forces land anywhere on the China coast. Communists close to the leaders are now talking of the necessity of their seeking Soviet assistance. The party itself is broadcasting demands for Communist and other non-Kuomintang representation at San Francisco, and is actively considering creation of a unified council of their various independent guerrilla governments.

3. The conclusion seems clear that although our intentions have been good and our actions in refusing to deal with or assist any group but the Central Government have been diplomatically correct, if this situation continues and our analysis of it is correct, chaos in China will be inevitable and the probable outbreak of disastrous civil conflict will be accelerated. Even for the present it is obvious that this situation, in which we are precluded from cooperation with the large, aggressive and strategically situated armies and organized population of the Communist areas, as well as the forces such as the Li Chi-shen and Tsai Ting-kai group in the Southeast, is unsatisfactory and hampering from a purely military standpoint. As indicated above, the situation is also dangerous to American interests from a long-range point of view.

Unless checked, this situation is apt to develop with increasing acceleration as the tempo of the war in China and the whole Far East is raised, and the inevitable resolution of China's internal conflict becomes more urgent. The time is short and it will be dangerous to allow affairs to drift.

4. If the high military authorities of our government agree that some cooperation with the Communists and other groups who have proved themselves willing and are in position to fight the Japanese is or will be necessary or desirable, we believe that the immediate and paramount consideration of mili-

tary necessity should be made the basis for a further step in American policy. The presence of General Wedemeyer in Washington as well as General Hurley should be a favorable opportunity for discussion of this matter.

Predicated on the assumption that the military necessity exists, the first step we propose for consideration is that the President inform the Generalissimo in definite terms that military necessity requires that we supply and cooperate with the Communists and other suitable groups who can assist the war against Japan (this would not under present conditions include forces such as the Szechwan warlords who are not in actual position to attack the enemy) and that we are taking steps to accomplish this end. We can assure the Generalissimo that we are not contemplating reducing our aid to the Central Government (any aid we give the Communists or other groups must, because of transport difficulties, at first be on a small scale and will probably be less than the natural increase in the flow of supplies into China). We must include in the statement that we will keep the Central Government informed of the extent and types of such aid. We can also tell the Generalissimo that we will be able to use the lever of our supplies and cooperation to limit independent and aggressive action on their part, restricting them to their present areas. And we can point out the advantage of having the Communists helped by us rather than seeking Russian aid or intervention, direct or indirect.

At the time of making this statement to the Generalissimo, he might also be told, if it is considered advisable, that although our effort to persuade the various groups of the desirability of unification has failed and we can no longer delay measures for the most effective prosecution of the war, we consider it obviously desirable that our military assistance to all groups be based on unity and the coordination of military command; that we are prepared to continue to lend our good offices to this end, where feasible and when asked for; and that while we believe that the proposal should come from the Generalissimo, we would be disposed to support: (1) The formation of something in the nature of a

supreme war council or war cabinet in which Communists and other groups would have effective representation and some share in responsibility for the formation and execution of joint war plans, and (2) the nominal incorporation of Communist and other selected forces into the Central Government armies under the operational command of American officers designated by the Generalissimo on the advice of General Wedemeyer, on agreement by all parties that these troops would operate only within their present areas or specified extended areas. It should be made clear, however, that our decision to cooperate with any forces able to assist the war will not be delayed by or contingent on the completion of such internal Chinese arrangements.

Such a *modus operandi*, we believe, would bridge the present deadlock in China and serve as a preliminary move toward full solution of the problem of ultimate complete unity. As one result of the recent negotiations, the principal and overriding issues have become clear. The Generalissimo and his Government will not at this time on their own initiative take any forward step which will mean loss of face, prestige or personal power. The Communists will not, without guarantees in which they have confidence, take any forward step which will involve dispersion and eventually elimination of their forces upon which their present strength and future political existence depend. The step we propose taking will exert on both parties the force necessary to break this deadlock, and the *modus operandi* embodied in those two proposals should initiate concrete military and, as an inevitable result, political cooperation, and accordingly provide a foundation for increasing future development toward unity.

These proposals would not exclude the political consultation committee plan which, if adopted could function alongside the war council and the Government. In fact, it should be expected that the committee would be greatly strengthened.

The statements to Chiang should, of course, be made privately. But the possibility of the logical and much more drastic step, in the event of his refusal to accept

it, of a public statement of policy such as that by Churchill in regard to Yugoslavia would be clearly understood.

Even though not made public, however, the fact of our assistance to the Communists and other forces would soon become generally known throughout China. This, we believe, would have profound and desirable political effects in China. There is tremendous internal pressure in China for unity based on a reasonable compromise with the Communists and a chance for the presently liberal groups to express themselves. However, these liberal groups even within the Kuomintang, such as the Sun Fo group, and the minor parties were ignored in the recent negotiations by the KMT but not by the Communists (with whom they present what amounts to a united front) and they are disillusioned and discouraged by what they feel is American commitment to the present reactionary leadership of the Kuomintang. By the steps we propose we would prove that we are not so committed, we would greatly raise the morale and prestige of these liberal groups, and we would exert the strongest possible influence through these internal forces to impel Chiang to put his own house in order and make the concessions necessary to unity.

There is no question that such a policy would be greatly welcomed by the vast majority of the Chinese people (although not by the very small reactionary minority in control of the Kuomintang) and that it would raise American prestige.

The statement has been made to a responsible American by Sun Fo himself that if Chiang were told, not asked, regarding United States aid to Communists and guerrillas, this would do more to make Chiang Kai-shek come to terms with them than any other course of action. The majority of Chinese believe that the settlement of China's internal problem is not so much a matter of mutual concessions as reform of the Kuomintang itself. They also declare, with justification, that American "nonintervention" in China cannot help but be in fact intervention in favor of the present conservative leaders.

Also by such policy, which we consider realistically accepts the facts in China, we could expect to

secure the cooperation of all of China's forces in the war, to hold the Communists to our side rather than throw them into the arms of Russia (which is otherwise inevitable if Russia enters the war against Japan), to convince the KMT of the undesirability of its apparent present plans for eventual civil war, and to bring about some unification which, even though not immediately complete, would provide the basis for peaceful future development toward full democracy.

5. This telegram has been drafted with the assistance and agreement of all the political officers of the staff of this Embassy and has been shown to General Wedemeyer's Chief of Staff, General Gross.

When we consider the vilification which was heaped upon the China Service officers in the 1950s, despite the fact that their policy had been rejected, one can only guess what the reaction would have been if their recommendations had been adopted in 1945. Even if that policy had succeeded in bringing about a coalition government, and the Communist victory had been both delayed and peaceful, the China lobby would have argued that we had in effect assisted the Chinese Communists to gain control of China. That accusation would have had a certain amount of truth to it—and such a policy would have been unthinkable to most Americans.

Hindsight, then, can be misleading. In Korea, we got some idea of what it would take to stop Chinese Communist armies, even when they were fighting on foreign soil. In Vietnam, we learned that social and national revolutions are not easily suppressed. With the Sino-Soviet dispute, we learned that the Chinese Communists' ties to Moscow were not unbreakable. Now, after all this, it is possible to say with some certainty that we would have been much better off if the Foreign Service officers' advice had been taken. But without Korea and Vietnam, the correctness of their policy would be far more difficult to demonstrate. Yet there's the rub: had their policy been followed, we probably would never have had those wars to prove that the policy was indeed correct. Such is the tragedy of the policy and the career of John S. Service: only in rejection could there be vindication.

Ad Libbing

on Women's Lib and Its Literature. . . .

SANDY VOGELGESANG

THE *machismo* factor lives on in foreign policy. As Patricia Ellsberg noted, few women figured in the "Pentagon Papers" except the typists.

No great or immediate change is likely. The fault lies largely in the societies diplomats inevitably reflect. It may also stem from the women's movement itself and the books it has given birth to.

Few FSOs—especially the approximately 95 percent who are male—have read any of that considerable literature. For one thing, it's hard to find. Washington's largest book shop stocks it between *Gay and Proud of It* and *Pooped! the Last Word in Sex Manuals*.

The rhetoric, further, is off-putting. Proclaiming men demonic oppressors does not convert the hard-core chauvinist. Indeed, a man almost needs to have a feminist consciousness *before* reading such classics as Betty Friedan's "Feminine Mystique," Germaine Greer's "The Female Eunuch," or Kate Millet's "Sexual Politics." Since few men are likely to want a *feminist* consciousness, a digest of the literature seems in order.

First, Gloria Steinem did not start the women's movement. It emerged over two centuries ago as part of larger social reform movements—and intellectual ferment over the "rights of man." Hence, the publicity for Eleanor Flexner's superb biography of Mary Wollstonecraft, author of "A Vindication of the Rights of Women" (1792) and recent reprinting of John Stuart Mills's "The Subjection of Women" (1869).

