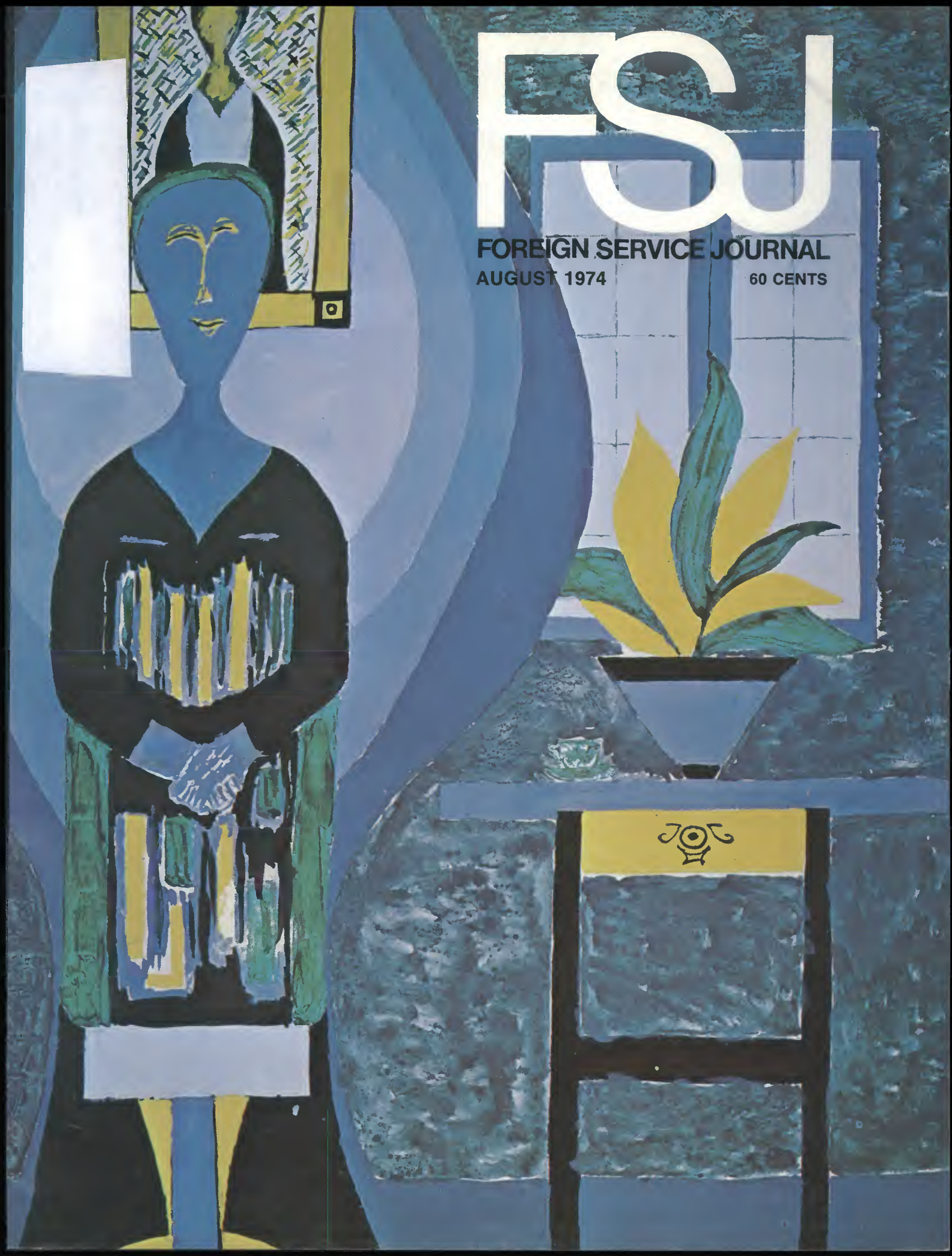


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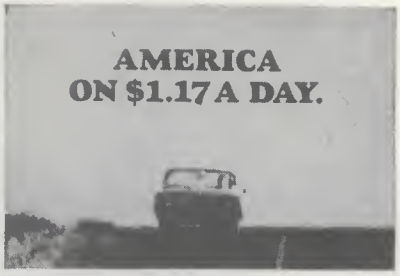
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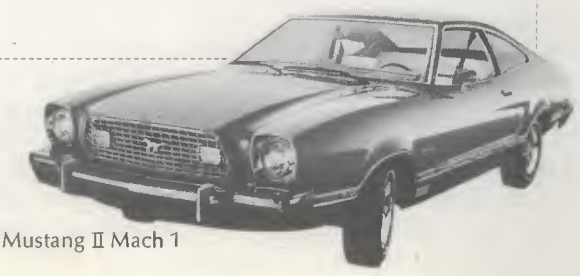
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FSJ EDITORIAL

HAPPY BIRTHDAY TO US

On July 1, 1924, the provisions of the Rogers Act took effect, combining the separate Consular and Diplomatic Services into one Foreign Service of the United States. On July 1, 1974, the Honorable Gerald Ford, Vice President of the United States addressed a special luncheon sponsored by the Association to commemorate our 50th anniversary as a unified career service. We were delighted and honored to have the Vice President address us on this occasion.

The 50th anniversary of the Foreign Service is an appropriate occasion for celebration and for reflection on our accomplishments as a Service. Certainly we can be proud of the substantial contributions we have made in the past half century to the conduct of the foreign relations of this country, and to the causes of international peace and well-being. Yet while we can be forgiven a bit of self-congratulation, we believe this occasion is also an appropriate moment to reflect on the enormous sacrifices which many of our colleagues have made in the Service of their country, and to bear in mind that in the next 50 years, we shall be hard-pressed to duplicate this record of excellence and sacrifice.

THE BOARD OF THE CIVIL SERVICE?

Under Executive Order 11636, which governs employee-management relations for the three Foreign Affairs agencies, the ultimate authority for resolving disputes between AFSA and agency management which cannot be resolved through negotiations is the Board of the Foreign Service. When the Executive Order was written, many on the management side felt that this final authority should rest with a body which was particularly knowledgeable about the special problems of the Foreign Service. The Board of the Foreign Service was chosen to fulfill this role in spite of certain misgivings on the part of AFSA as to the capacity of the Board to be truly fair and impartial.

A recent decision by the Board has not served to set our concerns to rest. Many months ago, following a breakdown in negotiations, we appealed the question whether AID employees should be permitted to travel by ship. As called for under the Executive Order, the issue was referred to the Disputes Panel, which read the extensive written briefs, heard the oral arguments of both parties, and issued its findings of facts and recommendations. The Disputes Panel was clearly impressed with the arguments of the Association that permitting State and USIA employees in a given post to avail themselves of ship travel (where this is possible) but denying this to AID employees was unfair. As a result, the Disputes Panel found in AFSA's favor.

AID, in a move characteristic of its approach to the problems of its employees, refused to accept this finding, and the matter then went before the Board of the Foreign Service for decision. After an initial deadlock, the Board ruled 5 to 4 in AFSA's favor. However, AID, on a legally questionable technicality, was able to keep the issue before the Board. As a result of changes in the Board's composition and absences; the Board reversed itself, and ruled 4 to 3 against us. This action by the Board raises several serious points:

- The Board lacks any established procedures for its actions. This flip-flop in the Board's actions could not have transpired if the Board had clear procedures in effect. It appears to us that the Board through its actions in this case has violated the Administrative Procedures Act and normal standards of procedure. We are investigating now what recourse we have to force the Board to abide by established procedures in this case.
- We do not expect to win every case before the Board of the Foreign Service. While our record to date is excellent, we know that from time to time we will lose appeals before the Board. (We hate to lose this one, because the real issue in this case was not ship travel, but rather equal treatment and equal rights for the Foreign Service employees of all three agencies.) But we do expect that we will be treated fairly and that the rules will not be changed in mid-stream to favor the agencies. As it is, we have been treated shabbily in this case not just on substance but also on procedures.
- We understand that we were defeated by the votes of non-foreign service agencies, and that the Foreign Service members of the Board generally stood by their AID colleagues. The Department of Labor, the Department of Commerce and the Civil Service Commission have three votes on the Board (out of ten if everyone is present, which is usually not the case). Their views often reflect a lack of understanding of the Foreign Service and its problems, which is understandable given their Civil Service orientation. Much the same could be said of the non-voting OMB representative, and for some of the political appointees who have served on the Board but who have no abiding connections to the Foreign Service. It is often difficult to overcome these views on a given issue. There are, of course, certain ironies in this situation. The Department of Labor, which claims to "represent" the interests of labor specialists on the Board has, according to rumors, consistently opposed us in Board actions ever since they lost on the labor cone dispute last year. Yet in voting against us on the ship travel issue, the Department of Labor undermined the interests of all AID Foreign Service personnel, including AID's international labor specialists.

Clearly, something needs to be done to prevent similar miscarriages of justice in the future. In the short run, the Board should establish written procedures to be followed in considering disputes between AFSA and a foreign affairs agency. In the longer run, the Board should be reorganized to give career Foreign Service personnel a majority on the Board. Through these changes the Board will in fact become what it was intended to be, a body particularly knowledgeable about the special problems and responsibilities of the Foreign Service and capable of rendering impartial decisions.

If these reforms are put into effect, we are confident the Board will have the confidence of not only AFSA and the Agencies, but of the entire Service. If not, we expect that the present support for the Board within the Service will be quickly eroded, and that the Service will support separate legislation on employee-management relations which will include an *outside* appeals authority. In many respects that would be unfortunate, but it would be the only remaining alternative if Foreign Service personnel are to have effective participation in the personnel policies which affect their careers as called for by the Executive Order.

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One day the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party decided to make Zoltan Istvany, the chairman of its finance committee, the conductor of the Budapest Philharmonic. Consternation reigned among the players.

Istvany arrived, took the baton—and the orchestra played magnificently! It played classic symphonies, tone poems, overtures, and the audiences were transported with delight. Then, at one point during a rehearsal, Istvany interrupted. He wanted a certain passage played differently. The orchestra tried again, but again found him interrupting. He raised the baton again, gave the opening downbeat—but nothing happened.

"What's the matter?" cried Istvany impatiently.

Silence. No one moved.

Finally the aged concertmaster, whom all along the players had been watching even while Istvany had "conducted," spoke up:

"Comrade Istvany," he said quietly, "if you insist on interrupting our playing, you will leave us no choice. We will then have to start playing exactly according to the signals you are giving with your baton, and the result will not be pleasant to hear."

Ever since that time, Comrade Istvany continued to "conduct" the Budapest Philharmonic, and the players continued to pay attention to the concertmaster, and the quality of the music continued to be superb.

Meanwhile, in the Central Committee, there was general agreement that there was something about being chairman of the finance committee that eminently qualifies such a party official to conduct a symphony orchestra.

Only one member of the Central Committee was skeptical. He knew Istvany to be entirely unmusical. He wondered if the performances didn't owe everything to the cooperation of the concertmaster and the rest of the orchestra.

"Oh well," he was told, "if that is true we don't need to worry. They have no place to go, and the only thing they know well is how to play music."

—D.V.V.

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COMMUNICATION
re:
Efficiency Reports

IN THE AFSA NEWS section of the May 1974 issue of the JOURNAL our thoughts were solicited on the new efficiency reports. Having just written two of these, I don't think the new format is any improvement over the older, and may not be as good. I understand the reasons behind trying a new approach—we want less verbosity, more honesty and more input by the officer being rated, but I doubt that this change in the report form will help.

The Instructions for writing the report remind me of a song of the 1930s:

> "Mother, may I go out to swim?
> Yes, my darling daughter.
> Hang your clothes on a hickory limb,
> But don't go near the water!"

We are asked to be candid but then warned not to make comments "with respect to race, color, creed, age, national origin, or sex." We also cannot discuss the rated officer's family or medical problems. There are reasons for these injunctions but they mean that any report will not give a true picture of the whole person; the report at best will have to be semi-candid. Think of a responsible newspaper reporter writing on Dr. Kissinger's performance for the last year without mentioning the facts that he is a male, born in Germany of Jewish ancestry, was single and now married, in his early 50s, and healthy. John Foster Dulles was an elder of the Presbyterian Church and many consider this to have been influential in his performance as Secretary of State. If we really want to de-age, de-sex, de-national-originize these reports I suggest that we not name names in the reports but give only the Social Security number and refer to the officer as "it."

As to the format of the new report it is apparent that space is a valuable commodity and that officers being rated will suffer if their supervisors cannot be succinct (or do not have typewriters with small type). I question whether reports will actually improve with these space limitations since some people naturally take longer to say some things than others, and a rated officer should not suffer because of his supervisor's inability to be concise. With space so constricted will reporting officers tend to string even more adjectives together without supporting examples? It is the examples of specific work done in a particular context which make the rated officer come alive on a sheet of paper, and in some cases it can take more words than we now have space allocated to paint a proper picture of the person and the situation. Just as I question whether being absolutely candid is always a good thing, so I question whether briefer is always better? I believe it is fairer to the rated officer to let his supervisor write the report in his own way. Unwarranted verbosity by rating officers could be censured in some appropriate manner by promotion panels, which are already charged with identifying particularly outstanding and particularly poor efficiency

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reports.

Looking at Part I, Work Requirements, Section D. *Statement by Rated Officer,* I feel that this statement is unnecessary. Supposedly the rated officer and his supervisor have drawn up the work contract together in Section B, so what more is there to say?

In Part II, with space at a premium, it can be inferred that the more space given a subject the more important that subject is considered by the system. Section C item 3, Managerial Ability, is allocated two inches of blank space and Item 4, Effectiveness and Candor as a Rating Officer, is given two *and* a half inches. Come on now! Naturally people who draw up efficiency report forms take their work seriously, but there are other matters with higher priority that occupy the attention of the Foreign Service.

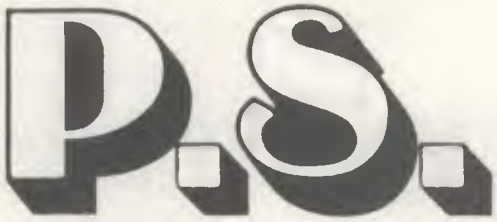
Probably the most controversial section of the new report is III B., Officer's Qualities. There are 28 positive attributes and there is no real difficulty in picking out five which are most characteristic of the rated officer. The requirement that three of these positive qualities be listed as least characteristic is a sly way of at last getting rating officers to show some human weaknesses in the persons they rate. This system, however, is not going to work. I cast my eye with some trepidation down this list wondering what I honestly would have to select. To my delight I found three rather negative attributes disguised as positive ones. The first on the list is Enthusiasm. Tallyrand did not care much for zeal in our profession and I feel the same about enthusiasm. I have visions of a young vice consul bounding into my office shouting "Visas anyone?" The next item is Selflessness, which is another way of describing a doormat and the last is Systematic Work Habits, i.e. a clerk. I am sure that when the great tally is made this July we will find our Foreign Service overrun with unenthusiastic, selfish and unsystematic officers.