In the United States, feminist agitation came to the fore in its present guise in the 1960s. It was a natural outgrowth from the civil

rights and peace movements—partly because they were all concerned about general human rights and because women rebelled against their subordinate roles in those campaigns. For example, Eve Merriam concluded in "After Nora Slammed the Door" that women did just as much "shit work" in "the revolution" as in any office job.

Women's studies courses have subsequently proliferated with the proposition: let's make up for lost time and awareness. Thus, the spate of books (or re-publications thereof) on women's low and unappreciated historical profile. Among the most notable: Mary Beard's "Woman as Force in History," Julia O'Faolain and Lauro Martines's "Not in God's Image, Women in History from the Greeks to the Victorians," and June Sochen's "Movers and Shakers, American Women Thinkers and Activists, 1900-1970."

Much feminist literature is quite simply a reaction against the assumption: male is normal (read: better). Women feel degraded by their status. Susan Brownmiller's anger is typical: "I've had more offers to sell my body for money than to be an executive."

Or put another way, the feminists see a striking parallel between the black and women's movements. Until very recently, "flesh-colored" band-aids were always white, because of the unconscious assumption that white is normal. Men, by the same token, are considered abnormal if they flaunt such "normal" feminine traits as passivity and timidity. Women, FSOs included, are praised if they "think like men." Whoever complimented a man for "thinking like a woman?"

The result has been a feminist

assault against hypocrisy in general and psychology in particular. Phyllis Chesler ("Women and Madness") makes an impassioned brief against the male-dominated profession which devalues women and helps socialize them to devalue themselves. Freud's assertion that "anatomy is destiny" has drawn special fire from feminists. Greer has sneered: "Freud is the father of psychoanalysis; it had no mother." Simone de Beauvoir ("The Second Sex") has chided Adler for believing that girls climb trees to show their equality with boys, not just because they like to climb trees.

Such attitudes, and worse, make many feminists believe that the only way out of the sexist *cul de sac* is revolution. Some—like contributors to Anne Koedt's "Radical Feminism" or Alice Rossi's "The Feminist Papers" (two excellent collections published in 1973)—espouse an explicitly Marxist interpretation and course of action. The Boston Women's Collective starts from the premise in "Our Bodies, Ourselves": women must control their bodies to control their lives.

Still others see changing fortunes only in changing attitudes. Kirsten Amundsen ("The Silenced Majority") states: "A concerned father is particularly vulnerable if it can be demonstrated, *as it can be*, that his daughter's chance for a more fulfilling and secure life is significantly reduced by the perpetuation of sexist practices." To that end, writers like Caroline Bird ("Everything a Woman Needs to Know to Get Paid What She's Worth" and "Born Female: The High Cost of Keeping Women Down") dispel the myth that women "own" America and document the *widening* gap between male and female incomes.

The anguish is, however, more than economic. What stands out in feminist literature is the psychic damage suffered by being "born female." It is real and *felt*. It is why the "libbers" often lack a sense of humor. When Hugh Hefner said in an exchange with the feminist Ms. Brownmiller that PLAYBOY does not exploit women, she responded: "You can say that when you are willing to come out in skin-tight clothing with two bunny ears on your head and a big piece of

cotton attached to your fanny."

Just because the feminists take themselves seriously (and what important movement hasn't?) does not mean that they are not feminine or that they hate men. Quite the contrary. Both Alix Shulman's "Memoirs of an Ex-Prom Queen" and Ingrid Bengis's "Combat in the Erogenous Zone" are prototypic in their painful concerns with just such questions. Doris Lessing ("The Summer before the Dark") and Sylvia Plath ("The Bell Jar") make comparably honest confessionals.

Both men and women, of course, feel torn by conflicting roles and desires. However, Colman McCarthy of the Washington Post has observed that "the difference between a father and mother, when they discover their lack of preparation for children, is that the man can run for cover and have it appear normal, even be applauded because he is 'rising in the world. . ..'" In his review of Shirley Radl's "Mother's Day Is Over," McCarthy notes: "We'd be mad to send our housewives out to work so we can become house-husbands. Instead, the liberated males among us subscribe to Ms. magazine and tell our weary wives that we're right behind them—by 500 yards."

The poignancy of women's special tension is all the more acute because it may be so unnecessary. Since writing "Male and Female" in 1949, Margaret Mead has stressed that what Americans call "feminine attributes" are masculine traits in other cultures. Men are not naturally ambitious. Nor must women be defined in terms of their husbands' identities. Writer after feminist writer—including men—makes just that point. In "Wives' Legal Rights," Richard Gallen documents how American women are depersonalized by marriage. Gene Marine, husband of a feminist, muses in his "Male Guide to Women's Liberation" (read this book, if you read no other about the movement): "Suppose you, John Jones, had to become known after marriage as Mr. Betty Smith and introduced as Betty's husband."

Women, generally surrounded by men less "sensitized" than Mr. Marine, have different reactions to their dilemma. Black women con-

front a special challenge—as noted in Gerda Lerner's "Black Women in White America." Some, like Shulamith Firestone ("The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution"), espouse radical measures. Some, like Midge Decter ("The New Chastity") or Norman Mailer ("The Prisoner of Sex"), miss the point and condemn the movement's freak fringe. Others are just plain "supportive." Magazines like Ms. and NEW WOMAN use everything from "Superwoman" cartoons to job ads to say: you, too, can shake your psychic shackles. Finally, PLAYGIRL brings the feminists full-circle to the alleged exploitation condemned by the movement. It features nude centerfolds of men and an editor who claims, "The first thing I look at are his eyes."

Yet, perhaps most significant and heartening is the main thrust of feminist writing. It is away from sexual polarization and toward free choice of roles and life-styles. Carolyn Heilbrun, English Professor at Columbia University and author of "Toward a Recognition of Androgyny," is in the majority when she asks us to bring humanity back to the center of the masculine-feminine spectrum. Then, she writes, "We may even discover the gentleness of men, the forcefulness of women, and not be afraid."

Or—to paraphrase old Charlie Wilson—"What's good for women may be good for the country."

FSJ BOOKSHELF

FS Bibliography

AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE AUTHORS, by Richard Fyfe Boyce and Katherine Randall Boyce. Scarecrow Press, 1973.

THIS bibliography contains the first published works of American foreign service authors of which there are 760 including Benjamin Franklin, Clare Boothe Luce, Ellis O. Briggs, John Carter Vincent, just to name a few. Dedicated to the State Department and all who served abroad, it lists in alphabetical order the works of ambassadors and clerks and includes all authors who have served abroad in the family of foreign affairs agencies, until

recent years principally as members of the State Department. While it generally does not list the authors of magazine articles, essays, separate chapters of books, and other short works, it is a massive piece of research, a true labor of love. Compilation of the bibliography surely entailed a great deal of hard work and it should serve as the definitive source for those seeking out the flavor of the Foreign Service throughout the history of our Republic.

—GEORGE G. WYNNE

End of Tour Report

STAY OF EXECUTION: A SORT OF MEMOIR by Stewart Alsop. J. B. Lippincott, \$8.95.

STEWART ALSOP, as readers of his column in NEWSWEEK or of his brother Joseph's syndicated newspaper column will know, was taken seriously ill nearly three years ago with an infection of his blood and of his bone marrow. Physicians at Georgetown University and the National Institutes of Health concluded that he was suffering from an incurable cancer, from which it was most unlikely he would survive more than a year. As it turned out, however, the disease took a different course and Alsop, though evidently gravely ill, is still up and about much of the time. This book is his account of the experiences he has undergone since he fell ill and of his thoughts in this period—on his illness and on much else besides.

Alsop once thought of becoming an FSO. He has written widely on the Service and its problems, and there can be few senior and middle-grade officers who at one time or another have not had occasion to meet and talk with him in his travels abroad. But the interest which his memoir will have for its readers will only incidentally lie in its depiction of the career and thoughts of a man much involved in foreign affairs.

For the fact is that Stewart Alsop, in periods of great suffering, has written a work of quite extraordinary merit. It is both a profoundly moving account of his fight for life, and an artistically constructed portrayal of his family and professional life over the years. His brother Joseph sternly warned him against writing a book in his

"SATURDAY EVENING POST or NEWSWEEK style." It must be an important book, he said. And an important book it surely is, even if the author did not consciously seek to make it so.

Goethe somewhere remarked that, in the final analysis, only personality, or the personal element, is important. So it is that, as a reflection of an eminently attractive personality, the book is a magnificent success. It even compels its readers, in the end, to feel a measure of affection for his curmudgeonly brother Joseph. It certainly makes one pray fervently that the author's will to survive, and the skills of his physicians, may give him more time for further installments of his life story. For this story, as given to us in the present memoir, is unquestionably a work of lasting literary value, one which will be remembered long-after THE SATURDAY EVENING POST and NEWSWEEK are forgotten. All in all, it is a work of art, a triumphant achievement.

—THOMAS A. DONOVAN

PRC Terms

A CHINESE-ENGLISH DICTIONARY OF CHINESE COMMUNIST TERMINOLOGY, by Dennis J. Doolin and Charles P. Ridley. Hoover Institution Press, \$27.50.

THIS GLOSSARY of Chinese terminology is described by its authors as "intended for the reader or translator of current Chinese documents and . . . concerned primarily with words and phrases either coined or given new currency by the Chinese Communist Party and the Government of the People's Republic of China (PRC)." Despite some drawbacks, it is the only Chinese-English dictionary to concentrate on the innumerable post-1949 Chinese slogans and mass movements. As such, it is a welcome addition to reference works on modern China. It is worth hoping, in view of the high price, that it will ultimately come out in paperback.

Nevertheless, there are some disappointing aspects to this dictionary. PRC documents are now written entirely in modern, simplified characters, yet the book's

Chinese text is set in the old forms. No conversion table is provided; nor is there any kind of character index, other than a list of radicals, to make it easy for the reader to look up the Chinese phrases. It is strange also in a dictionary intended in part for student use that romanizations are given in Wade-Giles rather than the official PRC pinyin or another system widely employed as a teaching tool in the US, such as Yale. The compilers appear to have relied over heavily on JPRS sources for standard translations of terms; some of these are not the same as the PRC's standard rendition. Many omissions, and a few errors, might also have been avoided by comparison of the draft with the Zhōnggōng Shùyǔ Huiji, published in Taipei in 1971. These drawbacks, annoying as they are, do not, however, detract from the magnitude of the achievement represented by this dictionary of over 16,000 modern Chinese words and phrases, many of which have not previously appeared in an English-language reference work.

—C.W.F., JR.

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Balance Due or Refund:	23	If line 20 is larger than line 22, enter BALANCE DUE IRS	23	
	24	If line 22 is larger than line 20, enter amount OVERPAID	24	
	25	Amount of line 24 to be REFUNDED TO YOU	25	
	26	Amount of line 24 to be credited on 1974 estimated tax.	26	

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India's People

INFANT MORTALITY, POPULATION GROWTH AND FAMILY PLANNING IN INDIA, by S. Chandrasekhar. University of North Carolina Press, \$11.95.

THIS is a book of importance, both to the demographers and to the general reader. India has only 2.4 percent of the world's land area on which to support 14 percent of the world's population, and it does so with only 1.5 percent of the world's income. During the past decade some 11 million people have been added to its population each year. Current figures show a net of some 13 million annually, resulting from 21 million births and 8 million deaths, of which 2.5 million are infants under the age of one. Even greater problems lie ahead, because the 1961 census (data from the 1972 census is not yet out) showed that 47.9 percent of the population was in the 15-49 age bracket. Furthermore, marriage is almost universal because it is considered a quasi-religious duty which people enter into at an early age. (The mean age for females is now 16, and is rising only slowly.)

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Sterilization may have prevented a total of 12 million children and other methods an additional 3 to 4 million, but the family planning picture which the author presents is not bright, despite his expressed hope that "it should be possible to make a real dent in the nation's birth rate by 1975-76."

Author Chandrasekhar is a former Minister for Health and Family Planning, as well as the author of numerous books and studies of demography in Asia, so he knows his subject well. He does not spare his criticism of his countrymen for their generally poor hygienic treatment of mothers in childbirth, and that section of the book helps explain why India ranked third in infant mortality in 1965, after Egypt and Chile. What can be done about India's population growth? The author concludes that a "humanitarian" rather than a "neo-Malthusian" approach should be used, that is, India should concentrate on an improvement of maternal and child care so that people will be less inclined to have the large families many plan in order to have some offspring reach maturity. The book is filled with tables and charts, which are well done with the exception that those dealing with the causes of infant mortality in various cities of India would have been much more useful had the causes been listed in order of prevalence.

—ARCHIE M. BOLSTER

NATO in the Straits

THE TURKISH STRAITS AND NATO, by Ferenc A. Vali. Hoover, \$9.50.

KEY chokepoint in the USSR's drive southward in the Middle East, the Turkish Straits are at the same time vital to the survival of modern Turkey as an independent and sovereign state. The Straits are therefore also of major importance to the defense of NATO. Professor Vali's book examines the Straits problem for the historical, political, strategic, and legal viewpoints, omitting, as far as can be seen, little of importance. This is—except for two or three editorial lapses—a workmanlike effort which should be of interest to the concerned general reader as well as the diplomat, both for orientation and reference. There is an extensive documentary appendix.

—CHARLES W. KOBURGER, JR.

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REQUIEM FOR A FOREIGN SERVICE DOG

WILLIAM A. KRAUSS

HUGO died on Tuesday night, a little past half-past seven, in the Saint-Germain Clinique of Paris, in the rue Vaneau. He was 17 years and eight days old.

What killed him was a massive stroke, a violent cerebral hemorrhage that knocked him spinning into instant and, it seemed, complete unconsciousness. Surely he never knew what hit him.

Up to the Tuesday he hadn't actually been ill, though for a few days less than really first-class—dopey, and rather off his food. We had thought this a weariness, result of the long drive up the road from Spain a couple of



—Gina Capparuccini and Hugo, Roman wall, somewhere in Tunisia.

weeks before, through Carcassonne and the Dordogne, bone-shaking enough for people, no less for an old dog. But Tuesday morning about ten came the trouble signal—abrupt high fever and agitation; and we drove him to the clinic where Dr. Thuillier read the signs: a mild stroke, probably not the first.

The vet loaded him with shots, fore and aft; and, back home, the old dog bucked up, ate a dandy lunch, dozed through much of the afternoon. At seven Gina put him into the garden for a hike about. Then he ambled into the kitchen to sniff at his bowl on the off-chance there might be a left-over tidbit. It was just then and there (said Gina who stood beside him) that the blow descended.

We got him round fast to the clinic. There was nothing, nothing at all, for the doctor to do, save for the shots to ease the unconscious body, to relax the muscles. Death came with friendly care—after minutes, the doctor

William A. Krauss is a retired FSO of USIA and now Paris editor of American Express Publishing Company's magazine, TRAVEL AND LEISURE.

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looked up. "He's sleeping," he said. We could see that he was, quietly now and forever. He had been alive; he was now dead. So we pulled the blanket up over the grey and wrinkled old dog-face and said *good-night Hugo* to him, and went home.

If there were an obituary to be written, it would record that Hugo was born a von Beethoven in Sao Paulo, Brazil, those 17 years ago. The German kennels people were rather Ciceronian about the von Beethoven strain, whatever this really meant. Why we Christian-named him Hugo we have forgotten; we added Blandori to his von Beethoven in honor of a dear (and now also dead) old friend in Haiti. Thus the export clearance certificate read Hugo von Beethoven Blandori as we sailed months later out of Rio de Janeiro for Guatemala via New Orleans.

Most of his sons (we tried hard to keep track) were born in Guatemala; there are two we know of in North Africa and some we don't know of in the West Indies. Like any Foreign Service dog—though maybe more than most because of the 17 years—Hugo saw a lot of the world and liked all of it very much. He derived great pleasure from the flippancy of watering in London's Grosvenor Square; he loved picnicking on lawns beside the Seine. Tunisian lizards gave him a great boot. But if a guess had to be made, probably he enjoyed himself most of all through his four years in Marseille—a great big beautiful house to race about in, a good garden rich with rodent flavors, a pool to fall into at whim, loving Spanish servants to slip him a nugget of paella behind the kitchen door. It was during that Marseille time, in an issue of HOLIDAY magazine, that old friend Caskie Stinnett, HOLIDAY editor, wrote a front-of-the-book paragraph

about Hugo. Lamenting the mostly desk-bound lives of men and travel writers, the piece expressed envy of itinerant Hugo von Beethoven Blandori, "perhaps the only dachshund on record who's swum in the South Atlantic, the Pacific, the Caribbean, the Mediterranean, the Hudson River, the Seine, the Rhone, and Lake Amatitlan in the mountains of Indian Guatemala."