The last part of the report calls for the rated officer's comments. This looks to me like a trap laid by our legal office to ward off any future legal action on the part of the rated officer. What is obviously wanted is a statement that the report was read and that the rated officer feels that it is fair, even if that officer actually feels that a bit more enthusiasm (we want our rating officers to be enthusiastic, not our rated officers) on the part of the rating officer would not be amiss. Unless there is a very serious charge in the body of the report, no officer would want to add more than that she/he read it, period. Any positive statement by a rated officer, no matter how justified, comes out sounding self-serving.

If we do obey the injunction to be candid, then full disclosure to those one is being candid about does raise a problem. In some cases it can destroy an effective working relationship (personal relationships are another matter and not an issue here). Presumably, good working relationships can bloom when we tell what we truly think about each other. I am told that some marriages flourish under such a system. It may be just happenstance, but none of the couples I know who have been married for any length of time use this system. I also note that in the field of Foreign Relations in dealing with friendly powers the more candid we become about their internal situation the higher we classify our cables. Perhaps there is a reason.

CHARLES S. KENNEDY, JR.
Consul General

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The young man who has not wept is a savage, and the old man who will not laugh is a fool. — George Santayana

LEFT OUT — *Vestige from Vietnam*

SANDY VOGELGESANG

If I could turn you on, if I could drive you out of your wretched mind, if I could tell you, I would let you know. R. D. Laing, "The Politics of Experience"

"Turn on" the American people?! If anything, the nation's Intellectual Left seemed to turn off the public in the 1960s and tune out. Obituaries on the "New Left" of that decade have proliferated ever since. What went wrong and why does it matter?

A preliminary autopsy of intellectual commentary from then reveals that those questions are, in fact, related. It suggests further that the response of one group —the American Intellectual Left—to one policy—US involvement in Vietnam—could and did reflect some of the most important issues of that decade and this. What of the conflict in Southeast Asia? Was it, as charged, immoral? Did the Government which waged and rationalized that war betray its political legitimacy? No matter what added perspective the passage of time brings, there is a value now in seeing what the nation's naysayers have actually been saying.

All in the Record

The US Intellectual Left has long accommodated the curious with its almost compulsive candor. The Johnson era was no exception. In the parlance of the times, the Left "let it all hang out." The verbal fall-out was prodigious. Essays, editorials, and correspondence sections in journals ranging from THE NEW REPUBLIC to THE NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS; published accounts of their teach-ins, read-ins, and Sunday salons; their confessional literature "The Armies of the Night," "Styles of Radical Will," "In a Time of Torment"—the printed record is there. As such, it provides the basis for a telling extract from the American Intellectual Left of the 1960s.

This record reflects a sequence of attitudinal change among most leftist intellectuals from the Kennedy to the Nixon eras. It was a transformation that proceeded gradually at several levels of consciousness and effect.

Pursuit of Legitimacy

At the most obvious level, the intellectuals shifted their perception of the Vietnam War. Daniel Ellsberg put the sequence thus: "I have seen it first as a problem; then as a stalemate; then as a crime." The quantum leap from THE NEW REPUBLIC's pleas for negotiations in 1964 to the teach-ins of 1965 to the NEW YORK REVIEW's "Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority" in 1967 documented the direction and intensification of intellectual opinions. Most leftist intellectuals moved more or less together through three stages in their perception of the Indochina conflict. They saw it progressively as a lapse in judgment, an exercise in immorality, and—finally—as a reflection of political illegitimacy.

No society, least of all one like the United States which depends on mutual respect between the government and the governed, can survive or develop without a claim to legitimacy—that intangible mandate for authority. Military reverses have always tended to undo both the least and the most stable of governments. War involves the entire national identity. As such, it touches on the roots of legitimacy. (Conversely, of course, the loss of legitimacy at home can imperil the pursuit of war or peace abroad—as events in 1974 have suggested.)

Though the United States did not lose the Vietnam War in the 1960s, it did not win it either. The fighting just dragged on. Nightly telecasts seemed to confirm the Government's ineffectiveness. The average citizen did not talk in terms of lost legitimacy or distorted priorities. Yet, he may have meant the same thing when he complained about corruption in politics, crime in the streets, and filth in the air.

Partly because of the mood, the intellectuals often seemed to achieve disproportionate influence during the 1960s. They seized the war as their weapon and poised for the *coup de grâce* to national legitimacy. With lingering US involvement in Southeast Asia and few answers to the questions raised during the Johnson era, the wound still festers. The issues posed subsequently by Watergate have only deepened the sense of malaise and raised the intellectuals' prior stress on political legitimacy to new levels of urgency.

Though there is no necessary relationship between the way successive Presidents treat separate tests of legitimacy, revulsion against Nixon's handling of Watergate, fed, in part, on disillusionment fostered by Johnson's Vietnam policy. There was a wry irony to a statement made by Spiro Agnew and quoted by the WASHINGTON POST after the Vice President's resignation in 1973:

> *The last decade saw the most precipitous decline in respect for law of any decade in our history. Some of those who call each other "intellectuals" helped to sow the wind, and America reaped the whirlwind.*

Return to Radicalism

Whatever the reason, the intel-

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lectuals shifted their views on the Vietnam conflict because the changing war changed them. Their preoccupation with their normative role as critics grew in direct relation to their frustration with the escalating involvement in Southeast Asia. Movement from critique of diplomatic error to condemnation of systemic legitimacy prompted the *re-politicization* and *re-radicalization* of many leftist intellectuals.

Arthur Waskow recalled "running riot" through the '60s. According to his account, the internal journey took him from being a "stubborn but narrow liberal who praised non-violent protest" toward becoming "an angry, more subtle, and more flexible radical who wants the people to take control of their own schools and factories, and learn to run them democratically—against the government."

The impetus for such a leftward odyssey had existed for some time. Even in the quiescent '50s, important changes had begun to emerge in international affairs. Monolithic Communism was giving way to polycentrism. As the revisionist historiography of the changing times would have it, there was a need for new interpretations of US foreign policy. By 1965, a symposium in PARTISAN REVIEW could claim that the "new radicalism" sprang from revulsion against mindless anti-Communism and the Cold War.

Domestic developments were no less important in this process of re-politicization. Witness: the intellectual preamble to the '60s penned by the "Beat Generation" or the activation of university youth spurred by the civil rights movement, the Cuban Revolution, and the alleged de-humanization of "growing up absurd." The backdrop had been set and but lacked E. M. Forster's injunction: "Only connect."

Thence, Vietnam. Commentary from the 1960s suggests that the war synthesized for the Intellectual Left the contradictions of the American system and brought together previously fragmented dissent. For writers like Susan Sontag, it became an "ideal Other" and offered the "key to a systematic criticism of America." It catalyzed the change for many from liberal (one on the Left who works for reform within the system) to radical (one who seeks a fundamental upheaval of society's institutions). It prompted, finally, one writer for the NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE—hardly a freaked out forum—to ask, "Are We in the Middle of a Revolution?"—and answer "yes."

Caught in Contradiction

If so, so what? The point, as Waskow saw it, was the *process*. The *problem* was where the trip left you. Events so far suggest that the re-politicization and re-radicalization of the leftist intellectuals caused by Johnson's Vietnam policy left them at an apparent dead-end.

Three related concerns have traditionally characterized Western intellectuals: their espousal of moral conscience, their obsession with their own identity as intellectuals, and their relationship to power. All three preoccupations have dominated the US intelligentsia since its emergence as a definable social group in the late nineteenth century.

More to the point, all three concerns lay behind much of the intellectuals' response to the Vietnam War in the 1960s. The growing moral basis of the leftist intellectuals' anti-war critique reflected their exercise of moral conscience. Their insistence on protesting as intellectuals reaffirmed their obsession with their own identity and group responsibility. Their challenge to the Johnson Government, "truth to power" in Professor Hans Morgenthau's phrase, revealed their concern with the relation to authority.

Yet, the intellectuals' confrontation with the war in those terms revived what may have been—and may still be—an irresolvable dilemma for the American Intellectual Left. To what extent are truth and power compatible? If not at all, what are the consequences for American intellectuals in a society prone to moralizing its mission at home and abroad?

Much writing from the last decade showed the US Intellectual Left at once fascinated by power as a means to effect its moral ideal and consummate its group identity and repelled by the potentially amoral implications of association with power. It was no accident that some on the Intellectual Left tried to discredit politics by linking it to power, that so-called "enemy of life?" The internecine war between the intellectual purists and the "new mandarins" was both symptomatic and suggestive. Did the critic of power cease being an intellectual when he became an agent of power? Did moral advocacy taken to its extreme—the absolute dissociation of politics and morality—only accentuate the real powerlessness of the Intellectual Left?

Anti-politics came to characterize many intellectuals' reaction to Johnson's Vietnam policy, just as it had often before shaped their relation to power and political leaders. Neither the man on the street nor the one in the White House could know whether to take the intellectuals literally or to assume that their words were meant, as some claimed, mainly as metaphors to "break the 'objective' view" intellectuals had of themselves.

Long and Short of Protest

The task of the naysayer may lie in treading or expressing the fine line between self-serving existentialist and constructive philosopher. To miss that balance may risk political irresponsibility and jeopardize the espoused cause. Yet, to judge the intellectual's performance as a political actor—a debatable proposition—suggests a tale of two time frames. The intellectual just may be doomed to short-run political impotence for the sake of long-range moral recompense.

Most American leftist intellectuals did assemble a sorry record in the immediate context of the '60s. No matter how commendable their intentions, few then resolved for themselves how they could or should respond effectively to the Vietnam War. Few answered the question posed by one of their own: "Is what's intended a moral gesture only or a determined attempt to transform the American power structure?" Their re-politicization often lapsed into the moralism they condemned in others and prompted their own de-politicization. Hence, their recurrent, perhaps inevitable, exile on the periphery.

Lost Rapport with Main Street

Poll data from both Gallup and the ballot box indicate that leftist intellectuals failed to convert the country to their way of thinking. They changed neither hearts nor minds with regard to the Vietnam War and a restructuring of US society.

Their failure was not for lack of shared concerns. At home, most Americans recoiled from the assassinations of respected leaders and cities reduced to combat zones. Abroad, they puzzled over the US role as world policeman and agonized over the tension between a moralizing tradition in public diplomacy and the actual exercise of imperial power. Both intellectuals and their fellow countrymen felt a growing sense of powerlessness in a mass society teetering in a world imbalance of terror.

Opinion samplings indicated that Vietnam was the main concern of all Americans during most of the Johnson Administration. However, long after the President lost the support of the Intellectual Left by bombing North Vietnam in early 1965, he kept the allegiance of the public. With Johnson's popularity up ten points in polls after the "March on the Pentagon" in October, 1967, Norman Mailer remarked: "When it came to sensing new waves of public opinion, LBJ was the legendary surf-boarder of them all." The public's eventual renunciation of the war on pragmatic grounds encompassed neither the moral outrage which underlay the intellectuals' response to the war nor the re-examination of American foreign policy which the critics hoped would prevent future Vietnams. Despite the peace movement, Americans, when asked "who would do a better job in handling the Vietnam War," still preferred Hubert Humphrey to Eugene McCarthy, 47 to 29 percent. Why?

Any group which wants to affect public opinion must at least start by enlisting established points of view. The United States was and is a conservative, consensual society. With regard to the Vietnam War, it had to be approached on *its* terms before it could become more concerned about the Nuremberg Principles than food prices. It associated peace protests with campus kooks and saw no reason to believe that the nation needed radical revision.

Rather than addressing the public mood, the Intellectual Left couched its argument in bombast bound to thwart support. Its recurrent loathing for Mid-cult and the "tyranny of the majority" showed. Indeed, radical dissent from the middle class had preceded and would survive the war. The discrepancy between public and elite perspectives made too many radical intellectuals turn discussion points into non-negotiable demands. It was yet another reflection of Richard Hofstadter's thesis in "The Paranoid Style of American Politics."

Even according to the leftist intellectuals' own dialectic, a revolutionary situation never existed during the Johnson era. To suggest that it did just antagonized the real-life Archie Bunker. He felt threatened enough by change without the intellectuals' feeding his paranoia. No matter what one called the American majority in 1968—hidden, silent, imagined, emerging, or real—the Center was in control and concentrating on "law and order." No statistics then justified taking a new coalition on the Left seriously. Many radical intellectuals exaggerated public frustration, miscalculated its basis, or disregarded all evidence and surrendered themselves to an orgy of apocalypticism. They diverged from more moderate colleagues who cautioned against provocation, lest repression rear from its rightist lair. In so doing, they split the peace movement and undermined what little political power the Intellectual Left had.

All's Well. . . .

That said, it is just possible that the leftist intellectuals will reap long-term vindication. Although they have agonized before over the apparent impasse between politics and morality and erred in their approach to power in the short-run, they affirmed, by the very nature of their opposition to the Vietnam War, their continuing claim as the nation's conscience. The fact that George McGovern became Presidential nominee for the Democratic Party just four years after "Chicago" attested to the longer term effect of the intellectuals' protest—even if Nixon's landslide in 1972 betrayed the depth of that impact.

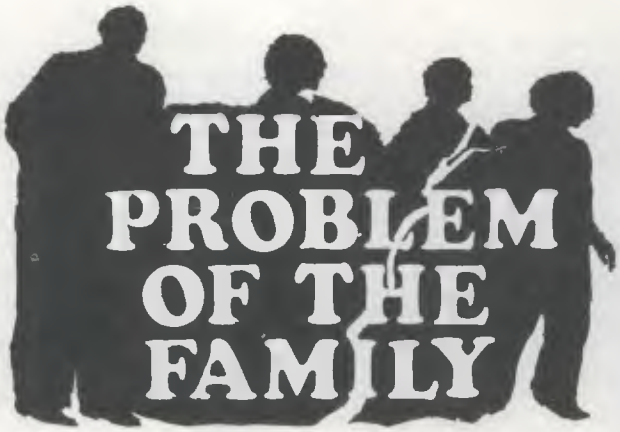
Norman Mailer concluded "The Armies of the Night": "Brood on that country who expresses our will. She is America. . . ." Mailer's preoccupation with the national destiny reflected a recurrent theme of the 1960s: most leftist intellectuals' quest after their meaning as Americans and their reassertion of the American Dream. Stripped of "radical chic," that may prove to have been the very unfashionable core of leftist intellectual response to the Indochina struggle.

It was a lonely and disheartening mission, as is any cause before its time has come. Hence, the gloomy interim of the Johnson years for the country's internal exiles. It suggested what F. Scott Fitzgerald called "the long dark night of the soul when it is always three o'clock in the morning." More than coincidence made such contrasting figures as Daniel Berrigan and Norman Mailer choose that image to characterize their opposition to the Vietnam War. Father Berrigan compared his anti-war experience to the original line from St. John of the Cross in "The Dark Night of Resistance." Mailer borrowed the phrase for his coverage of the "March on the Pentagon" in 1967.