Next to swimming (or just bottoms-up into any kind of water, fresh or salt, clean or dirty), Hugo best loved playing nurse. His dear friend Gina—Gina Capparuccini, who has been with us as cook and maid and close family member all the years from London to the present—Gina was always a pushover for a corner of cold-night bed; but it was *illness* in the house, our house or anybody's house, that Hugo most delighted to see. Then, rude as a goat and twice as aggressive, wearing his blandest look of feigned respectability, he'd shoulder himself right in under the blankets with the patient, like some lecherous old bedpan orderly. As Mexico's Bob McBride remembers—and Clinton Green of Mayfair—it was worth a wrist to try dislodging Hugo from a sickbed. Even better than eggs and bacon he relished Vicks and a fevered armpit. He saw himself as nature's remedy, and crowded the invalid like a 40-pound hot-water bottle.

As for Gina, he hated and despised the month she went away each year for Adriatic vacation, and sat by the front door complaining. He would have been sick and inconsolable beyond any words if she had stayed away for very long—or forever. It works both ways. He has gone and left Gina inconsolable. She can't believe.

Neither can we, really. You know: Brazil to Paris, seventeen years of dog around the house. ■

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from page 13

travel vouchers pass through her bank account, thus appearing on her desk, if not her future resumé, as part of her tangible "worth" to her Government.

If funds for home representation go to the wife, she can then choose whether to hire a cook or do (for a self-paid fee) the cooking, herself. Even if paid only \$6 an hour, and even if there were an annual limit of \$100 for such pay, she could later list herself as having earned at the rate of \$12,000 a year. She would, moreover, be able to apply for Social Security. (In the Congressional hopper currently is a bill to extend Social Security to all housewives.)

Similarly, some rebel wives would like to turn another of Mrs. Sherer's ideas around: this is her suggestion that the "D" wife go back to being included in her husband's rating report. In the rebels' view, every wife, not just the "D" type, should have, if she wishes it, a folder of her own to help her in finding future work.

When computerly possible, this could become a factor in his reassignments. In her folder would be listed her skills and rank in regard to these. From all the folders would come a master list for *The Spice Corps* (if the plural of mouse is mice, the plural of spouse can be spice).* With many a female Foreign Service officer going overseas, her husband, if not a fellow FSO or otherwise employed, could join the Corps. Volunteer skills would be included. Since the folder would be for the advancement of the spouse, she (or he) could solicit letters of commendation from the ambassador or someone designated by him/her. If the spouse works for a charity, she (or he) can insist on being rated by its supervisor. The Civil Service Commission, prodded by women's groups, has now revised its forms so that paid and unpaid work are supposed to be given equal attention.

In each embassy some jobs could be reserved for Spice, espe-

cially those that could be part-day, part-week, or part-year:

- Consular assistant to aid in peak visa seasons
- Travel assistant to make reservations, cut travel-orders
- Library assistant for United States Information Service
- Protocol assistant to escort visiting VIPs
- Personnel counselor, helping to place Spice in educational slots, volunteer or paid jobs within or without the embassy
- Doctor or nurse for the Mission Assistant in the Administrative Section to assure orientation of newcomers, to co-ordinate repairs, etc.
- Ambassadorial aide
- Language teacher (this is already done in many posts)

Jobs would be assigned to qualified Spice on a first-come first-get basis, not, as has currently happened, by the rank of the spouse's spouse. Considerable savings to the Government would derive from no longer paying transportation and other benefits to outside persons to fill these slots. Such savings might be used to increase rep-

*The germ of the Spice Corps idea appears in a memo from Mr. Brian Bell, then Chief Information Officer in Karachi, October 26, 1965.

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resentation allowances to a realistic level. There might on some posts be a spousely catering service to be used by bachelor FSOs, female as well as male, and by the two FSO-couples, of which there are now 60.

In still other ways, say the rebels, the State Department could make greater efforts to avoid institutional sexism. ID cards, for example, have not, for budgetary reasons, been issued to wives in Washington. The wife, therefore, must phone her husband's office from the Guard's desk each time she wishes to go upstairs. And males could cease addressing the wives as "girls." Some medical officers could profit from sensitivity training—or demotion. One modest brand-new wife scheduled for overseas had her appointment with the Department doctor directly after her six-week postpartum check-up by her own obstetrician. When the Department doctor told her to strip for a routine pelvic exam, she explained she had just come from having one and been given a clean bill of health. She tried to persuade him to phone her

doctor. She offered to get written confirmation from her doctor. No dice. Up on the stirrups again for her.

"To the State Department doctors the wife is only a body," says a rebel. "My feeling during the whole process was that they didn't even want to find anything wrong. They just wanted to clear me for my husband's duty overseas. Those are the kinds of things that make you feel you just don't matter."

On the other hand, some rebel wives have also fallen into habits that unnecessarily jar the other side, such as rattling people's preconceptions. When the people have chosen thus to be "encountered," the result may be a greater "openness." But when they have not, the result may be a greater defensiveness. In the *Foreign Service JOURNAL*, September, 1971, for example, a liberationist wife flatly stated that "it is really impossible to live through another human being (and unhealthy to try)."

The writer did not intend cruelty to the older women who, for years, have lived through their husbands,

any more than *they* intend cruelty when they typically tell the liberationist, "You should never have married into the Service . . ."

Perhaps if both sides could desymbolize, and thus cool, some of the issues, their honest differences might evolve into being a plus rather than a minus. Both, after all, represent a land where the vaunted melting pot has ended up providing, not a smooth cream of tomato, but a chowder with recognizable chunks of clam and potato. The diversity among American women can be used as a symbol of democracy at work.

At each post the Americans of both sexes might get together and decide which foot to put first. In a monarchy, such as Ethiopia, the traditional manner might be stressed. In an Iron Curtain country where there is equality for women at least in the blueprints, if not in the kitchens, the liberated manner might be stressed.

Indeed, since diversity is a given in today's turbulent America why *not* be diplomatic about it? ■

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**COMMUNICATION RE:
THEY HAVE MOSES**

from page 6

tently and obviously futile objectives but frankly, this has occurred oftentimes because of what may be termed the exigencies of a modern form of dollar diplomacy. Theories abound as to why only some families and tribes succeed, so isn't it a little absurd to expect AID to have hard intelligence as to why countries succeed or do not in Mr. Turpin's absolute terms? These are imponderables which should be easily digested and accepted by most people, except for the most patient and erudite economists who would still disagree one way or another. This is true especially concerning what passes for numerical statistics in or concerning LDCs. If LDCs have sophisticated economic measurement techniques they would probably not need AID. Precision, no matter how desirable, in any type of economic reporting is too much to be hoped for in these cases. Moreover, does Mr. Turpin mean to say that the lack of precision in economic statistics precludes any alleviation of critical economic or social problems? Again, weaknesses and absolute farces in economic reporting are "de rigueur" for AID. This is part of the struggle.

Country strategies with regard to AID activities are not unilaterally determined. They invariably reflect those of the Department of State acting on behalf of the area or sector in consideration. Mr. Turpin's call to men of good will where this bilateral policy thrust has gone awry, must be considered in that light and in the light, moreover, of congressional and administration

mandates which obtain. In this area, Mr. Turpin's points are directed at the wrong objective. Mr. Turpin assigns to AID statutory objectives far more than what is required. Thus far, this area of extrastatutory historical analysis has been the prerogative of the revisionist historians and it is expected that AID is and will be one of the most fertile fields for revisionist historians.

AID personnel are charged by Mr. Turpin with an utter lack of the basic convictions necessary to the accomplishment of their employing Agency's objectives. It is here that polite cynicism begins to run rampant in the reader as he is led on by Mr. Turpin. Here we encounter Turpin's basic weakness. A simple scanning of the lines such as that ending in, "have really a clue to what they were doing," reveals the openly didactic nature of this portion of his article. The charge is unbelievable and a near slander. Here is where Turpin invites either direct official refutations of his charge, or a commonsense denial on the part of the entire foreign service.

Mr. Turpin wishes to ascribe to AID, one really wonders why, the most omniscient powers of analysis to convince not only himself, but the body politic as to why AID did or did not do certain things. Isn't this rather naive for a "house journal?"

At another point Mr. Turpin seems to be attacking the efforts of non-direct hire personnel such as those working under university type contracts, and a host of others. Why isn't he more specific or is he afraid of these AID funded independent organizations who operate either on an AID direct contract or an AID funded contract? One could hazard a guess that Mr.

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Turpin doesn't want to tangle with these behemoths of American education and perhaps many people do view these organizations in their overseas manifestations as sacrosanct. If selected American universities are not capable of understanding and working on a problem in an overseas context who is? Again Mr. Turpin becomes hysterical and says the problem is not getting the attention of "completely organized people." This charge and the one that follows are irrefutable in that they are written in a crescendo of hysteria when he decides that the economic goals of LDCs are squared circles and mutually exclusive intact omelets. Sure, they want a lot for nothing. That's a healthy attitude, unless Mr. Turpin is equating that attitude with that of the know-nothing populist bushwhackers who think AID should go only to honest poor countries who will love America.