It was an apt appropriation. Mailer emerged as the Nick Carraway of that event. He became, furthermore, the decade's narrator-cum-arbiter obsessed by "identity with this country." He understood that America prides itself on a Dream. He grasped the fragility of that Dream in a country where vast power cohabits with myth. Sensitive to that national anomaly, he, like most leftist intellectuals, saw the Vietnam War as a threat to the Dream.

Most Americans in the 1960s did not. The Intellectual Left's view of morality clashed with the alleged moralism of the public and the Government. To what avail? That is the question with which the State Department continues to grapple —whether in its quest after "conceptualization," the debate over the role of human rights in diplomacy, or the pursuit of a "new consensus" for US foreign policy. It is why the reaction of the Intellectual Left to the Vietnam War still begs its own response. ■

All happy families resemble one another; every unhappy family is unhappy in its own fashion. Anna Karenina



MARY LOUISE WEISS

THERE IS INCREASING EVIDENCE of concern on the part of Foreign Service wives, mothers and children that "children" and "family" be given first or at least equal consideration to "career" and "adventure." Wives and mothers are asking:

"How can we prepare for living overseas?"

"What facilities, if any, exist abroad for psychiatric treatment?"

"In a remote area how do you deal with a disturbed child?"

"Where can I get help for my dyslexic child?"

"Will the travel allowance ever be increased?"

"Does the Embassy employ wives at post?"

"How can our children locate their Foreign Service friends at schools in Washington?"

Our teenagers are asking:

"What can be done to help us adjust to the US?"

"Why can't we have summer jobs overseas?"

"Can we get sex information at posts?"

Increasing concern for these and similar problems of Foreign Service life on the part of both officers and families has sparked interest in a number of new programs aimed specifically at the Foreign Service family. Most of these can be grouped under the broad umbrella of the State Department mental health programs, but some are outside this framework.

General Foreign Service Problems

The mobility of Foreign Service life inevitably causes tensions. It can aggravate pre-existing problems such as family anxiety, identity loss, isolation and insecurity, and it can lead to a confusion of cultural identity. These problems can be particularly acute among children of Foreign Service people. In the Foreign Service as out of it, many parents are totally unaware of some of their children's problems and vice versa. The State Department program is helping to expose families to sound preventive mental health awareness and supporting a more comprehensive family-oriented program in prevention, education, treatment and rehabilitation, recognizing the ultimate responsibility is with the family itself.

When Dr. Frank K. Johnson, Coordinator of Mental Health and Drug Programs, Office of Medical Services, addressed a large audience of wives at the November panel on "Youth in Transition: Abroad and At Home," sponsored by the Association of American Foreign Service Women, he said, "It is very important that wives and young people become involved with the concept of dealing with problems where they happen to be—we've found that when we can deal with youth and family problems at post they do not become the insurmountable problems that occurred previously. We were able to convince the State Department that youth should be involved with the solution. It is the nuclear family that makes the difference."

At the same panel Margaret Pratt, 18, Foreign Service dependent, said, "One of the most confusing things for my friends and myself being overseas was trying to find out who we were. We knew that we were Americans and supposed to represent the United States, but we didn't. Most of us hadn't really ever lived in the United States . . . We knew we were supposed to be Americans, yet at the same time we knew we weren't like other Americans. We lived in other countries and we picked up little bits of customs . . . and so we considered ourselves more as international citizens. I guess . . . unconsciously, we felt responsible for the war in Vietnam and all the other extreme disorders that were going on across the campuses. Yet at the same time we felt obliged to support our government and our country, right or wrong. Basically, these are just symptoms of our trying to find ourselves. We weren't really anti-American or anti-any other country for that matter. We were just confused about who we were supposed to be . . . We tended in a way to be more American than the Americans themselves. We wore blue jeans with patches on them and (used) the latest slang . . . So, the negative attitudes that we were capable of were symptoms of our confusion and search for our identity."

Mary Louise Weiss, recently associated with Dr. Frank K. Johnson, DG/MED, assisted in developing programs for Foreign Service personnel in the US and abroad, and has served on the State Department Mental Health Advisory Committee since 1971. She helped establish the Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center and is a member of its Policy Direction Committee. She has also served three years on the Board of the AAFSW.

This program, moderated by Dorothy Stansbury, Director of the Foreign Service Institute's Family Workshop, included two youth members of MED's Youth Development Team, Carol Sapperstein and Bill Wight, Bill Cantrell, Margaret Pratt, Dr. Johnson, Clarke Slade, Director of the Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center, and Herman J. Cohen, Chairman of the AFSA Members' Interest Committee.

Urie Bronfenbrenner, Cornell psychologist and Chairman of the 1970 White House Conference on Children, has expressed another view of this problem. He believes that American society is becoming . . . segregated not only by race and class but also by age. He sees "this development . . . as . . . the byproduct of a variety of social changes, all operating to decrease the prominence and power of the family in the lives of children. In the absence of adult influence the influence of other children becomes paramount in the child's life . . . transmission of the social values of mutual trust, kindness, cooperation, and social responsibility cannot take place without the active participation of the older generation. . . . [The children] are saying that they want and need the security of useful adult guidance and that they need to feel that they fit somewhere in the world they inhabit . . . The problems we create in our environment for our children generally have the same roots as problems of adults; the world of children and the world of adults are the same."

Drug Abuse

Drug abuse has attracted a great deal of attention within the mental health programs. Last September the National Drug Abuse Training Center (NDATC), in coordination with DG/MED, tailored a special course for Foreign Service wives which offered training in group effectiveness, personal action plans, counseling and drug pharmacology. Foreign Service wives are being encouraged to take advantage of other regular NDATC courses which give training easily adapted to conditions in our overseas communities.

In September 1973 the Office of Medical Services co-sponsored, with the Special Action Office on Drug Abuse Prevention and the Bangkok Youth Treatment Center, its first overseas workshop in Bangkok. Twelve adults (school principals, a school counselor, a church leader, an Embassy officer, a lawyer, and a stock broker) and six student delegates came from Hong Kong, Jakarta, Vientiane, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur and New Delhi. Dr. Johnson and Dr. Hansford, US Embassy Regional Medical Officer, addressed sessions on the critical importance of concern and awareness, new forms of communication and action as factors in dealing with mental health among Americans living together abroad, pointing out that establishing the Bangkok Youth Treatment Center, a Teen Club, Drug Education Field Teams, and other successful programs was a result of that community's need to solve the immediate problem of a very dangerous drug situation and proof that the most successful programs are those where adults and youth can work together for the mutual benefit of the whole community, sharing professional and volunteer expertise. The presence of DG/MED's Youth Development Team, composed of two youths, a Foreign Service wife and Dr. Johnson, served as an exemplary model.

Voluntary community efforts have also been brought to bear on the drug abuse problem. The Tehran American Womens' Club, for example, founded the "Direct Line to Help" in response to a need by those with a drug abuse problem. It is a community-sponsored drug information and crisis phone to offer help to anyone with a drug-related problem. Its services are covered by trained volunteers who receive professional instruction in drug identification, the physiological and psychological effects of drugs, drug use in Tehran and the dangers of each drug when abused. They can refer someone who needs medical, psychological, legal or emergency help to a social worker, counselor or an American psychiatrist living in Tehran, without making moral judgments.

Posts are urged to ask for technical assistance in this field which can be supplied by DG/MED through written materials, videotapes and films. What the Department cannot supply it will solicit from the SAODAP, Department of Defense, National Institutes of Mental Health, the National Clearing House for Drug Information, and many other qualified agencies equipped to disseminate information for community planning and programs. In addition, field visits by Dr. Johnson and/or a team, or individual specialists like Ed McGuire (alcohol abuse prevention), can respond to post requests for assistance. In his own office, Dr. Johnson consults with families and individuals.

The Mental Health Advisory Committee, formerly the Drug Abuse Prevention Committee, is an open monthly meeting of interested intra-agency personnel and representatives of the AAFSW and AFSA who meet to report ways the Department of State is meeting the needs of Foreign Service families here and abroad to discuss new programs.

Preparing for Life Abroad

The Foreign Service Institute is redefining its goals to include more programs tailor-made to our special needs. The Family Workshop, which developed out of the former Wives' Course, offers courses on current developments in the United States, and on "Overseas Challenges to Family Life," a briefing by DG/MED on the family aspects of life abroad. There are in the planning stage new courses which will focus in depth on such things as communication skills, awareness and community program planning and alcohol and drug abuse prevention, all designed to better prepare individuals for some of the major exigencies of life abroad. Many wives argue their need for language training is as great or greater than their husbands' because it is they who must deal on a daily basis with the Indian household staff, the Yugoslav plumbers or Brazilian shopkeepers, as well as to speak with their dinner guests in modern Mongolian. There is room for a more liberal attitude on language and area studies for dependents.

More is also needed by way of reading material on the problems of our mobile lifestyle. There has long been need for a manual, a reference book on Foreign Service living

which would contain information and guidance on preparing ourselves to adapt to constant moves, new cultures, people and languages, coping with separations —some of the problems that are not covered in Post Reports or by the Offices of Medical Services, Personnel and Administration.

Mental Health Programs Abroad

The Department of State is encouraging overseas communities to become aware of the need for youth and adults to work together to provide a range of alternatives beyond the always popular athletic programs, which can answer some of their needs—orientation, employment, youth clubs, drama groups, hot lines, open clinics, counseling centers, etc.—and to ask themselves these questions:

What do we really need?

What can we add that will make life more meaningful for all of us?

What programs will bring us together as families, as individuals, or generations?

What do we have to offer each other?

Is everyone being considered—the girls, the boys, the youngest, the teenagers, the introverts, the extroverts, the women as well as the men?

Private businesses, foundations, womens' clubs, churches, can all supplement each other's efforts and contributions. Where one group might have adequate funds, another may offer manpower or organizational acumen. Cooperative efforts can produce miracles. In communities where transiency and mobility are a way of life, it is all the more important to reassess old programs and ideas, put a shot of renewed energy into defunct committees and be willing to try anything, to be daring as well as sharing. There is a gold mine of talent among Americans abroad.

In Tehran there is a committee of wives called "VIP" (Volunteers in Persia) who assist teachers in the schools attended by American children, with those who have learning disabilities, and there are plans for a Welcome Wagon and an Orientation service on a commercial basis for businesses.

When the Bangkok Youth Treatment Center was being organized the whole community was surveyed for professional as well as volunteer experts such as social workers, counselors, psychiatric nurses, psychiatrists and psychologists. A complete staff was found right there in the community through positive and enthusiastic response.

There are a few newly established counseling and treatment centers abroad. Tehran has most recently opened two—a Community Counseling Center and a treatment center in a hospital. Taiwan, Bangkok, Frankfurt also have such centers, and one is being planned for Clark Air Force Base, Philippines. Some of these are looking for staff, professionals, paraprofessionals, and volunteers among the resident Americans in those communities.

Re-entry Shock

Last summer an ad hoc Youth Orientation, planned in cooperation with FSI and Dr. Johnson's office, brought together for two evenings a group of returning and departing Foreign Service youngsters. It was the first official occasion when Foreign Service youth had an opportunity to meet together to help facilitate their own adjustment. Mostly they exchanged experiences, evaluations and expectations in regard to American overseas schools, boarding schools, foreign countries, etc. They were briefed by authorities on the new Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center, cross-cultural communication, and overseas schools while their parents met separately with staff from the FSI Family Workshop, DG/MED, Overseas Schools and the FSECC and discussed family considerations as a factor in successful Foreign Service life.

Helping Foreign Service youth find old friends from overseas tours in Washington is one project now being planned by a committee of the AAFSW. These hundreds of boys and girls find re-entry to the US a difficult transition. They cannot identify with their peers in their own country in the immense suburban schools and larger communities. They feel at a loss without the closer school and community relationships that exist abroad. The AAFSW is paying more attention to the family concerns and is cooperating with DG/MED on several projects which should ease some of these difficulties.

The need for a youth hostel in Washington for Foreign Service youngsters has been suggested—a place where a university student could stay with old school friends from Europe while waiting for his family to arrive, or a girl returning from Rome might stop overnight on her way to boarding school.

Special Educational Problems

"Where Can I Get Help For My Dyslexic Child?"

A year ago the American Foreign Service Association and the Association of American Foreign Service Women jointly funded and supported the Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center as a much needed ancillary facility in our Washington foreign affairs community serving families and individuals both here and at posts. Clarke Slade, its Director, has been assisting Foreign Service families in school counseling and other matters for over sixteen years. The FSECC operates in coordination with the Office of Medical Services, the Office of Overseas Schools and the FSI Workshop, offering counseling, orientation, evaluation services, instruction and special tutoring and acts as a school record repository and transmittal agency.

Clarke Slade notes a new emphasis by the Department on consideration of family factors in personal assignments—or, at least a clearer surfacing of the Department's sound intentions to take family considerations into account. Says Mr. Slade, "AFSA has provided an educational counseling service since 1958, and beginning with that early counseling, I had always looked upon educational decisions as family decisions, but it was not until after Frank Johnson came into DG/MED as a staff psychiatrist that I began to have individual clients come to see me who were already considering the family aspects of 'educational decisions.' "

Mr. Slade went on to say, "I have seen more examples of official concern about family factors recently and I hope the Department will expand this attribute of personnel work either through DG/MED or in some equally continuous and effective fashion." ■

The movies can give public information. But they can do more than that; they can give the public understanding. — Leo Rosten

OWI GOES TO THE MOVIES

GREGORY D. BLACK AND CLAYTON R. KOPPES

THE WAR HAD PENETRATED Tarzan's peaceful kingdom. Agents of Nazi Germany had parachuted into the jungle and occupied a fortress, hoping to exploit African oil and tin. But Tarzan rallied his jungle forces against the Axis. "Kill Nadzies!" Tarzan commanded the natives, all of whom were white. They nodded enthusiastically. The Germans were so despicable even the animals turned against them. Tarzan himself chased the head of the Nazi column deep into the jungle, and, just as the fear-crazed German officer frantically signaled Berlin on his shortwave radio, Tarzan killed him with his knife. In Berlin the radio operator recognized the distress signal and rushed out to summon the general in charge of the African operation. While Tarzan, Boy, and Jungle Priestess laughingly looked on, Cheetah the chimp chattered into the transmitter. Ignorant of the fatal struggle in the jungle depths, the general heard the chimp on the radio, jumped to his feet, saluted, and yelled to his subordinates that they were listening not to Africa but to Der Fuehrer.

These dramatic scenes are taken from a 1942 motion picture appropriately titled "Tarzan Triumphs" in which Johnny Weissmuller, a slightly flabby but still impressive noble savage, made the jungle safe for the Allies. To the Bureau of Intelligence (BOI) of the Office of War Information (OWI), however, Tarzan's triumph was a source of great concern. Despite the innocent absurdity of the plot and the triumphant denouement in a familiar movie serial, the bureau feared the film would harm the United States war effort. These government analysts decided "Tarzan Triumphs" did not take the war seriously.

The intelligence bureau's criticism of the Tarzan saga was part of a series of analyses of the contributions of Hollywood movies to the United States propaganda effort in World War II. From October 1942 through March 1943 the bureau's media division, headed by Columbia University journalism professor Herbert Brucker, analyzed all of the approximately 250 feature pictures released in the United States. These analyses constitute an important, and hitherto untapped, source for the study of dominant themes in wartime movies, and for the analysis of the particular point of view of a government propaganda agency. The bureau's analyses reveal a somewhat surprising mixture of liberal precepts with an extreme sensitivity to criticism of life in the United States. The analyses suggest, further, the dangers inherent in a government agency's examining multifaceted experiences through the lens of one concern—the war effort—and the desire to direct artistic expression into propagandistic channels.

In scrutinizing the movies, the BOI was carrying out part of its role of analyzing all media to assess "the war's impact in the terms in which it reaches the public." As R. Keith Kane, chief of the BOI, wrote to Librarian of Congress Archibald MacLeish, an assistant director of OWI, "Any planning would be futile which failed to take into account the close interrelation between American opinion and the influences upon it and the opinion of foreign publics and the influences on them." To the BOI Hollywood films represented a powerful influence on both the American and foreign public. BOI weekly reports on feature motion pictures were intended to provide Washington policy makers with an analysis of how popular films were presenting the image of the United States at war and how Hollywood explained the war, the issues, our allies, and our prospects of victory to foreign audiences.

Propaganda, while always important in warfare, assumed new significance in the 20th century when total war required the mobilization not merely of armies but of public opinion as well. The tremendous success of Nazi propaganda efforts was well known. Soon after Pearl Harbor public opinion analysts noted that many Americans exhibited excesses of pessimism or euphoria about the prospects of a United States victory in the war, often indicated willingness to negotiate a separate

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Gregory D. Black begins an appointment as visiting lecturer in history at University College, Dublin, Ireland, this fall. He received his Ph.D. at The University of Kansas in 1973, where he wrote a dissertation on United States-Italian relations, 1943-1946. An Ohio native, he was a visiting lecturer in history at Kansas in 1973-74.

The authors are writing a book on relations between the federal government and the movie industry, 1938-1953.

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peace with Hitler, and betrayed little understanding of the reasons why America was fighting. The president's advisors believed that these weak timbers of public opinion needed immediate shoring up.

The foreign situation was even more desperate. Just as surely as World War I, the Second World War was a battle of ideas. Whatever their long-run practicality, official pronouncements, such as the Atlantic Charter or Vice-President Henry A. Wallace's "century of the common man" speech, were designed to effect short-term propaganda victories. Major strategic decisions such as unconditional surrender were announced with one eye cocked toward their value as weapons of psychological warfare. The war was a clash of cultures, a global debate as to whether a totalitarian regime like Nazi Germany or a democratic system as practiced in the United States offered men the better life. Thus, the United States and its allies were especially sensitive to portrayals of American life and ideals. If other nations, particularly those under Nazi domination, were to accept the American way of life, the United States had to be presented as prosperous, law abiding, moral, and free. If the Allies' propaganda efforts were to undermine enemy morale effectively, their cause had to be portrayed as more just than that of the Axis.

In classic Rooseveltian fashion, four similar but autonomous public information agencies had been carrying on essentially the same activities since the late 1930s. With the advent of war consolidation was clearly in order, but Roosevelt, fearful of the suspicions that would be attached to any propaganda agency, was reluctant to consolidate until a prestigious figure could be appointed director. Wide support for Elmer Davis was indicated when THE NEW YORKER editorially proposed the CBS news commentator. When the president appointed Davis head of OWI on June 13, 1942, the day he formed the office, THE NEW YORKER'S inimitable editor, Harold Ross, congratulated Davis, "Your amazing appointment is our first editorial accomplishment since getting the information booth at Pennsylvania Station moved into the middle of the floor fifteen years ago, and is unexpected and overwhelming." Despite Ross's conviction that Roosevelt was as open to influence as the Pennsylvania Railroad, the president more likely was persuaded by Attorney General Francis Biddle who had proposed in April that Roosevelt select Davis to head OWI.

Davis had spent the years 1939 to 1941 covering the Nazi takeover of Europe for CBS radio, and his dramatic broadcasts of the invasion of Poland and the German bombardment of London had enhanced his reputation as a political commentator. With Davis at OWI were men such as Archibald MacLeish, Leo Rosten, and Lowell Mellett, who shared his belief that totalitarianism formed a real threat to American security and democratic ideals.

The task of molding public opinion at home and abroad fell to the OWI. As the central coordinating agency between the government and mass media, Davis's organization was to inform the public of the "progress of the war effort and of war policies, activities, and aims of the Government." OWI promoted the war effort by such tactics as war bond drives, victory gardens, publication of the magazine VICTORY, assistance for writers, sponsorship of radio programs, and production of motion picture shorts. The office relied to a great extent on voluntary cooperation among the various media. Rent by internal schisms and frequent personnel changes, OWI ran afoul of Congress and of established information services in old-line departments like State and Agriculture dedicated to protection of their own domains. The agency was placed within the Executive Office of the President, but Roosevelt seldom intervened on behalf of OWI, and it lacked the clout produced by a politically potent constituency.

A few days after Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt had declared that the motion picture, "one of our most effective media in informing and entertaining our citizens," could make "a very useful contribution" to the war effort. Rosten, novelist, Hollywood writer, and later a deputy director of OWI, explained why:

> The movies can give public information. But they can do more than that; they can give the public understanding. They can clarify problems that are complex and confusing. They can focus attention upon key problems which the people must decide, the basic choices which the people must make. They can make clear and intelligible the enormous complexities of global geography, military tactics, economic dilemmas, political disputes, and psychological warfare. The singularly illuminating tools of the screen can be used to give the people a clear, continuous, and comprehensible picture of the total pattern of total war.

Rosten's statement typified OWI's estimate of Hollywood's influence. In that pre-television era movies were in their heyday. The motion picture industry in the United States produced 500 pictures each year and controlled 16,000 theaters with a seating capacity of eleven million. Paid admissions during the war averaged eighty million viewers per week, equal to nearly two-thirds of the nation's population. Millions of servicemen trooped to no less than seven thousand on-base movie houses each week.

Hollywood's influence was equally powerful abroad. Foreign exhibition, particularly in the British Empire and Latin America, spelled the difference between profit and loss for many pictures; the number of foreigners who saw an American film often exceeded its audience in the United States. Whether foreign viewers sought entertainment or enlightenment, the wide popularity of Hollywood films meant that millions of persons were receiving indelible impressions of American life. Because movies appealed to the full spectrum of classes and tastes, the cinema's influence was as potent as that of any medium. A basic tenet in the offices of OWI was that if foreigners were to be convinced America was fighting for a just cause, and if Americans themselves were to comprehend the war's issues, the movies must use their tremendous power responsibly.

As Wanger wrote OWI domestic director Gardner Cowles, Jr., in the summer of 1942:

> The American film is our most important weapon as no country has developed its film industry to compete with ours. The problem of enlightenment of the masses is a major problem and admittedly the film is the greatest visual educational factor accepted by the masses. The other great American means of communication, the radio and the press, are more limited. Very few people read American papers abroad and those you

want to reach by short-wave radio cannot afford the sets. So you are back to the film again.

The producer went on to admit that the cinema had not yet contributed as much as it should have to the war effort and suggested more government advice was needed for films to be "correctly researched and correctly emphasized."

In mid-1942 OWI officials were alarmed at what Hollywood was doing—or rather, not doing—in response to the challenge. MacLeish, an assistant director of OWI, voiced a widespread concern: The movies were "escapist and delusive," MacLeish charged. Indeed, Hollywood bore "a primary and inescapable responsibility" for what he termed Americans' failure to understand either the events leading to the war or the war itself. OWI officials realized that maintaining public morale would be especially crucial—and difficult—in the anxious first months of the war, when Allied forces reeled before the Axis and eventual victory seemed far from certain. At this ominous time the BOI movie analyses were deemed especially important.

The analyses paid particular attention to portrayals of the United States and treatment of war-related material. The bureau's aim was to "indicate material occurring in the picture which will enable judgments to be made about the desirability of its release abroad." An objectionable film would be disparaging to some aspect of life in the United States, and if shown to foreign audiences, would "put us in an unfavorable light." In analyzing war-related material, OWI's film critics again emphasized the importance of "picturing the conflict to foreign audiences in a way favorable to our side." A promotional film would contain "a convincing statement of the justice of our cause and the evil of the enemy's" and an objectionable movie would present material in a manner that might "throw discredit or an unfavorable light on our side of the conflict."

The bureau's criticism of Hollywood focused on three complaints. Analysts objected, first, to the portrayal of the home front as unaffected by the war. "Andy Hardy's Double Life," starring Mickey Rooney, Lewis Stone, and Fay Holden, drew the bureau's fire, for example, because the film depicted an upper-class family living in prewar comfort, enjoying ample food and luxuries, and sending their son to college instead of the army. The bureau voiced similar objections about two Henry Aldrich movies produced during this period; adolescence, not the war, was the main theme. The bureau did not contend that all films should be built around the war. If movies about the home front, however, were to be exhibited abroad, where Allied peoples had undergone privations undreamed of in America, the bureau felt the pictures should make reference to civilian sacrifices and show that the average American understood the meaning of the war.

OWI was still more troubled about the large category of films that showed the United States infested with gangsters, corrupt judges, and incompetent police and undermined by sabotage. Films like "Boss of Big Town," "Eyes of the Underworld," and "Rubber Racketeers" emphasized aspects of American life that OWI thought unfit for foreign audiences at a time when America was fighting for freedom and democracy. Favorite plots showed crimes solved, spy rings broken, and criminals thwarted by average citizens while police stood by dumbfounded. In "Buses Roar" a bomb was timed to explode on a bus as the vehicle passed through an oil field, thus betraying the field's location to a Japanese submarine lurking offshore. The plot failed when an unidentified old man riding the bus suddenly discovered and defused the bomb. How the old man had enough knowledge to do this was never explained, but it was clear that he, not the police, had saved the day. The bureau objected to the popular Sherlock Holmes and Falcon films for similar reasons. Analysts criticized "The Falcon's Brother" because it contrasted the "dumb policeman" with the "clever amateur detective," and because the private detective broke up a Nazi plot to murder a Latin American diplomat while the United States government remained ignorant of the scheme. The bureau report termed the entire episode "incredible."

Even the stock cowboy movie assumed ideological importance because a high proportion cast their villains as supposedly responsible heads of the community. This theme was prominent in "Dead Man's Gulch," "Lost Canyon," "Riders of the Northwest Mounted," "Thundering Trails," "The Lone Star Trail," and "Pardon My Gun," which prompted OWI to observe, "This plot is becoming a Hollywood habit, the men who should be the town leaders are bandit leaders instead, and some itinerant cowboy has to administer justice for the people."

The bureau was concerned, secondly, that Hollywood's treatment of the issues usually lacked intellectual and ideological force. When an American film hero was faced with an opposing ideology, he generally responded with an "Oh, yeah?" followed by a smash to his adversary's jaw. Thus ended any discussion of the issues. The agency found no reference to the principles of the Atlantic Charter, for example, in any of the films reviewed. The movies emphasized too much of what the United Nations was fighting against, not enough what it was fighting for. It was not enough to point out that America was battling against an invasion of the homeland or against political and economic enslavement. Davis's office stressed that "we are fighting for the rights and dignity of the individual human being" and for the day "when the world will be governed by law and justice." Everyone, including minorities who OWI admitted had been mistreated, had a personal stake in victory. "Only under the democratic system is there any hope of achieving the goal of equal opportunity for all," the office asserted. Democracy was real and it worked, the agency continued, whether "in the community, in the factory, in our schools, or in the army." Finally, the dream of universal peace was not "wild" or "empty," but could be achieved as it had been in the Western Hemisphere where borders stood unfortified and "small and weak states" did not live "in constant fear of oppression by greater and more powerful nations."

To the OWI it seemed that Hollywood simply was not taking this global conflict seriously. The industry exploited the war as a back-

drop for frothy musicals such as "True to the Army," starring Ann Miller, Judy Canova, and Jerry Colonna, or "Star Spangled Rhythm," or "The Yanks are Coming." One typical musical comedy film, "Youth on Parade," closed with the cast singing Sammy Cahn's "You've Got to Study, Buddy":

It's kids like us who'll win this fuss
and make the peace
No more Versailles treaties
cause it's proven they don't last.
Diplomats in their slick top hats,
Their day is gone and past. . . .
We've got a plan for every man
In which all hatreds are barred
So better study, Buddy, study
hard.

Bureau analysts felt the kids would have been better off in the army.

One of the most famous musicals built around the war was "Hollywood Canteen," starring almost everyone. The cast included Bette Davis, the Jimmy Dorsey Band, Jane Wyman, Barbara Stanwyck, Jack Carson, John Garfield, Ida Lupino, Irene Dunne, Zachary Scott, and Jack Benny. "Hollywood Canteen's" slender plot concerned a shy soldier on leave who wandered in and out of the canteen and managed to fall in love with Joan Leslie. After songs by Roy Rogers, Eddie Cantor, the Andrews Sisters, and the Golden Gate Quartet, Dennis Morgan and Joe E. Brown led the entire cast in "You Can Always Tell A Yank":

You can always tell a Yank,
He's the kind of guy who's
Always ready to drive a tank to
save
democracy
And save the world from tyranny.

Another quickie musical, "Johnny Doughboy," featured a group of ex-child film stars who, hoping to regain stardom, put on a show for the local military base. In a film that had little to do with the war, the stars suddenly burst into a song glorifying the army private:

It takes a guy like I
to make the guns to boom, boom!
It takes a guy like I
to make the cannons roar.
You can tell F. R. we've crossed
the sea
To get that so-and-so guy,
And it takes a guy like I.

To BOI analysts these musicals provided no promotional material for the overseas audience nor did they even have the redeeming feature of introducing memorable patriotic songs. Typical war songs were "The Yanks are Coming," "I Must Have Priorities on Your Love," "There Will Be No Blackout of Democracy," and "The Flag Is Still There, Mr. Key." All were a far cry from "Over There" and "K-K-K-Katy."



"Hollywood Canteen" featured Joan Leslie and Robert Hutton (center). (Courtesy of the Wisconsin Center for Theatre Research.)

"The Devil With Hitler" was just as bad, OWI thought. In this Hal Roach slapstick comedy hell's board of directors decided that Hitler should replace the devil. The tall, well-groomed Satan, who had spent a lifetime building his power in hell, did not want a "flash in the pan like Hitler" usurping his position. He became Hitler's valet, and, after a great deal of difficulty, forced Hitler to release two prisoners. Through Hitler's "good deed" the devil secured his position. The film also presented Mussolini as a pathetic tool of Hitler and a sneaky, simpering "Suki Yaki" as the stock Japanese. OWI felt these films demeaned the war effort and were unacceptable for export to foreign audiences. OWI shuddered that the world might draw its opinion of the United States at war from these fantasies and worried that even the American audience might overlook the ideological issues at stake.