The problem of LDC's pirating American overseas investment by expropriatory nationalization is not AID's problem. This is concessional diplomacy (we hope) where by overlooking these acts of piracy, the US gains huge and esoteric gains. True, one wonders what our political colleagues over in the Embassy are doing.

The truculence and overbearing attitude of many LDCs is a political cross to bear but it has nothing to do with AID unless we are going to require AID recipients to sign a pledge of political placidity. The conclusion of Mr. Turpin's article is like the tail of a monster in a medieval bestiary, and not in keeping with the specific attack on AID except for the general tone of despair over the tomfoolery of AID recipient countries. It is partly because LDCs are like this that AID exists.

POEMS: MONTEVIDEO, 1963

*Apothecaries, bring me alicorn,
Somniferous or smooth emulcent drugs,
Sweet balsam, soothing syrups
To kill these caterpillars chewing leaves
Off what the Spanish call the Respiratory Tree.
You're just run down, the doctor said.
I'm ridden down by hacks and hoarse-drawn hearses.
All my croaking curses
Take you, tracheitis!*

Pope John XXIII

*He bustled his bulkiness all over Rome,
Saw prisoners, Presidents, Protestants, priests -
We felt that His Holiness felt quite at home
With the flock of humanity, strange, balky beasts.
The bait of his goodness brought sinners in shoals,
He guided men gently to hope once again;
This sharp-eyed old peasant, a shepherd of souls,
In the Fisherman's following, a fisher of men.*

*We multiply mad names upon this child,
This constant job and joy,
This lob, hobgoblin Puck, a piece of lovely luck,
My son, my diddle dumpling John.*

*i Bandido, pícaro, marrano! cries Mercedes,
Gallega giggling, teasing sneezing John.
She has a sugar lisp, a Spanish soul,
This maid named for Our Lady of the Mercies.
Lady, and Lord my God, love the small rascal.
Give him, adopted in the Triple Name,
Gaiety and grace and mercy at his most need.
¡Gracias a Dios por todas sus mercedes!*

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Middle East Policy

■ I recently re-read the "Communication Re the Near East" by Lee F. Dinsmore which appeared in the JOURNAL for September, 1973. What a poignant and telling document this is and how prophetic! Every loyal American can only regret that the apprehension among Foreign Service experts over our Middle East policy was bottled up by powerful counter forces and bureaucratic inertia.

It is saddening to me that the courage and zeal shown by a group of highly motivated Foreign Service personnel in the case of Cambodia—when they were intrepid enough to sign a protest—were not matched in the field of Middle East policy. It has been said that one day, sooner or later, there will be an investigation of our Middle East policies which will make the earlier scrutiny of our China policy seem only a timid exercise.

The volume which recently appeared for 1947 in the Foreign Relations series devoted to developments in the Middle East during that year should be required reading in this connection.

EDWARD G. TRUEBLOOD
FSO—retired

Tucson

For the Record

■ Having learned of the matter only last week, I am writing now to ask you to publish this letter in regard to the use of my name by a candidate for President of AFSA, John D. Hemenway, in a 450 word campaign statement which appeared in the December FSJ.

Under the rubric "What they say about Hemenway" there followed: "Ambassador J. Graham Parsons: (Sworn testimony of an FSO, dated January 1969): The trouble with Hemenway is that he can't be bought off."

The facts, as shown in the record of the Grievance Board hearing, are that I was approached by the unnamed FSO after Mr. Hemenway told him of my connection with Hemenway's case. The FSO suggested the desirability of Mr. Hemenway being given a job by

the Department until he could retire with an immediate annuity. It was in that context that I was alleged to have said that he could not be "bought off." Then, according to the FSO's testimony, he objected to the use of this term to describe his suggestion. He also acknowledged under oath that he reported his conversation with me and my fellow Inspector to Mr. Hemenway but that he had not known for two years that Mr. Hemenway had written a memcon about it. When asked if he agreed that the memcon was substantially accurate in all its details, he testified: "That is correct—substantially."

As Mr. Hemenway used my name in a way that could be read to imply that I had advocated buying him off, I would like to point out:

1) The words attributed to me were written by Mr. Hemenway.

2) He was not present at the conversation which he thus recorded—without telling his informant he had done so.

3) The informant testified that he himself did not make memcons of this or certain other conversations he related to Mr. Hemenway.

4) The suggestion for buying off or avoiding trouble with Mr. Hemenway, whatever, was made to me, not by me.

5) All this is in the record and does not depend on my memory of what occurred five years ago.

J. GRAHAM PARSONS
Retired Ambassador

Stockbridge, Mass.

Dissent

■ I do not agree with your editorial (December 1973) that Dr. Kissinger "Well Deserved" the Nobel Peace Prize or at least a share of it.

In Vietnam, Dr. Kissinger was only doing what the American people had demanded years before. At that point in time, to use terminology of the day, the Nixon administration—with Kissinger as agent—was reluctantly, draggingly, even bitterly accepting the will of a divided, frustrated, and angry people as it had been manifest in Lyndon Johnson's abdication, in Nixon's first election with its secret plan to end the war, in countless anti-war demonstrations, draft evasions and card burnings, in Kent State and so forth on and on.

Even Nixon's second and briefly triumphant term, if it comes to that, is a product of this public pressure. I also recall that in the midst of Kissinger's Nobel rewarded activities, we subjected Cambodia to the most intensive bombardment—so they say—in the history of warfare and I shall never know why.

Kissinger's skills are real and many and I do not detract from them when I say that in the Vietnam phase of his career he was simply the bureaucrat, responding to public pressures built up over the years demanding an end to a war we never should have entered and which we could not win. So, I am not "delighted," as is the FSJ editorialist, nor "a bit proud" at Kissinger's selection. Neither he nor we as a people deserve any prize for Vietnam.

JORMA L. KAUKONEN
San Francisco

Lunch for Which Ambassador?

■ It might amuse you that I've had to date ten or a dozen letters from people in Washington, London, Rome, Lisbon, Port-au-Prince, Rio saying (in effect) that they'd very cleverly pierced the thin disguise, I'd laid upon the Ambassador—couldn't fool them, they recognized him, they knew who I was writing about.

Flaw is, of course, that they're thinking about ten or a dozen different people.

WILLIAM A. KRAUSS
Paris

Help on Research

■ For some months past I have been engaged in researching the genealogy and career of Ellwood Wilson III, born in Philadelphia February 16, 1872. He died on May 24, 1952 after an outstanding career as an innovative forest engineer in both Canada and the United States.

I have a great deal of information about him, but I am very short on data about his father, Ellwood Wilson Jr. I gather that he was born in 1849, was married to Emily Vaux Truefitt in the Church of the Atonement, Philadelphia, had a law office and conservatory in the basement of his home at 1112 Walnut Street, represented Peter Wright & Sons in the Admiralty Court, was a partner with Gal-

braith Ward, was Clerk of the Court of Delaware County, and was American Consul in Munich, Germany during the early part of World War I.

Since none of these items have been verified, I am trying to find new sources both to verify and to expand my present thin knowledge of Ellwood Wilson Jr.

K. G. FENSOM
P. O. Box 35072, Postal Sta. I
Vancouver 13, B.C., Canada

Report from Iowa

■ As Your-Man-In-Iowa (yours and the JOURNAL's), I beg to report that Representative H.R. Gross, septuagenarian scourge of those begging for representation funds for the Foreign Service, will not run again for Congress. However, the Des Moines REGISTER on January 14, 1974, reports that he's going to run for the Presidency. It suggests that his reforms would include: "Visiting heads of state would be put up at the local Ramada Inn—at their own expense. And state dinners would be held in the Old Executive Office Building's cafeteria."

As of now—at this time—the situation is fluid. And we can all drink to that.

ROBERT W. RINDEN
Oskaloosa

The "D" is for the FSO

■ Perhaps some of the misunderstandings about the theory and practice of the Sherer Plan have been due to the illustration which accompanied my article in the October JOURNAL. It shows a female figure, a wife I guess, laden with children and wearing a large "D" around her neck. It illustrates exactly the opposite of the intended picture of a plan subscriber. In other words, if the central figure were a man the illustration would make sense.

As we all know, no one has ever asked Foreign Service wives to declare themselves and probably they will never do so unless, as some people suggest, Congress is ultimately persuaded to appropriate fee funds for those who choose to participate in Embassy life.

CARROLL R. SHERER
Washington

A Memory of Ambassador Bohlen

May I take the opportunity to contribute a word in memory of Ambassador Charles Bohlen, in this forum where he surely was best known and uniquely appreciated?

The Bohlen career, character and contribution to the national foreign policy interest, during a most critical era, have been widely acclaimed and earned for him universal honor and respect. But many of us in the Foreign Service who had personal contact with Chip Bohlen through course of official duty, even briefly as in my own case, also knew him for a fair, forthright, honest, just and warm human being.

The point was indelibly made for me one day early in the Eisenhower-Dulles era and the Scott McLeod-McCarthy reign of terror in the Department, in chance personal encounters outside the East entrance of New State with Charles Bohlen and Douglas MacArthur II.

Chip's appointment as Ambassador to Moscow was being held up from Senate confirmation by the Joe McCarthy witch-hunters. Doug's nomination as Ambassador to Tokyo, of course, had smooth sailing in all quarters. Reuben Thomas, just cleared of McCarthyesque phony charges, had been re-assigned (Manila) but, like hundreds of others caught up in the McLeod numbers game, suddenly was under "Security" suspicion, again, the assignment cancelled and the charges expanded and renewed.

Thanks to the personal intervention of the President, Chip eventu-

ally was confirmed. Thanks to being relatively a nobody, the fate of Reuben Thomas hung in the balance for more than a year, like dozens of others, before being cleared completely for assignment abroad.

While at London (1950-51), my NATO-related duties involved extensive travel to NATO capitals, during which I came to know and to be known by both Bohlen and MacArthur, then at important embassies there. Now both remembered the circumstances and obviously understood my great problem well. Chip expressed understanding, warm sympathy, regrets that he was not in a position to help, and said, in effect, hang in there, clear your name and good luck. Doug volunteered the exact opposite; frankly, he said, the McLeod program would make no exceptions in such cases, and McLeod had the power; Doug was sympathetic, he was sorry, but he implied definitely that I might as well quit and seek other employment.

Chip Bohlen's encouragement that day, probably more than any other single factor, led me to hang on, despite the agony of what amounted to sheer persecution, a wrecked career, permanent exile to relatively undesirable or insignificant posts and early retirement. At least my record had been cleared, vindicated and my honorable retirement assured. (In fairness, Scott McLeod, at the last, personally apologized for the damage he had done; but Chip Bohlen's kindness that day at New State is the more cherished memory.)

REUBEN R. THOMAS
FSSO-retired
Fayetteville, Ark.





THIS MONTH IN WASHINGTON

By Rick Williamson

Nobody is perfect, but some people seem to have a capacity for making mistakes on a grander scale than others. So it is with government agencies, and the Foreign Affairs Agencies are no exception. As you may know, words often speak louder than action in Washington, and some time back one government agency with a particularly dismal equal opportunity record (not one of ours) began putting "AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER" on all of their envelopes. The idea caught on and soon almost all agencies were putting that statement on their envelopes whether it was true or not. Recently, one of our members brought us an envelope which one of the Foreign Affairs Agencies had had printed up in TWO MILLION COPIES which read "AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER." Our first inclination was that this was a charming typographical error, albeit on a grand scale. But later we began to wonder whether it might not be a Freudian slip. After all, before we were certified as exclusive representative, that is what State, AID and USIA had been telling Foreign Service personnel for years: If you don't like something, you can always "opt out."

The only reason for mentioning this is that nowadays there are several alternatives to opting-out (or being selected out) because you don't like something. We think AFSA is the most important of these alternatives, and employees' suggestions have resulted directly in our getting some things changed in recent months. But if you don't like something which is a substantive foreign policy problem, we aren't the right organization to deal with. Six years ago, Secretary Rusk established the Secretary's Open Forum Panel as a new chan-

nel to bring foreign policy alternatives to his attention and the attention of other high-level policy makers. That mandate was extended by Secretary Rogers and Secretary Kissinger. This year, for the first time, the Chairperson of the OFP has been made a full time position in S/P for six months, as an experiment in further strengthening this unique approach to fostering creativity and dissent in the Foreign Affairs Agencies. If you have ideas on new or alternative approaches to substantive foreign policy questions, and they are not the kinds of ideas which can readily be sent through the normal channels, we suggest you send them to Sandra Vogelgesang, Chairperson, The Secretary's Open Forum Panel, c/o S/P, Room 7310 NS, State ext. 28790.

New Employee Benefits

As we mentioned in our editorials, the major events this month were our second meeting with the Secretary, and our actions with the press and Congress to defend the integrity of Foreign Service people. The other major achievement was finally reaching agreement in principle on several members' interest items. Our experience with the last batch of members' interest items on which agreement in principle was reached last August demonstrated that inordinate periods of time can elapse between agreement in principle and implementation. For this reason, don't count on actually receiving these new benefits until formal notification of the changes is received through official channels. Nonetheless, we are pleased that progress has been made on a number of these issues. In particular, the Department has agreed in principle to:

(1) A substantial liberalization in the Supplementary Post Allowance, which will permit payment of the allowance to all family mem-

bers. Once implemented, this should make transition to life at a new post substantially less costly.

(2) Undertake a thoroughgoing study of the wardrobe section of the Foreign Transfer Allowance. We had indicated that the allowances for inter-zonal transfers were woefully inadequate. Following the study, the Department has indicated that it intends to include this question in funding requests for FY-76.

(3) A substantial liberalization in Educational Travel, reducing the period dependent children must spend at post while on educational travel from 45 days to 21 days.

(4) A major increase of roughly 50 percent in the maximum payments for certain categories of property on which there are claims of property losses. AFSA had argued that since the overall maximum payment had been increased, and in light of substantial inflation, the subcategory limits should also be raised. The Department also agreed to circularize information notifying employees of the provision of the regulations which permits advanced payment of claims in cases involving substantial personal hardship.

(5) Shipment of layettes. The Department had already agreed last August in principle to shipment of American-style layettes for newly-born children when these were unavailable locally. We disagreed, however, on the exact amount of the allowance. We have now settled on 160 lbs.

Once these new benefits are actually implemented, they could mean real savings for you. But as we said, don't spend the savings yet; actual implementation may be some time in coming. Reduction of the "deductible" on R & R travel, on which agreement in principle was reached last August, still has not been implemented. Such a delay is unconscionable, and we pointed this fact out to the Secre-

tary as an indication of the Department failing to implement commitments made to us.

New Approach on Diplomatic Titles

This month in State, we concluded an agreement with the Department concerning changes in the correlation between diplomatic titles and an individual's rank. A number of new Minister-Counselor and Counselor titles will be granted, and all FSO-4s will move up from Second Secretary to First Secretary. AFSA had been concerned that Foreign Service personnel were being impeded in the performance of their functions abroad because they were given titles considerably below those granted personnel of corresponding age and responsibility from other embassies. Unfortunately, in a title-conscious world, it makes a real difference whether you are a First Secretary or a Second Secretary, a Minister-Counselor or just a Counselor. A fairly significant number of personnel in all three Agencies will have their titles upgraded as a result of this agreement. We also began preliminary negotiations on bringing the Department's selection out procedures into line with Judge Gesell's ruling, and began negotiations on the Staff Review Panel Precepts (for S-7s and 8s).

Dispute With USIA On Promotion Safeguards

In USIA, we ran into serious difficulties over our attempts to negotiate an agreement concerning safeguards for the promotion system, which would have precluded any possibility, hypothetical or actual, for management to change the promotion lists. USIA management refused to accord to USIA Foreign Service personnel the same basic rights which were already granted Foreign Service personnel in State through a binding agreement between the Department and AFSA. AFSA was prepared to see the agreement tailored to any special circumstances in USIA, but was not prepared to compromise on basic employee rights. Accordingly, we took the issue to the Board of the Foreign Service, requesting the Board to certify the issue to the Disputes Panel as a matter of some urgency. We pointed out that the selection

boards in USIA were already meeting, and that it was essential for this matter to be resolved for this year's promotions. USIA management, however, argued that the issue was not a "substantive question" and thus outside the Board's jurisdiction. This had the effect of further delaying speedy resolution of the dispute. Fortunately, the Executive Secretary of the Board did not accept USIA's arguments, and recommended to the Board that it refer the matter to the Disputes Panel. We were naturally pleased to win this preliminary round, and we expect that the Disputes Panel will be equally sympathetic to our position on this vital issue.

AID Negotiations

In AID, we began making real progress in the negotiations on the new personnel handbook and on establishing a policy which would require an early decision, after perhaps three years in the Service, on whether employees with time-limited appointments should be terminated or converted to career status. We hope to be able to wrap up these two issues next month. The policy on time-limited appointments is certainly long overdue. We also took the opportunity this month to indicate to the Secretary and to AID management our profound dissatisfaction with the way the employee-management relations system was evolving in AID.