The bureau was disturbed, thirdly, by the portrayal of the enemy. In November 1942 OWI issued a detailed intelligence report analyzing the presentation of the enemy in Hollywood feature films. The bureau found that the enemy was not presented as an idea, philosophy, or way of life. Nor was the enemy treated as a threat to the American way of life. Not one film "represented the conflict as one, which if ending in defeat for us, would mean an end to our cherished and fundamental institutions." In short, the Hollywood view of the enemy was simply a "Man-with-a-gun" attacking the United States. Physical violence was the threat, and it was a challenge that could be defeated solely by superior force.

"Stand By for Action," starring Charles Laughton, Walter Brennan, Brian Donlevy, and Robert Taylor, was a typical Hollywood action film that told the story of the *Warren,* a reconditioned World War I destroyer. The only issue, unfortunately, OWI argued, was the defeat of the Japanese Navy. Laughton, playing Admiral Thomas, stated: "We've got to use everything we can float if we're going to survive. There is no discussion of ideology, it is a question of our armed strength against that of the enemy." Neither Laughton nor other heroes of action films were made to explain the reasons for the enemy's attack. The Japanese presumably fought from patriotism and loyalty to their emperor, and the Germans fought for

their fuehrer. They were depicted as fanatically devoted to their country, a fact the bureau feared would arouse involuntary respect in movie audiences. The bureau also lamented that the enemy was never "persuaded to an opposite opinion or a realization of the baseness of that for which they fight."

Hollywood had a distinct view of each of the enemies. Germans were gentlemen with whom it was possible to deal as equals. As soldiers they were efficient, disciplined, and patriotic; the bureau was unable to find a scene in which the Germans were morally corrupt or delighted in cruelty. In "Eagle Squadron," after shooting down a Royal Air Force plane, German fliers dropped a note on a British airfield that apologized for the death of an Allied pilot and questioned the brave British for their foolish resistance to Germany. Nazi officialdom, especially Gestapo agents, were pictured less charitably. While dedicated, they were typically cruel and incompetent, and were always distinguished from German soldiers and the German army. In "Miss V From Moscow" a German army officer ridiculed a Gestapo officer's fanaticism. In "Berlin Correspondent" a newspaper reporter had no trouble outwitting the Gestapo in Berlin. As a whole, the film showed the Gestapo as bunglers and fools, which the bureau felt understated the seriousness of the threat posed by the organization. The movies reviewed by the bureau rarely mentioned the German government. The impression lingered that a few leaders were responsible for the German plight, a point of view that alarmed OWI because it undermined the concept of unconditional surrender.

The Italians were noteworthy for their absence. No Italian appeared as the leader of a spy or espionage group operating in the United States or Europe. The only film released during this period that dealt with the Italian role in the war was a British release "Ships with Wings." In this picture Italian soldiers ridiculed their officers as "overdressed dandies who are perfectly willing to have the Germans take over military leadership and the execution of plans." The Germans, of course, sneered at the Italians. Even the film industry with its vast imagination was unable to see Mussolini's military machine as a threat to Allied security.

The Japanese received by far the worst treatment in Hollywood. Japanese soldiers were pictured as less military than their German counterparts and were almost universally cruel and ruthless. Japanese were short, thin, and wore spectacles. They were tough but devoid of scruples. In almost every film showing American-Japanese battles, the enemy broke the rules of civilized warfare. In "Manila Calling," starring Lloyd Nolan—a film the bureau found objectionable because Filipinos were cast as a distinctly inferior race and suffered very messy extinction compared to the romantic deaths bestowed upon Americans—the Japanese sniped from trees, mutilated and tortured Filipinos, and obviously enjoyed their work. In "Wake Island" they shot wounded American soldiers and bayoneted defenseless men. "Submarine Raider" contained a scene in which a Japanese pilot flashed a toothy grin as he attacked the helpless crew of a torpedoed ship. By contrast Hollywood did not identify enemy European pilots and never had them revel in their deeds. A few films mentioned the Japanese government, which was usually pictured as cynical, corrupt, and deceitful. Frequent references were made to the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor. "Wake Island" contrasted Japanese envoy Kurusu's peace trip to Washington during which he pledged peace and toasted Roosevelt with the violent attack on Hawaii.

The racism implicit in the presentation of the Japanese as compared to the Germans was continually deplored by OWI. "This is not a racial war," OWI emphasized. Racist portrayals ran counter to the United Nations avowed goals of racial equality and civil rights. Moreover, OWI realized that millions of America's allies were non-white and pointed out that allies like the Filipinos would resent depictions of racial differences. OWI also was sensitive to American black opinion. In part because OWI officials were committed to racial justice but also because the office feared pockets of apathy or disloyalty could develop if blacks interpreted the conflict as a white man's war, OWI bureaus took pains to mute racial distinctions.

Another complaint was that movies underestimated the enemy. While often shown as a formidable opponent, all too often any dumb American could easily defeat him. "The Daring Young Man" epitomized for OWI many of Hollywood's worst faults. Playing the role of Jonathan Peckinpaw, Joe E. Brown wanted to impress his girl friend by joining the armed forces. He was, of course, refused by all three branches because he was too small. To build himself up he started bowling. He became an overnight sensation because a local gambler used him as a stooge for a trick radio-controlled ball. Three Nazi agents discovered they could send messages to German submarines while standing near Peckinpaw when he bowled. FBI agents exposed the farce and Peckinpaw was disgraced. But he redeemed himself by capturing the Nazis singlehanded and being accepted into the army. The only salient point the bureau could find in the movie was the Nazi who had to say "Heil Hitler" three times as penance for accidentally using the word kosher. The bureau recognized that the film was simply a comedy, but it could see no reason to drag the war into a typical Joe E. Brown film. The bureau also condemned the film's presentation of blacks, who were "uncommonly stupid" and used only for comic relief. This element alone made the film unacceptable to the bureau.

Not all Hollywood films were so lacking in sensitivity toward the issues of war. Some did deal with the war in positive terms. The bureau approved of "Night Plane from Chunking," starring Robert Preston and Ellen Drew, because it offered a graphic illustration of Japanese aggression and portrayed the Chinese as stoical, dignified, and respected by Americans who were helping them defend democracy. The theme of Americans who were fighting as pilots in China was a favorite. The plot was usually complicated by one American among the fliers who flew only for money, until late in the film when the cynic was converted to the fight for freedom. "Flying Tigers,"

starring John Wayne and John Carrol, was typical. As the film opened, Carrol dismissed China as just a name; if America had been under attack, he would have been ready to fight for a cause. He discovered, however, that China meant home to millions of people, and in the end he gave his life for them. "China Girl," starring George Montgomery as an American photographer and Gene Tierney as the ever-present Chinese educated in America, followed a similar theme. The film opened with the following lines on the screen: "An American will fight for three things—for a woman, for himself, and for a better world. He was fighting for only two of these when the story begins, November, 1941." But the hero was soon converted to the third. The Japanese captured Montgomery in China and offered him $20,000 if he would photograph the Burma Road. Flying to Mandalay, he fell in love with a Chinese girl (Tierney) who, with her father, was fighting for China. When the girl was killed in a Japanese air-raid, the hero was converted to democracy. OWI felt this film showed realistically the difficulties the Chinese were facing and the heroic role some Americans had played in China. One scene in the film took place in a Chinese school where a teacher read a poem to her class as Japanese bombs fell:

No tyrants dream of earthly might
No cannon roar nor battle toll
Can quench this small but holy light
Of freedom rising from our soul.

Then, as the children responded "Our country is goodness . . . Our country is justice," a Japanese bomb hit the school, killing many of them. The film left no doubt that the Japanese would use any means to achieve victory over the long-suffering Chinese or that China was an important theater of the war.

The bureau also liked "Chetniks," a 1943 release featuring Philip Dorn. One of the few Hollywood movies to use Eastern Europe as a setting, the film boosted the concept of a United Nations, OWI felt, by portraying the Yugoslavian people heroically resisting the Nazis. "Chetniks" showed the resistance movement

"I give you my solemn promise that I shall not lay down my sword until every inch of Yugoslavia is reclaimed from the invader . . ."

as unified under the firm leadership of Draja Mikhailovitch. Flanked by dignitaries of the church, he addressed the people: "I give you my solemn promise that I shall not lay down my sword until every inch of Yugoslavia is reclaimed from the invader. . . . Neither German might nor German frightfulness can deter us from the goal we have set—complete freedom for our people." Despite the historical inaccuracies, the bureau still termed the film "promotional."

The classic "Casablanca" received, with a few exceptions, a tepid review. Featuring a powerful cast including Humphrey Bogart, Ingrid Bergman, Claude Rains, Sidney Greenstreet, Peter Lorre, and Paul Henried, the melodrama depicted several themes that the bureau applauded. Several scenes effectively portrayed the human tragedies resulting from the vast refugee problem created by Axis conquests. The bond of friendship and mutual respect between Rick (Bogart) and his black pianist, Sam (Dooley Wilson), while not without condescension, was for the time a positive statement of the race question. And one of the key issues of the war received brief attention when Rick, bandaging the Czech leader Victor Lazlo (Henried), questioned the value of the resistance movement's suffering. Lazlo replied: "We might as well question why we breathe. If we stop breathing, we'll die. If we stop fighting our enemies, the world will die." But the analysts fretted over Rick's cynicism, and they disliked the dapper French prefect of police (Rains). "His main interest outside of gambling is pretty women," the bureau report lamented, "and his method of pursuing them is unscrupulous." Moreover, he played along with the Germans until the end of the film when he adroitly switched to the Free French.

The analysts all but overlooked the essentially pro-Allied theme of "Casablanca." One salient incident received no attention in the bureau's report. Lazlo, his wife, Ilsa (Bergman), and Rick descend the stairway from Rick's office to find the German officers singing "Die Vaterland" as the cafe patrons look on in stony silence. Lazlo has the band strike up the "Marseillaise," and the entire cafe quickly unites in a spirited rendition, drowning out the Germans who make a disgusted exit. Furthermore, the report paid only passing attention to the movie's conclusion. Risking his life, Rick has helped the Lazlos escape to Lisbon; it is clear he has abandoned his cynicism and will continue to fight for the Allies. The prefect, too, is persuaded by the heroic example of the resistance fighters. Arm in arm, Rick and the prefect walk into the fog-shrouded night, the prefect uttering the deathless line: "This could be the beginning of a beautiful friendship."

Even though Rick and the prefect have been converted to the cause, the intelligence analysts remained unsatisfied. The war issues had received little explicit discussion; the film ended without a ringing reaffirmation of the Atlantic Charter. The bureau was not content to let meaning emerge from the interaction of the characters or the overall story line. Instead of the "beginning of a beautiful friendship" it would have preferred a two-paragraph sermonette explaining Nazi aggression and the justice of the Allied cause.

The overt moralizing the bureau favored led it to endorse the forgotten "Immortal Sergeant" as the best Hollywood treatment of the war. Played by Henry Fonda, the sergeant was a young Canadian writer who had joined the British army in Libya. The picture compared the problems Fonda had encountered in civilian life—he had joined the army because he was unable to tell his girl, Valentine, he loved her—with the problems he was facing fighting for freedom. The bureau liked the movie because it gave the public a concept of the war in North Africa, but particularly because the film combined the concrete problems of an indi-

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FSJ BOOKSHELF

Remodeling Japan

BUILDING A NEW JAPAN *by Kakuei Tanaka. The Simul Press, $12.95.*

THE ORIGINAL Japanese edition of this book has sold over 1,000,100 copies since publication in June 1972, just a few weeks before its author was elected Prime Minister. Today one wonders if anyone has had the temerity to suggest to the author a verse from the Book of Job [31:35] "That my adversary had written a book?" For in the past two years Prime Minister Tanaka has seen a combination of inflation (in part fed by soaring land prices in the very areas where the book recommends new concentrations of Japanese industry), the energy crisis, pollution and the revaluation of the yen, put his political opponent, Finance Minister Fukuda, in a position to say that Japan now has "no room for such grand schemes."

The problem which Mr. Tanaka tackled is one which indeed called for grand schemes. The concentration of industry and cities on the littoral of Honshu from Tokyo to Kobe had resulted in such statistics as four commuter lines into Tokyo running at over 250 percent of capacity or streets that make up only 9 percent of the area of Osaka (compared, for example, to 43 percent of the area of Washington), although Japanese bought over four million passenger cars in 1973. His solution basically was to build new industrial areas in agricultural regions which would go up at the same time as the road, rail, service and housing infrastructures would go up; the costs would be staggering. The plan assumed a 200 million ton crude steel capacity by 1985 (about double last year's production), a trillion dollar GNP by the same year and a concurrent oil consumption 300 percent greater than at present.

Inflation aside, even assuming a Kahnian straight line of economic growth, the plan could have run into troubles. Do Japanese really want to live in high rises? The Prime Minister would say there is little choice in a country where home purchase costs 40 times the average industrial worker's annual income. Are the social effects of the automobile too high a price to pay for industrial deconcentration? Again, the answer might be, what is the choice? The Prime Minister is able to point in his book to the amount of industrial, transportation and energy legislation he has introduced or backed in his career; Japan's economy of 1974 has been materially shaped by this expert legislation. But, say the critics, haven't these same measures helped also create the problem of overconcentration, inflation and pollution that the Prime Minister's book sets out to solve? We probably shall never know what would have been the result of this try at, as the subtitle puts it, "remodeling the Japanese archipelago." But if international monetary, raw material and trade problems ever again subside, any attempt to change the structure of Japan's industry and population will have to reckon with Prime Minister Tanaka's bold book.

— J. K. HOLLOWAY

An Anecdotal Memoir

THE LYON'S SHARE, *by Cecil Lyon. Vantage.*

THIS CHATTY, anecdotal memoir is a pleasant summary of a Foreign Service officer's career from its beginning in 1930 to near its end 30-odd years later. It evokes a flavor of the past and provides some interesting insights into the Service as it was before and after World War II. It incidentally admonishes against easy and superficial generalizations about the "old timers" and the limitations of their Atlantic seaboard and Ivy League genesis. Cecil Lyon, in fact, did not limit himself to what Livingston Merchant calls "the incestuous foreign office circle." Moreover, his warm-hearted interest in people gave his career an element which we identify with modern diplomacy as did his cultural interests. His modesty led him to take a public speaking course at one point in his career to better equip himself for this aspect of Foreign Service exactions. How many of us who came later —including the "new breed"— have done that? In this respect, he was ahead not only of his generation but of the Foreign Service Institute which was to have made those innovations in Service preparation which would promise a new, modern breed of officer. This memoir, as Bohlen's and Allison's, will suggest that the "new breed" has not emerged simply after World War II but had its progenitors in the "old" Foreign Service.

Something I always find interesting in the memoirs of a colleague is his account of requirements for entrance into the Service. This always raises a challenging question whether we have not retreated rather than advanced in this important respect.