A Letter to the Press

The following letter was sent to the editors of the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *Newsweek Magazine*, *Time Magazine*, *US News & World Report*, *Potomac Magazine* and the *Los Angeles Times*, on January 30. Excerpts from the open letter from the AFSA Chapter in Santiago follow.

As you know there have been allegations in the press that the US Embassy in Santiago, Chile, failed to give adequate protection to American citizens during the recent coup. On behalf of the 11,000 men and women of the Foreign Service of the United States that AFSA represents, we believe these allegations are both false and extremely unfair. As a consequence of these allegations, competent, dedicated

Foreign Service personnel have had their reputations besmirched, in spite of the fact that the real circumstances were the opposite of the allegations—the individuals involved did far more than their duty required and deserve approbation not criticism for their actions.

We are aware that most of these allegations have come from the distraught relatives of American citizens who tragically lost their lives in the aftermath of the coup. For these family members naturally no amount of action on the part of American Embassy personnel can compensate for their loss. Nevertheless reliance on their grief-distorted interpretation of the actual events gives an inaccurate picture of what actually took place. We strongly believe the other side of the story should be told.

I have enclosed for your information an open letter from our AFSA chapter in Santiago which explains the circumstances in greater detail and balances the record in fairness to all concerned.

Sincerely yours,
Thomas D. Boyatt
President

An Open Letter to the Media and the Congress from the AFSA Chapter in Santiago, Chile

There have been several press stories and letters to various members of Congress which have appeared recently in the US media accusing Foreign Service officer Frederick D. Purdy, the US Consul in Santiago, and his staff of failure to fulfill their duties in protecting US citizens in Chile in the days following the military coup d'etat which occurred here September 11, 1973. Most, but not all, of these accusations are related to the lamentable deaths of US citizens Frank Teruggi and Charles Horman. . . .

During the period following the coup, consular officers were involved in protection efforts on behalf of the entire American citizen community in Chile, numbering somewhere between 2,200 and 2,800 persons. In the process, Embassy personnel checked on the welfare of over 600 American citizens and reported to relatives or friends in the United States. They were instrumental in securing the release of 17 American citizens detained by Chilean authorities, and obtained safe-conduct passes and helped arrange transportation for more than 40 American citizens who otherwise might have been unable to leave Chile. This was accomplished in the midst of street violence and Chilean administrative disorganization, and with efforts impeded by the lack of diplomatic relations with the new government, difficulties in communication, a strict curfew, and severe

military restrictions on personal movement and activity. . . .

We were present during those confused and hectic days following September 11, and are fully aware of the untiring labor, often involving personal risk, gladly undertaken by Fred Purdy, members of the Consular Section, and other Embassy personnel to help American citizens experiencing difficulties. . . .

AFSA Santiago therefore feels that it must speak out to defend the good names and integrity of public servants who behaved in an entirely professional manner. We reject the innuendos and the thrust of the charges which have been made and deplore the methods used—i.e., the individuals attacked had no way to defend themselves directly. Those who are fully informed of the performance in a wide range of activities of this Embassy at the time of the coup are aware of the outstanding job which was done. Many Americans have expressed their admiration and appreciation for assistance they received. Unfortunately, these generally go unnoticed while sensational (although in this case false) accusations of misconduct get public attention. With this letter, unanimously approved by the voting membership of AFSA Santiago, we hope to do something about setting the record straight.

Samuel F. Hart
(President)

John B. Tipton
(President-Elect)

Dear Mr. Boyatt:

Thank you for your letter of January 25, setting the record straight on allegations that the personnel of the US Embassy in Santiago, Chile, failed to give adequate protection to American citizens during the recent coup that ousted President Salvador Allende.

The "open letter" you enclosed with your correspondence was very informative. No doubt the personnel of the Embassy have been mistakenly criticized for failing to offer enough protection for our citizens during that troubled time.

Upon further investigation, I learned that some of the Embassy staff had taken people believed to be in danger into their own homes, an act which I think is commendable. I also understand that others were taken into the Embassy itself for a period of time.

What worries me is the kind of contingency plan that our Embassy had developed to take care of just this sort of crisis. The deaths of Frank Teruggi and Charles Horman, and the mistreatment of various others seems to point out that there was something seriously wrong, and that we had done little of a formal or planned nature to anticipate the problem.

I am pleased, however, that your organization has concerned itself with clarifying the point that the personnel of the American Embassy did everything within their power to help our citizens in Chile during the coup, and I hope you can put any confusion about the actions of any individual to rest promptly.

Yours sincerely,
Michael J. Harrington

SUPER-CHAPTER: AFSA/SANTIAGO

For several years now, one of the Association's most active and effective Chapters has been AFSA/Santiago. The chapter just held elections, and effective January 1974 John Tipton has replaced Samuel Hart as Chapter President. Vice President will be Gladys Lujan, and Secretary-Treasurer will be Norma Price. For a post its size, AFSA/Santiago has perhaps the highest percentage of members of any Chapter: of 43 prospective AFSA members, 39 actually belong to the Association.

Upon leaving after two highly successful years as Chapter President, Mr. Hart came up with the following list of accomplishments since the founding of the Chapter in late 1971:

(a) The office hours were changed to reflect employee wishes;

(b) The duty officer list was expanded;

(c) Persons detailed to meet the courier are now paid overtime;

(d) USIS inspection reports down here were made available to the personnel concerned;

(e) Arrangements were made to reduce the number of NIACT messages which communicators had to service during this dangerous time while a curfew is in effect in Santiago;

(f) A group automobile insurance policy for Embassy Santiago was revived;

(g) A simplified checkout procedure was established;

(h) The Commissary Board was changed from appointed to elected and AFSA members took over all Board positions;

(i) A partial APO was established;

(j) Meetings were held to attempt to improve the quality of the international school;

(k) Liaison was established with other agencies at this post not elig-

ible for AFSA participation;

(l) A request to designate Santiago as an R&R travel post was submitted to management;

(m) AFSA Santiago's suggestion on elimination of secret personnel files was adopted by Washington and some progress has been made;

(n) We have reacted to AFSA Washington's request for our views on selection out, personnel policy, and efficiency reports;

(o) We have taken a public stand defending members of this Mission against false charges in the US press and Congress;

(p) We have pushed AFSA Washington to push AID to restore ship travel;

(q) We have established our bona fides with management so that we are now consulted on most decisions affecting working conditions, etc.

Naturally, such a substantial list of accomplishments is only possible through the work of many AFSA members volunteering their time and energies on behalf of the Association. AFSA/Santiago deserves a round of applause for a job especially well done.

MARYLAND STATE INCOME TAXES Appeals Against Unfavorable Domicile Decisions

We have previously advised Foreign Service employees residing in Maryland during a Washington assignment who do not consider themselves legally domiciled in Maryland to make sure they can demonstrate legal domicile in another state, and to engage in no activities which would tend to make them legal residents of Maryland. When an employee in the category just described departs Maryland for an overseas assignment, the Maryland State Comptroller's office will sometimes send him or her a "Domicile Questionnaire." This form is sent when the Comptroller's office feels there may be some doubt about the employee's claim to non-domicile in Maryland. After reviewing the form, the Comptroller's office may issue a formal opinion that the employee is legally domiciled in Maryland, and therefore subject to state income taxes even while residing abroad.

The letter conveying the opinion

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HOME EXCHANGE

ATTORNEY, ex-FSO, desires exchange California house, pool, car for house/apt. Europe 4-6 weeks summer. John Black, 1646 Irvine, Newport Beach.

TOURS

EX-F.S. WIFE, experienced tour guide/coordinator, can arrange private/group tours. Details —Ursula Paolozzi, 57 av. Domaine du Piol, 06000 Nice, France.

EDUCATION

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The Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center welcomes your inquiries. A continuation of the services available for 15 years by AFSA's Consultant in Education and Youth Concerns, sponsored by AAFSW and AFSA with additional expanded activities. Write FSECC, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037 or call (202) 338-4045.

ENTERTAINMENT

Have your next affair, foreign or domestic, at the FOREIGN SERVICE CLUB. Open every weekday for luncheon, special rooms available on reservation for private parties. Inquiries invited for cocktail parties, dinner parties, receptions, etc. Phone 338-5730.

will inform the employee that an appeal may be filed with the Maryland Tax Court in Baltimore. People who receive such letters are usually discouraged by the idea of appealing to the Tax Court because they feel extraordinary expenses will result. AFSA would like to point out that the Maryland Tax Court is an administrative rather than a judicial body. Appeals can be filed by mail without the assistance of counsel. If cogent and reasonable, the appeal has a good chance of being sustained. The time when potentially heavy legal costs become a factor is after a Tax Court decision which can be appealed by either party to the regular Maryland courts. Adverse decisions by the Comptroller should be appealed to the Tax Court within 30 days of the Comptroller's decision. If you cannot prepare the full appeal within that time limit, especially if the communication takes some time to arrive at an overseas location, send a preliminary letter with the bare essentials of the appeal to the Tax Court which is required by regulation to observe the 30-day limit. A fully developed argument can be transmitted later.