Finally, I liked the references to the interests and activities of Mrs. Lyon who, as a Foreign Service daughter, knew what was expected of her in a diplomatic service. There was never a question in her mind whether she would do what was expected, or required, of her. That is worth reading—and reflecting upon—these days.

—SMITH SIMPSON

Flying Visitors

LOCKED ROOMS AND OPEN DOORS: *Diaries and Letters of Anne Morrow Lindbergh, 1933-1935. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, $7.95.*

THEY don't have Third Secretaries any more. Those poor fellows perched on the lowest rung of the Foreign Service ladder, but even Third Secretaries sometimes got a break, and in September, 1933, a young Third Secretary was actually Chargé d'Affaires at the American Legation in Tallinn, Estonia, when Colonel Lindbergh and his wife, Anne, dropped down out of the northern skies on their way from Moscow to Oslo.

The Third Secretary—Sorry! the Chargé d'Affaires!—later made a short official report on the two-day refueling visit. (His wife took at least 2,000 words making *her* report home.)

In 1974, in her book, "Locked Rooms and Open Doors," Anne Lindbergh used just 135 words describing their visit to Tallinn.

After a rather frantic, VIP week in Russia, she wrote in her diary, "Arrive Tallinn about 4:20. . .We land and are towed up into the hangar. Very few people there, no cameramen. And no hurry, no pressure, no intensity. . .Our hotel

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is right in the old wall. . .I sit in the wide window seat and look out at the wall and a cherry tree with red fruit and listen to the quiet: nothing is stirring. And I feel so relieved."

Quiet, privacy and peace were commodities the Lindberghs craved but seldom found. They found it in Tallinn where, as they walked through the twisting cobblestone streets, gazing up at the tall medieval houses, everyone recognized them, but not even a young boy stared.

This volume of Anne Lindbergh's continuing autobiography is one that can be read on several levels; pure adventure when they are flying their fragile "flying boat" through the storms of the far north, even landing among icebergs, it is also an unfolding story of an immature girl becoming a radio operator and navigator, a scribbler of personal letters becoming a competent writer, and finally, a shy girl emerging as a strong woman.

As for that former Third Secretary, shown a 1933 photograph of himself grinning at the former Colonel Lindbergh, he grimaces and says, "Well, I suppose he doesn't look like that now, either!"

—REBECCA H. LATIMER

Chairman Mao

MAO TSE-TUNG, *by Jules Archer. Hawthorn Books, $5.95.*

THE author of this biography of Chairman Mao had previously written 25 books, chiefly biographies of such disparate personages as MacArthur, Kenyatta, Stalin, Metternich, Wilson, Eisenhower, Tito, and others. His account of Mao's life—within the context of the events of his time—is interestingly and professionally told in 200 pages. He has diligently pored over a number of secondary sources; the gleanings thereof constitute this work. For the busy layman who must read as he runs, this report on Mao will be useful. It is not, of course, to be compared with scholarly (and no less readable) biographies that are based on primary, as well as secondary, sources and written by those with impressive personal knowledge of China and the Chinese. For those JOURNAL readers who want the best (and who are not in a ten-lessons-

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from-Madame-LaZonga mood), "Mao's Way," an authoritative work by Edward E. Rice, is highly recommended.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

Anti-Sinitism

THE INVISIBLE CHINA, *by Garth Alexander. Macmillan, $7.95.*

"THE Invisible China" is a book about Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia, written by a journalist who has spent many years in that part of the world. Alexander, very appropriately, refers to the Overseas Chinese as "The Jews of the East." Although they represent only about five percent of the area's population, because of their determination, intelligence and hard work, these Chinese have played a disproportionate role in the countries where they have settled, particularly in commerce and industry. Their success has also made them a persecuted minority. The envy and resentment of the native population and the need of many of the governments to find scapegoats for their own failures have resulted in much "anti-sinitic" legislation. The author describes the conditions of the Overseas Chinese in various countries and their role in Asian politics.

With the creation of the People's Republic of China in 1949 and the rise of nationalism in Southeast Asia after the Second World War, the problems of Overseas Chinese became particularly acute. According to Alexander, the fear of this minority has become more and more racial in nature and has actually been encouraged by the Nationalist Government. He maintains it is Taiwan that is pinning the pro-Communist label on the Overseas Chinese and intentionally combining and keeping alive the legends of both the Yellow Peril and the Red Threat. A rather strange way to lure the support of compatriots in the tug-of-war between Peking and Taipei.

The focus is obviously on the Overseas Chinese, but the reader is likely to wonder if the author is using them as a vehicle to express his displeasure with America's policies vis-a-vis the Third World —policies which, he claims, help preserve the dynastic power of the Asian ruling class.

—LEO A. ORLEANS

Schlock Troops of Media

THE WAR OF IDEAS—America's International Identity Crisis, *by George N. Gordon and Irving A. Falk. Hastings House Publishers, $7.95.*

IN "The War of Ideas," Professors Gordon and Falk evaluate United States information activities since the war and recommend directions for the future. The authors are specialists in communications theory and both have written extensively on the subject and have also had practical experience in government and private-sector mass-media operations. In this book they come on like the schlock troops of the communications discipline.

The content of "The War of Ideas" wanders quite far from propaganda *per se*. The authors describe the dangers of new chemical and biological methods of warfare. They berate the lack of a coherent US foreign policy, feeling we have had only *ad hoc* moral stances and improvisations to situations since World War II. One chapter is devoted to international trade and finance as a form of international communication. Closer

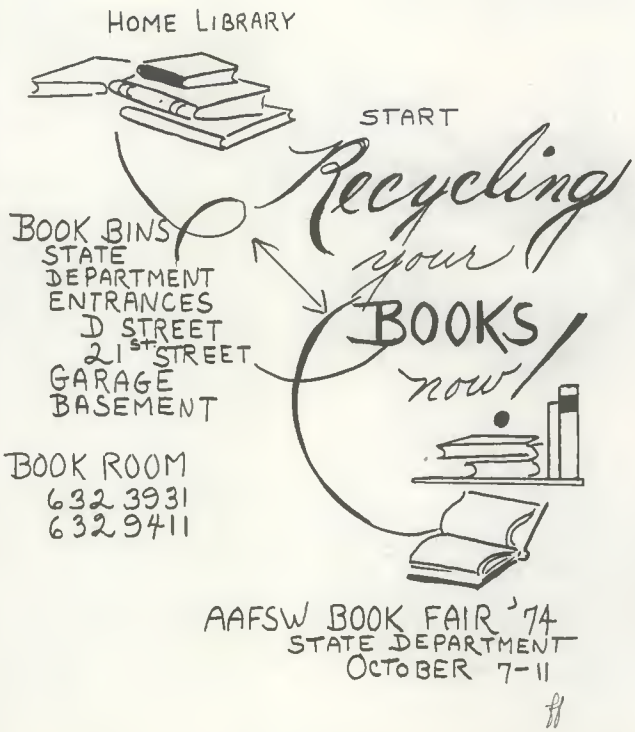


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to their home ground, the authors analyze the activities of USIA, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberty.

The book concludes with a series of recommendations, the most interesting being: an international trade organization should be created to regulate the flow of goods and money; a solid US foreign policy should be devised; forcign aid should be reduced and end completely by 1985; USIA should have a role in *making* foreign policy, not merely selling it after it is made; and US propaganda agencies should be run by specialists in psych-war content, not in-media techniques.

The book suffers from an overblown style which is supercilious and hypercritical. The structure of the book is also disjointed. It is hard to tell what certain chapters are actually about, and many paragraphs are so encrusted with parentheses, modifying clauses, asides and snide remarks that the reader gets lost between subject and verb. In short, their medium obscures their message.

—WILLIAM A. DOUGLAS

Art in Africa

THE LIVING ARTS OF NIGERIA, *edited by William Fagg. Macmillan, $12.95.* AFRICAN ART—*The Years Since 1920, by Marshall Ward Mount.*

THESE two books offer some welcome insights into a subject that is far from exhausted in spite of the spate of books on African art in recent years. "The Living Arts of Nigeria," edited by William Fagg, a noted scholar and the Keeper of Ethnography at the British Museum, is the more attractive and readable of the two. A relaxed style and an original format, with descriptive material at the end of each small section within easy reach of the color plates, makes it easy to scan. The sections cover the arts of carving, casting, glass blowing, pottery making, leather working, dyeing and weaving.

From a personal storehouse of knowledge such as Mr. Fagg has at his fingertips there are informative details such as: "the deep blue shiny turbans" seen in northern Nigeria are made glossy by pounding quantities of dry indigo pigment into the cloth; or in the introduction to the portion on pottery, "Scratch the surface of any Yoruba or Hausa town of two or three hundred years standing or more and you are sure to find that it is built, like Troy, upon a great midden consisting almost entirely of potsherds. . . ." It is these almost teasing "asides" which give the book life and dimension.

Mr. Fagg also makes some interesting remarks about contemporary references in certain dance masks and adds, "It would be going too far to say that each of the contemporary schools of modern art are to be sought in Africa, but at least the Africans had a remarkable knack of anticipating them."

The book might be somewhat easier to use as a reference if an index or list of contents were included. However this is a minor complaint for the text is a scant 20 pages including the explanatory captions for the plates. A more serious criticism, inasmuch as the book is basically a picture book, is the travel-ad look contributed by the photographs. They are, as one might expect, in lavish color, en-

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larged or cropped to page size in ways that emphasize the exotic rather than the factual. Some of the masks are presented against a totally black background diffusing the edges. One or two of the subjects portrayed are not particularly noteworthy. A brass figure and a beaded crown are really tourist art, but there are a number of interesting pieces—some beautiful hammered metal vessels, for example. Technically the photographs are faultless, and the dull surface of the printed pages offers a contrast to the otherwise omnipresent gloss. The illustrations, while competent, are a bit delicate in style and sweet in color to accurately reflect the life and vitality of Nigeria.

"African Art, The Years Since 1920" is also a survey, and in fact has something of the encyclopedia about it, reviewing as it does the work of a number of artists in detail according to area, school or type of training. This historical or documentary approach builds a lopsided edifice. The book begins with a lament for dying traditions and ends by suggesting more support from governments, institutions and business concerns.

It praises the efforts of Africa's museums to protect traditional art without recognizing the anomaly basic to their position. The concept of a museum to collect and protect is a foreign one to Africa; in the process of carrying out this duty, a museum may become the instrument by which artifacts, central to tradition and worship, are removed from their original shrine sites. Thus, perhaps unwittingly, the museum may serve the purpose it was created to defeat.

Mr. Mount has done a thorough job of research and as a result his facts are well grounded, but had he imposed more critical standards, using talent as the primary criterion, he would have strengthened his book. If his aim was simply to record, one can still question the need to include in a book on African art, a chapter devoted to commercial items for the tourist.

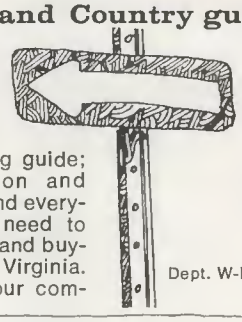
There are revelations. In analyzing the work of Yemi Bisiri, the Nigerian brass caster, Mr. Mount's careful investigation corrects an earlier comparison made to the Obo-Ekiti tradition in another study entitled "African Art" by Frank Willett. However one must note the short shrift received by South African artists with the mention of only one, Gerard Sekoto, omitting such talented men as Mhlaba Dumile and the late Cyprian Shilakoe. A woman artist of exceptional talent, Kamala Ibrahim from the Sudan, might have been included.

The photographic reproductions are adequate, but cannot be compared in quality to those in the Fagg book.

However, the book does what it sets out to do, that is, document. One can wish that it were more interpretive than descriptive, but one cannot argue with most of the assessments. It is just that the book lacks that very thing which makes African art a living force, i.e. vitality. Inevitably it must be measured against others on the same subject. Ulli Beier has thus far made the major contribution. In spite of certain admitted omissions, his book, "Contemporary Art in Africa" is the most interesting and visually exciting.

—JEAN KENNEDY

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OWI Goes To The Movies
from page 23

vidual with those of a military campaign. "Immortal Sergeant", like "Casablanca," dealt in part with a man's increasing understanding of the war issues. But the last scene, in contrast to "Casablanca," won the bureau's praise for its explication of the issues. Recovering from his wounds in an Allied hospital, Fonda began to understand the cruel necessity of war: "If I want Valentine or anything else worthwhile in life, I've got to fight for it. That's not a bad thing for a man to find out is it? Or for a nation either, for that matter, to fight."

"Immortal Sergeant" was one of several movies released early in 1943 that encouraged OWI to believe that "some of the best films from the war information point of view" were at last coming out of Hollywood. An OWI analyst cited "The Moon Is Down" and "Hangmen Also Die" for powerful presentation of the issues. Movies produced later in the war that won praise from OWI included "Watch on the Rhine," "Destination Tokyo," "The Eve of St. Mark," "A Guy Named Joe," "Corregidor," and "Sahara."

The delay in the production of feature films likely to please OWI was largely attributable to the inevitable time lag between a picture's conception and its release. Nine to twelve months was a typical gestation period for a major film; early 1943 was, therefore, about as early as improvement could have been expected. In the first months after Pearl Harbor, the "man-with-a-gun" interpretation of why America was at war was an understandable response. Some time was required for Hollywood—and the government itself—to marshal appeals for the four freedoms and the United Nations.

Just as the upturn in the cinema was becoming noticeable, an angry Congress slashed OWI appropriations. Partisan congressmen charged that OWI had been working as much for Roosevelt's reelection as for Allied victory, and Southern legislators were incensed by OWI's solicitous treatment of blacks. Intelligence operations were among the first activities cut back, and analysis of motion pictures was suspended in the spring of 1943.

During its brief life the BOI performed useful services through its movie analyses. First, the bureau proved helpful in flashing warning signals about films that would offend foreign sensibilities. The insensitivity of American film makers had provoked several unfortunate incidents in 1942. In "A Yank at Eton" the cocky American student (Mickey Rooney) who thumbed his nose at tradition upset the British. The portrayal of Iceland as a forbidding, frozen land populated by rather dimwitted citizens in the Sonja Henie vehicle "Iceland" had outraged that key island's population. And the proposed re-release of "The Real Glory," which emphasized strife in the Philippines between Muslims and Christians and between Filipinos and Americans, had gravely offended Philippine President Manuel Quezon. The greater

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understanding encouraged by the bureau's analyses helped reduce such incidents later in the war. Second, the bureau responded fully to its task of analyzing war themes in a vital medium. The need for pictures "correctly researched and correctly emphasized" was acute in the often depressing first year of war. By providing systematic, up-to-date intelligence reports, the bureau furnished the data needed for informed policy making.