Profits on the Sale of Automobiles Abroad

Whatever happened to the regulation prohibiting Foreign Service employees from making a profit on the sale of personal automobiles and other property imported duty free into the country of assignment? Is it alive and well?

In doing some research on the regulation, AFSA came across the following interesting information: The original regulation promulgating the prohibition was issued in Foreign Affairs Manual Circular (FAMC) 378 dated February 1, 1966 covering State, USIA and AID. Volume II of the Foreign Affairs Manual, paragraph 1110 says the following: "All FAMC's must be codified and/or cancelled six months from the date of issue. The originating office is responsible for preparing necessary manual revisions within that six month period."

AFSA's search for the codification of FAMC 378 as required by 2 FAM 1110 was futile. The FAMC has never been officially codified as required by regulation, and as far as we can tell, was automati-

cally cancelled six months after issuance.

AFSA's soundings on this particular issue indicate that each post has been administering the regulation in a manner designed to meet the legitimate needs of the personnel in the particular context of the geographic location.

AFSA believes that Foreign Service employees should not be regulated in their personal lives except where absolutely necessary. On the other hand, we are not unhappy with the idea of discouraging some individuals from importing ostentatious cars and other items solely with the idea of resale for a profit in countries where import restrictions stimulate a quasi black market for diplomatic duty-free goods. This problem appears to be one for local consultations between AFSA chapters and administrative officers so that our individual rights and foreign policy requirements can be meshed in the context of the local environments. The fact that the original regulation has clearly expired without being codified as described above would indicate that AFSA chapters are entirely free to request consultations on the local application of the concept embodied in the lapsed regulation. One problem that might be regulated through local agreement, for example, is the unexpected windfall that comes from a sudden devaluation or reevaluation of the local currency immediately after a sale takes place. AFSA does not feel this type of profit should be precluded. Certainly, there are others known to AFSA chapters.

AAFSW MARCH COFFEE DEMONSTRATION OF JAPANESE FLOWER ARRANGING AND INK PAINTING

The Association of American Foreign Service Women will hold its March meeting in the Diplomatic Rooms of the Department of State on Tuesday, March 12 from 10:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon. Mrs. Sherman F. Euler will demonstrate and lecture on Ikebana flower arranging and Sumie (Japanese ink painting). Mrs. Euler, a Foreign Service wife, has a long background in horticulture and flower arranging in the Washington area. Recently she has spent several years in Japan on assignment with her husband and during that period

received teaching certificates in Ikebana and Sumie; did the interior decorating for the American Embassy in Tokyo; showed western style flower arranging, representing the United States, at the time of the Olympics in 1964. She is a member of Ikebana International, the National League of American Penwomen and the Flower Arrangers Guild; and has exhibited and demonstrated at the National Housing Center during the Cherry Blossom Festival, at the Sully Plantation, and her art has been on display at the State Department. Members may bring guests to this meeting.

Columbia Plaza Garage at 2400 Virginia Avenue, N. W. will make a special effort to accommodate our cars. Help in forming car pools can be obtained by calling Mrs. Frank Mau (320-3739). Reservations may be made through Mrs. Hugh Woodward (229-0841) and inquiries about joining the Association should be directed to Mrs. Stepney-Cortez Kibble, c/o AAFSW, P. O. Box 8068, Washington, D. C. 20024, Tel. 488-9069.

Coming in April: A luncheon at the Army Navy Country Club on Tuesday, April 9 and a trip to Winterthur on Tuesday, April 30.

The Association of American Foreign Service Women was highly honored by the presence of the First Lady at its December meeting. Mrs. Nixon, who twice has invited the members of the Association to the White House as her guests, accepted the invitation extended by Mrs. William Leonhart, president of AAFSW, to attend the coffee and Christmas concert held on December 11 on the eighth floor of the State Department. More than 300 ladies and guests passed through the receiving line which included, with Mrs. Nixon and Mrs. Leonhart, Mrs. Kenneth Rush, wife of the Deputy Secretary; Mrs. Nathaniel Davis, wife of the Director General; and Mrs. Donald Bergus, vice-president of the AAFSW.

Foreign Service People

DEATHS

Bailey. Margaret Keith Bailey, wife of FSO-retired John W. Bailey,

died on February 5, in Sarasota, Florida. She is survived by her husband, of 6005 Midnight Pass Rd., Sarasota, a son and a daughter.

Crook. Linton Crook, FSO-retired, died on December 2 in Anniston, Alabama. Mr. Crook entered the Foreign Service in 1925 and served at Milan, Penang, Santo Domingo, Palermo, Marseille, Foynes, Rome, Managua, Vienna, Hamburg, Belgrade and Windsor before his retirement in 1956. He is survived by two sisters, Mrs. Eula Crook Vaden, 212 Canyon Dr., Anniston, Ala. 36201 and Mrs. Mallory Almond.

Ellis. Charles Perry Ellis, FSO-retired, died on December 12, in Merced, California. Mr. Ellis entered the Service in 1935, serving at Habana, Mazatlan, Singapore, Noumea, Sydney, Guayaquil, Cairo, Colombo and Guatemala before his retirement in 1965. He is survived by his wife of 2945 Bedford Dr., Merced, Calif. 95340.

Hoard. Robert Stuart Hoard, FSO-retired, died on January 21, in San Diego. Mr. Hoard entered the Foreign Service in 1940 and served at Tijuana, Guaymas, Acapulco, Naples, Hong Kong, Porto Alegre, Mexico City and Lisbon before his retirement in 1961. He is survived by his widow, Elvira, 4775 32nd St., San Diego, California, two daughters and his mother.

Jones. Katharine del Valle Jones, wife of retired Ambassador J. Wesley Jones, died on January 26, in Flat Rock, N.C. Mrs. Jones lived abroad with her husband at posts in Italy, China, Spain, Libya and Peru. She is survived by her husband, of Rutledge Dr., Flat Rock, N.C., two daughters, Valentine and Frances of Washington, D.C., a son, FSO Peter E. Jones, American Embassy, Buenos Aires, and her parents, General and Mrs. P. A. del Valle of Annapolis, Md.

Millard. Hugh Millard, FSO-retired, died on January 26 in Madrid. Mr. Millard entered the Foreign Service in 1919 and served at Paris, Rio de Janeiro, Tokyo, Teheran, Madrid, London, Sofia, Lisbon, Buenos Aires, Santiago and Brussels before his retirement in the early 1950s. He is survived by two daughters, Mrs. Joseph C. Hoagland, Jr., 2238 48th St., NW,

Washington and Mrs. T. J. Redmond, 514 Roehampton, Hillsboro, Calif., and a son, Peter Millard, 150 East 73rd St., New York.

Phelan. Mrs. George R. Phelan, Sr., widow of FSO-retired George R. Phelan and mother of FSO George R. Phelan, Jr., of the American Embassy Caracas, died on November 19, in Caracas. She is survived by 13 children, 48 grandchildren and four great grandchildren.

Shaw. FSO John Putnam Shaw died on January 20, in Bethesda. Mr. Shaw joined the Foreign Service in 1949 and served at Bad Homburg, London, Oberammergau, Moscow, Bonn and Bucharest. He was named Director, Office of Disarmament and Communist Political Military Affairs in 1969. Mr. Shaw was the author of a number of articles on Russian affairs. He is survived by his wife, Helen Matsunaga Shaw, and five children, of 8309 Whittier Blvd., Bethesda, a brother and two sisters. Memorial contributions may be made to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

Strauss. Denise H. Strauss, wife of FSR-retired Gerald H. Strauss, died on December 11, in Paris. She is survived by her husband, 1, Ave. Sainte Claire, Cimiez, 06 Nice, France, and a daughter, Mrs. Allen Holmes, American Embassy, Paris.

Thompson. Leonard Eberhart Thompson, FSSO-retired, died recently in West Springfield, Mass. Mr. Thompson entered the Foreign Service in 1929 and served at Port-au-Prince, San Salvador, Ciudad Trujillo, Tijuana and Palermo before his retirement. He is survived by a son, James A. Thompson of South Glastonbury, Conn, three grandchildren and a brother. Memorial contributions may be made to the Greater Hartford Heart Association.

Wolfrum. Chester E. Wolfrum, FSRU-retired, died on December 21. Mr. Wolfrum joined the Department in 1963 as an Investigator and Special Agent in the Office of Security. He retired in 1973. He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Marie Elizabeth Wolfrum, 4034 Edenhurst Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.



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