Nevertheless, the bureau, by narrowing its focus to the treatment of war-related issues, lost a sense of perspective. Bob Blakely, an assistant to OWI domestic director Cowles, sensed this when he charged that the bureau reached "some rather ridiculous conclusions." He was astounded that analysts rated the comedy "George Washington Slept Here" as "possibly objectionable" because the Americans did not appear "as a normally intelligent group" and because there was "no feeling of cooperation in the community nor in the family." He also doubted that the corrupt judges and incompetent police who troubled the bureau put America in a bad light. American films were "good ambassadors," he argued, precisely because they did not make "any conscious attempt to create a certain impression of Americans." Foreign viewers did not conclude that all Americans were "crooks and fools and tyrants." They perceived instead that Americans "were all kinds of people just like themselves and that best of all the Government didn't beat the industry into conforming to a certain message." Composer Sam Barlow underscored the point after a trip to Latin America in 1943. Foreign audiences knew "perfectly well" the United States had "innumerable problems," he said; it solved nothing to show movies "of an utterly hypocritical sweetness and light." In fact, the United States gained respect by releasing films recognizing its problems. "The Grapes of Wrath," produced in 1940, in particular, demonstrated to Latin Americans that the country "had ceased to be the Make-Believe Child, Goody Two-Shoes, and had really become adult."

The very diversity of American films was a more potent argument for the Allied cause than any OWI-inspired sermonette. When the movies poked fun at the police or spoofed the government, they demonstrated that freedom of expression was a reality. When Charlie Chaplin satirized a dictator or when a bumbling Joe E. Brown exposed Nazi spies, films did not minimize the totalitarian threat but pricked the pretensions of dictators. At the same time, audiences could see the vivid contrast between democracy and totalitarianism, to which humor and satire were alien. When the clever amateur detective outwitted the police he reaffirmed the American belief in the resourceful individual who triumphed over the institution, and he reinforced a democratic theme—the worth and dignity of the common man.

Through its desire to press artistic expression into government-sanctioned molds, the BOI courted the danger of undermining the ideas for which it fought. The best argument for why Americans fought remained not the rhetoric, but the reality, of freedom. ■

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AFSA NEWS

Rick Williamson

THIS MONTH IN WASHINGTON

A while ago, in the course of planning the arrangements for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Foreign Service, we were told by management that the Rogers Act was passed into law on July 1, 1924. We decided to have a special commemorative lunch on the first of July this year, and were delighted and honored that Vice President Ford was willing to speak to us on this occasion.

On Saturday night with the lunch scheduled for Monday, I was sitting at home in my study writing up background information on the Rogers Act, the Foreign Service and AFSA to give to the press. In checking through some reference books I came across the following statement: "The Rogers Act was signed into law May 24, 1924." Panic. The Vice President, a number of other distinguished guests and over two hundred members were going to show up on the Eighth Floor to commemorate the 50th anniversary on the wrong date. I looked in two more books, with the same result. Two thoughts immediately went through my mind: (1) I had better start drafting my letter of resignation and (2) can't (expletive deleted) management do anything right?

First thing Sunday morning, I dashed into the American University library, and began poring through reference books. To my horror, I kept seeing the same thing—"The Rogers Act of May 24, 1924." Finally I found a copy of the Act. Sure enough, the Act was signed into law on May 24, 1924. But the final section of the Act states that its provisions will take effect July 1, 1924. So the 50th anniversary of the unified Foreign Service was in fact July 1, 1924, though that date is not the 50th anniversary of the Act.

This scare notwithstanding, the luncheon was a tremendous success, everything went well and we were able to give this important event the kind of commemoration it deserves. Unfortunately, the price of Eighth Floor catering has risen so high that we have priced most of our membership out of attending functions there (even though we subsidized the lunch) and will probably have to forego any further Eighth Floor luncheons.

This month we also had our annual meeting at which we presented the President's, Treasurer's and other reports, and held a lengthy discussion of various options for dealing with the Association's financial difficulties. More is at stake than simply finances—what needs to be decided is where we are going to place our priorities. Please take a few minutes, read the reports and fill out the short questionnaire indicating your preferences.

The annual meeting and the lunch with the Vice President took up much of our time this month. In addition, we testified on raising the $36,000 ceiling on senior-level pay (see Steve's column). We also began negotiations this month with the Department on the precepts for this year's selection boards. In preparation for this round of negotiations, we sent a circular cable to all overseas posts requesting a poll of all members on how the Board should be organized by function and how by pay-plan. We have sent a circular to all Washington members asking the same questions, and have held a meeting of the Washington membership in the issues.

While the results of the poll are still incomplete, it appears that the Service has modified its views on the Cone system, that the two extreme views (that promotions at mid-career should be based solely on across-the-board competition or solely on functional competition) have lost most of their former support, and that the Service now prefers some mix of across-the-board and functional competition at mid-career. We will provide a more complete report on the results of the poll next month, as well as a report on how the negotiations on the precepts are going. We already have reached agreement on one principle, though. Both we and the Director General agree that extraordinary measures should be taken this year so that the Boards can meet earlier, thus making it possible to release the promotion list sooner.

It is clear that we will have some difficult negotiations ahead of us on the precepts before we can reach agreement. In particular, we are likely to disagree on the nature of functional competition at mid-career, how the Boards are organized by pay-plan and the junior and senior thresholds. We certainly do not agree with the Director General's proposals on Selection-out, which would return to the highly-discredited system of automatically tying low percentage rankings to selection-out. As this is being written, it is unclear whether we will be able to resolve this issue through negotiations, or whether we will have to appeal the matter.

In USIA this month, we received and tallied the results of the poll of our USIA members on the future of the Agency. The results of this poll are reported on elsewhere in the issue. This month USIA management asked us for comments on the new USIA efficiency report form. In order to obtain the views of the Service, we sent out our first cable to all Foreign Service posts which dealt solely with a USIA issue. In the cable we requested views on the relative merits of the new form, the old form, and the new State Department form. We should have the final results of the poll in the next few days and will pass them on to management and report on them to the USIA members in the near future.

We have also received this month the preliminary findings and recommendations of the Disputes Panel on the "Safeguards Issue." If the formal findings and recommendations are as favorable as the preliminary version, we will have won a major victory at this level. It appears likely, however, that the Agency will appeal the issue to the Board of the Foreign Service.

Steve Wallace

THE VIEW FROM HERE

What a month of irony! AFSA posed the question: "Management, where were you?"; and this was on an issue of greatest interest to senior management—that of lifting the ceiling on executive level pay. Within a seven-day time frame and without the statistics and personnel readily available to the three Foreign Affairs Agency, Tex Harris and I scrambled to build on our previous communications with the Congress to write and present testimony to the Senate on behalf of the well-being of the hundreds of senior officers affected by the current pay ceiling of $36,000.

Dignified by the company of the Comptroller General, the Assistant Secretary of HEW, the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, and the Commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service, the Association was the only voice speaking for the Foreign Service about the extraordinary costs imposed upon its senior employees because of the personally assumed representation costs and the transient life style. In short, and as we stated in our testimony, ". . . we do not believe that this group of senior employees should be the only significant group in the government whose personal well-being regresses while its members are simultaneously expected to form the mainstream of American foreign policy." (AFSA's testimony is reproduced elsewhere in this issue).

Mindful of our employee representation and professional responsibilities to all Foreign Service employees, AFSA delivered testimony for the benefit of the Service's senior employees, for the benefit of the Service itself, and for what we believe to be the ultimate benefit of better foreign policy. With the senior management of the Civil Service establishment well represented, complementary testimony was incumbent upon the managements of the Foreign Affairs Agencies in this instance to point out the toll the current ceiling has taken in terms of personnel and professional loss to the Foreign Service. It was also necessary to show responsible concern for its senior employees who have had only the solace of inflated "psychic income" to compensate them for paper promotions and higher responsibilities.

It was ironic that AFSA's action, as the sole spokesman for the interests of senior Foreign Service personnel on this vital pay issue, occurred despite the concern of some senior officers who question AFSA's decision to add its new employee representative role to its traditional role as the professional association of Foreign Service personnel. We hope that our recent testimony will serve as a good example of how AFSA combines its two principal roles to benefit its senior members.

A second note of irony on another issue was AID top management's recent Senate testimony alleging its understanding of the meaning of "good management" and its willingness to take appropriate steps to achieve it. Simultaneously, talking out of the other side of its mouth AID (1) broke off consultations with AFSA concerning occupational category code policy and unilaterally issued a questionable Manual Circular on RIF Procedures; (2) wanted to maintain control over arbitrary administrative promotions; and (3) insisted upon the right to convert and/or terminate time-limited employees in relation to ongoing position requirements rather than on the basis of merit. If "good management" equates with AID's current practices and its seemingly authoritarian approach to personnel matters, I would suggest that AID management officials read their own superiors' Congressional testimony, reread governing Executive Order 11636 which mandates meaningful employee participation in personnel policies and procedures, and then seek a meaningful dialogue with AFSA. They could then talk about "good management" in the new sense without irony or hyprocrisy.

Joint Agency Members' Interests

After a full year of no progress despite repeated prodding on AFSA's proposal to increase the amount of per diem paid to employees assigned to the Foreign Service Institute, we have filed a formal dispute on the issue. You will recall that in our poll, Foreign Service personnel considered this the top priority issue in the members' interests field. Civil Service employees receive full per diem for two months with the requirement only that consideration be given to a reduction in per diem for TDY of more than two months. Foreign Service personnel, on the other hand, receive $12 plus lodging costs for the first 21 days and one-half of this per diem rate for the next 99 calendar days. No per diem beyond 120 days at any one location is authorized.

AFSA is not satisfied that subsistence costs for Foreign Service personnel are any lower than those for Civil Service personnel. Nevertheless, the consensus in AFSA is that the managements of the three agencies are purposefully stalling on the issue which is typical of their approach to negotiations with AFSA on members' interests issues. Despite meeting two to three times per week over the past six months on various members' interests issues, management has not been willing to move even a single issue to the point of signing an agreement. Management finally implemented an August 1973 agreement to eliminate R&R deductibles only after we filed an unfair labor practice charge on the issue in March of this year. As a result, we are being forced to resort more frequently to the disputes route in order to speed the "escargot" to the table on members' interests matters.

AID Affairs

Unfortunately, and with few exceptions, direct confrontation seems to be the order of the day since AID management has been taking us seriously in negotiations only on matters of interest to management. As a result, we have filed an unfair practice charge against AID on the recently issued Manual Circular 476.2 titled "Reduction in Force—AID Foreign Service"; we have filed an appeal on the issue

of termination and conversion of time limited employees; and we have also filed an appeal on the issue of administrative promotions.

In all fairness to management, however, there have been a few areas where AID has shown some willingness to cooperate. We were able to achieve agreement on the 1974 promotion precepts. Management is taking a hard look at its liberal use of retired AID personnel as "consultants." AID has been somewhat responsive to our numerous queries about the hiring of outside personnel when the complement is growing and when hundreds of "L's" seem to have little opportunity other than unemployment. We have achieved some success in this latter area only because of our constant pressure on the Agency and help from AID employees in keeping us informed. Problem areas have centered on the Agency's willingness to entertain the hiring of ex-Peace Corps personnel in the Sahel Campaign, the hiring of PASA and contract personnel when direct-hire were available, and the recruiting of up to 56 outside International Development Interns in various fields, all of which are jobs which conceivably could be filled in whole or in part by existing "L" personnel. We have informed management that if positions are filled by outsiders and it later comes to our attention that qualified onboard AID employees are not being used or are facing employment termination, this would be a violation of the letter and/or the spirit of our "L" agreement. We will not hesitate to criticize what AFSA would consider callous treatment of AID's current Foreign Service employees. Furthermore, we informed AID management that the Association intends to scrutinize any new hiring while AID remains in the painful mode of general personnel reductions.

Thomas D. Boyatt

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

The requirement in the Bylaws for a June meeting of the Association was designed to provide the Board with an opportunity to report on the previous year's activities, and present its financial plan for the following year. This Board, however, is a transitional Board between a new Board every-other-winter under the old Bylaws, and a new Board every-other-summer under the new Bylaws. As a result, the present Board has been in office only five months, rather than a year. I think it would be more appropriate, therefore, to report on the activities of the Association since we were elected to be exclusive representative, rather than just to report on the past five months.

The decision to seek election as the exclusive representative of Foreign Service personnel was a hard one for the Association. Many members felt that the Association was "becoming a union" and that our activities as a professional association would suffer. Others felt that the Association was incapable of representing vigorously the employee interests of Foreign Service personnel. A number expressed their concerns by dropping out of the Association.

I am pleased to be able to report to you that this negative trend has not only been halted, but that in the past year, our membership has grown considerably, and this month reached exactly 7200. When measured against the shrinking number of Foreign Service personnel since 1967, our membership as a percentage of those eligible for membership is now the highest in many years, perhaps the highest in the Association's history. Moreover, our membership is now more representative of the Foreign Service. In the past two years we have seen sharp increases in our membership in USIA, AID and the Staff Corps in all three agencies.

I believe this improvement in our membership base is the result of actions by the Association in the past year and a half which have clearly demonstrated that both fears concerning the Association —that we were abandoning our professional interests or that we were not capable of representing Foreign Service personnel—were groundless. I believe that our record demonstrates that we cannot only take on the role as the exclusive representative of Foreign Service personnel and do so with considerable success, but that we can use this status to advance our professional goals as well.

One of the things which we have found interesting in the past year is that we are being watched. Other Foreign Services have been in touch with us; some, like the Canadians to share experiences, others to learn how we have been successful where others have failed. We are being also watched by other professional organizations who are increasingly seeing in the Foreign Service experience a new and exciting means of advancing their own professional interests through the role of exclusive employee representative. We are being watched by academicians and students of government and labor relations to see what we will make of our unique opportunity to give employees a serious and substantial input into the rules which govern their careers. And we are being watched by the opponents of a separate and increasingly professional and unified Foreign Service. We believe there is a reason for all this interest—the accomplishments and achievements of the Association since we have become the exclusive representative of Foreign Service people.

In the past year and a half, we have continued all of our major standing professional activities. We have had a highly successful luncheon program, including the lunch for the China hands. We have continued our awards program. We have continued our Face-to-Face program which we sponsor jointly with the Carnegie Endowment. We have continued our Scholarship program, and have expanded substantially the activities of the Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center which we sponsor jointly with the Association of American Foreign Service Women. We continue —sadly—to honor those of our colleagues killed for serving their country abroad. We continue to publish, and in spite of financial limitations, to improve the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL. We continue to provide a number of services to our members including three insurance programs, the Foreign Service Club, and buyers services.

As important as these activities are, we have begun an even more significant activity: a vigorous, public and congressional campaign to defend and improve the professional status of the Foreign Service. We have successfully de-

fended the integrity of Foreign Service personnel in Santiago who had been subjected to a vicious campaign of vilification in the press and the Congress. We have pressed for greater emphasis on language competence with the Congress which elicited a pledge from the Department to the Congress to pursue this matter more vigorously. We have indicated, in the ceremony with the President in the Department and in our lunch for the China Hands our willingness to undergo tremendous sacrifice for this nation, but that we will never again permit McCarthyism or any other threat to impinge upon our integrity or to silence our dedication to serving the national interest.

We have also begun a major campaign to eliminate the abuses of granting Ambassadorships to those whose only "qualifications" for that office are their political connections or level of contributions to the party then in power. In this context, we have strongly supported efforts by some on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to establish criteria to guide the Committee in exercising its role in providing advice and consent on Ambassadorial nominations. These criteria, if adopted and followed, would preclude the granting of Ambassadorships to incompetent political contributors. In the meantime, in the absence of such criteria, we have broken with tradition to testify in opposition to one political appointee, and written to the committee to express our concern in the case of another. We have not solved this problem—that may take concerted pressure over a period of years. But we already have one success to our credit —AFSA-proposed legislation requiring the reporting of all political contributions by Ambassadorial nominees was adopted into law last year. Moreover, this year, the Senate has already passed and sent to the House further AFSA-proposed legislation requiring mandatory public disclosure of such contributions.

Finally, last year we obtained legislation from the Congress closing a major loop-hole in the Foreign Service Act by requiring that promotions be made on the basis of rank-order lists, thus foreclosing actions such as those taken by former USIA Director Shakespeare to circumvent the merit system and undermine our professionalism by injecting political and personal considerations into the Selection process.

We believe this adds up to a program of vigorous action on behalf of the professional concerns of the Foreign Service of unparalleled proportions. Quite frankly, our status as the exclusive representative of Foreign Service personnel has greatly strengthened our hand in this effort.

At the same time, we have been successful in obtaining a number of concrete changes in legislation from the Congress of direct and financial benefit to our members. After several years of effort, we were finally able to obtain Foreign Service retirement for career Foreign Service personnel in AID. We also obtained a kindergarten allowance for Foreign Service personnel abroad, which is now in effect and saving Foreign Service parents with small children from $500 to $2000 per child. This year we proposed, and the Senate agreed and has passed on to the House legislation authorizing one round trip per year for Foreign Service children studying in the US in high school or college, rather than once in four years as at present. We have also supported efforts by the Department to bring about improvements in Foreign Service retirement, and have proposed a number of changes of our own, at least some of which have been incorporated in the Senate version of the bill now before the SFRC.

While stressing our Congressional action program, we have been active on other fronts as well, seeking both improvements in our professional status and advancing and enhancing our employee interests. Indeed, one of the major advantages of being the exclusive representative of Foreign Service personnel has been our capacity to use that status to pursue professional ends. For example, we have negotiated and signed an agreement with the State Department protecting the promotion process from any possibility, actual or hypothetical, of tampering by management after the selection boards have completed their work. This agreement defines and protects employee rights. But it also protects the Service and its professionalism from its classic enemies, nepotism, personal cronyism and/or political influence. This agreement, which we are presently seeking to obtain through a formal appeal also for USIA, and through negotiations for AID, is but one of many where we have found that our employee interests and our professional interests are highly complementary, and where we believe the Service has benefited from having its professional organization represent its employee interests in formal dealings with the three agencies. Other examples would be the far-reaching changes we have brought about in the State and USIA promotion precepts for both officers and staff; the AID personnel handbook, the agreement on Limited Status employees in AID, and the out-of-area policy in State.

We have also intervened with the Federal Courts to preserve the principle of selection-out but to insist on the establishment of due-process standards (which had been missing and were a serious flaw in the State and USIA personnel systems).

While seeking major improvements in personnel policies and procedures, which have benefited both our employee and our professional interests, we have not ignored the tangible benefits needed by the Foreign Service. In addition to the benefits won from the Congress, we have obtained the following concrete changes for Foreign Service personnel from the three agencies:

We have eliminated the deductible on R&R travel, eliminated the deductible on claims for loss or damage, obtained a new sliding scale for air freight of special benefit to single employees, obtained a new allowance for air freight for newborn-child layettes, reduced the eligibility period for educational travel, raised allowances for mandatory medical immunizations and examinations away from Washington, and many others. We have also negotiated an agreement with the Department upgrading Foreign Service titles in all three agencies. Our chapters overseas have also reached a number of important agreements dealing with housing, overtime, duty rosters, control of commissaries, and a host

of other local problems.

Furthermore, we have obtained for hundreds of employees, particularly secretaries and communicators, the overtime to which they were legally entitled. We have similarly helped hundreds of individuals with grievances, most of which have been amicably resolved at the informal stage, but dozens of which have been won fully or partially before the Grievance Board. And we are now finally making progress in our negotiations of a new, more far-reaching grievance system. We have also helped scores of individuals with Federal or state tax problems, and dozens of individuals with consumer or credit related problems.

In the coming year we have many major tasks ahead of us including: raising the ceiling on senior-level pay on which we are testifying before the Senate today; improvements in pay-comparability; further regularization of overtime; further changes in the cone-system in State; elimination of irregularities in the FSRU program in USIA, and a strengthening of promotion precepts to protect specialists, particularly at VOA; elimination of the abuses of lateral entry in State; elimination of the abuses of administrative promotions in AID and of the misuse (and pro-GS bias) of the Complement and of the placement system; a further extension of due-process standards for selection-out in State and USIA; reversing the trend of the growing Washingtonization and GS-ization of AID and USIA which has weakened those agencies and wasted the taxpayers' money; further improvements in allowances, especially in per diem at FSI and more equitable shipping and housing allowances for single employees; more equitable treatment for minorities and women, including efforts to force more equitable treatment of Foreign Service Secretaries; and finally a strong defense of our system of allowances overseas from the recent, mindless, know-nothing attacks from OMB, the Civil Service Commission and the GAO.

In a broader sense, we will continue efforts to make the Foreign Service the master of its own destiny and will continue to oppose attacks on our system from the Civil Service Commission, OMB, AFGE and others who wish to bring about the gradual GS-ization and ultimate demise of an independent, increasingly unified Foreign Service. This coming year we will also be testifying before the Murphy Commission on the future of the Foreign Affairs agencies, and will express to the Congress our alarm at several dangerous trends taking place in all three agencies which seem contrary to the public interest. In short, though we have accomplished a great deal in the past year and a half, we have a great deal yet to do.

I do not want to close leaving you the impression that we do not face serious problems in the future. We still are forced into confrontation too often to achieve our objectives by some in management who refuse to accept the philosophy incorporated into the Executive Order. Too many in the managements of the three agencies still prefer to throw up procedural road-blocks rather than deal with issues on the substantive level. And we still have problems with some of the institutions which play key roles under the Executive Order. To solve these problems, we believe substantial modifications need to be made in the Order, and it may well be that this can be accomplished only through legislation. Moreover, the results of the last AFSA election have been challenged, and these challenges are currently being investigated by the Department of Labor.

Finally, as our Treasurer will explain in her report, though the Association has been making substantial progress with its finances, we have hard choices ahead if we are to place the Association on a sound, financial footing for the years to come.

Treasurer's Report

I come before you today as Treasurer with a report on the Association's finances which is in many respects more favorable than those of recent years. Nonetheless serious financial problems face the Association in coming years unless steps are taken to correct the situation.

The previous AFSA Boards have faced several major financial problems. Of these, by far the most serious financial drain has been the Club. Though the amounts have varied from year to year, the Club has lost substantial amounts of money every year since its inception. In FY 1973, for example, the Club lost nearly $63,000. Much of this loss was attributable to the failure of the Club to meet its share of the overhead expenses for such items as mortgages, interest, taxes, insurance, and professional services. Yet even on a direct cost basis, the Club that year lost over $25,000. The figures for the last six months of 1973 showed no sign of improvement. It was clear to the previous Board that if allowed to continue, the situation would lead the Association into bankruptcy in a very short period of time. Moreover, in the four years of the Club's existence a number of organizational reforms such as new managers, changes in staff, prices and menus, had been tried —none of them appreciably affected the substantial losses sustained each year. Just before the turn of the year, therefore, the previous Board authorized the Executive Director to institute several major changes in Club operations designed to minimize losses by drastically curtailing staff, hiring a new manager, and simplifying the menus. It was clear that if these reforms were unsuccessful, the Association would have to consider closing the Club. The aim of these reforms was to lower the $63,000 deficit by $25,000 though no one predicted that these moves would solve all of the Association's financial problems. While the FY 1974 books are not yet closed, it is clear that these changes have been successful in reducing the Club's operating losses. If projections hold, total Club losses in FY 1974 will be cut to $31,000, with all the financial gains coming in the six months during which the major changes in Club management were instituted.

In short, the Club is still losing a great deal of money, but only because it is not meeting its share of overhead costs. Figuring direct costs only, the Club is making a small profit of about $500 to $750 per month for the first time in its history. As a consequence, the Association is no longer in a position to consider saving money by simply closing the Club. To the contrary, unless revenue-generating functions can be found for the space, closing the Club would now actually cost the Association money.

As a result of Club losses, the Association faced a major problem in FY 1973—a serious deficit in its financial position. Cash receipts were substantially lower than disbursements. This cash short fall in FY 1973 amounted to nearly $66,000, or an amount almost equal to Club losses. This deficit, however, was lowered by special contributions, by dipping into existing resources (including reimbursements for prior administrative support), and by taking out a short-term bank note of $30,000.

While the FY 1974 books are not yet closed, it appears that the deficit will be lowered to under $20,000, despite the costs of repaying the bank note taken out the previous year. The remaining deficit was met by taking out another bank note of $15,000, and reducing our bank balance slightly. In short, we have substantially reduced the deficit of the previous year; largely through major reductions in Club expenditures, but also because of a rise in revenue from dues because of a modest growth in membership. Better cost controls instituted by the former Executive Director, Gerry Bushnell, also helped the financial situation. Thus the overall reduction in the Association's operating deficit is a significant improvement.

The financial picture for the Foreign Service Scholarship fund looks less dreary. In spite of the declining stock market, the Scholarship Fund has grown from $525,700 in 1969 to $625,000 in 1974. Similarly, after depreciation, the value of our equity in the Headquarters building and other tangible property has continued to increase each year, and has grown from $75,000 in 1969 to $164,000 in 1974.

While in these respects, our financial status is brighter than it has been in many years, unfortunately, an analysis of the projected costs of running the Association in the coming year indicates that, Club problems aside, the costs of administering the Association are growing more rapidly than revenues. Inflation is, of course, the principle reason. Association costs have risen along with other costs in the Washington area; most significantly the cost of personnel. The Association is fortunate in having a highly dedicated professional Headquarters Staff. They can, however, hardly be expected to receive substantially lower salaries than are paid in the Washington area for comparable skills. Our pay rates have increased nearly 20% in three years. Printing costs, taxes, utilities, and indeed all other costs, have followed similar trends. However, membership dues have not been increased since June 1971, and any increase in total dues revenues has come from increased membership rolls.

The problem the Association faces, therefore, in coming years is that costs will continue to rise, while revenue remains relatively stable. As a result, our success in lowering our deficit is likely to reverse itself this year, and in future years the deficit is likely to increase. We will discuss a number of possible options for dealing with this problem later.

As these figures show, our basic problem is the disproportionately high amount of total resources which must go to administrative costs instead of programs. Administrative costs account for nearly eight times the projected deficit of $18,900.

Another way of looking at the same figures is to offset income, other than that derived from dues, against costs, and attribute all administrative costs to the major program activities.

On this basis, costs of major programs are:

	Disbursement	Less Income	Total Cost
Employee Relations	68,300	—	(−)68,300
Club	155,600	127,500	(−)28,100
JOURNAL	96,200	49,800*	(−)46,400
Ed. Cent and Scholarship support	40,700	40,700	—
Other Programs & Other Income	79,800	203,700	(+)123,900
	440,600	421,700	(−)18,900

**Does not include $5 per member, projected to total $36,500 in dues required by the Bylaws to be used solely for* JOURNAL *purposes.*

Our projections for the FY 1975 budget indicate income resulting from:

Dues	$194,000	
From the Club	127,500	
From Journal Advertising	49,800	
Other Sources	50,400	
giving a total Income of	$421,700	
Disbursements are projected as follows:		
Employee Relations	$ 51,500	
Club	115,900	
Journal	73,000	
AFSA Fund	9,200	
Other	41,100	
Total for Programs		$290,700
Administrative Expenses		
Building Expenses	$23,300	
Other Salaries	46,000	
Other Overhead	80,600	
Total for Administrative Expenses:		$149,900
Total Disbursements		$440,600

Thus the total of $440,600 in disbursements exceeds income of $421,700 by $18,900.

Some of this deficit may be reduced if the improvement in Club finances continues. Moreover, some savings in salaries, Xeroxing and printing costs are also possible. Furthermore, with a smaller short-term note and existing resources, we will be able to manage this year without great difficulty. However, the problems noted this year will, according to our projections, be further aggravated in FY 1976 and FY 1977. In particular, total expenditures are likely to be increased by 5-10% per year solely because of inflation with no commensurate increase in programs or activities. Substantial increases in revenues from the Club or from membership growth sufficient to cover these increased costs appears unlikely. As a result, the deficits are likely to rise again, reversing the favorable trend of recent years. Moreover, the Headquarters building urgently needs refurbishing, which may prove costly and we will not have the resources to cover such deficits. In short, by the end of this coming fiscal year, major steps must be taken to deal with this problem if the Association is to avoid serious, perhaps crippling problems.

Essentially the Association has four theoretical options:

(1) Reduce program activities.

(2) Save the building, spare the club.

(3) Keep the building, but eliminate the club.

(4) Sell the building.

These options are discussed at greater length in the options paper reproduced elsewhere in this issue.

Options for Dealing with The Association's Financial Problems

There are essentially four basic options available to the Association which would permit us to come to grips with our financial difficulties:

Option 1. Reduce substantially one or more of the Association's major programs. Most of the Association's programs are essentially self-sustaining. These include the Scholarship program, the Educational and Counseling Center,

the Luncheon program, the Awards program, Face-to-Face, the Memorial and Provident Fund, etc. Elimination of these activities would not only be a serious loss, but would have no significant impact on the Association's finances. A reduction in the frequency of the Foreign Service JOURNAL would actually cost money, since the loss in advertising revenue would probably exceed the reduced costs. Elimination of the JOURNAL and its replacement by a newsletter would save money *only* if there were no falloff in membership as a result—a highly dubious proposition. Furthermore the JOURNAL is one of the Associations' major professional activities, and the principal means of communicating with the membership. Elimination of the Club, unless other revenue-producing activities were located in the vacated space would actually cost the Association money. A reduction of our employee-relations and professional initiatives activities could save money, perhaps as much as $25,000. However, the most significant of our professional and employee relations activities would suffer substantially, since these activities cannot be carried out without full-time salaried staff support. We do not believe this option is viable either in financial terms, or in terms of the Association's goals and activities, but it is an option the membership should consider.

Option 2. Bring about a number of significant changes to reduce costs and increase revenue. This is essentially a "save the club, save the building" option. Taken together, the following changes would (if all were successful) permit a continuation of all existing programs at their present level, including the Club, in our present Headquarters Building:

(a) Launch a major drive to increase membership. A normal membership drive would not suffice. A drive in which all AFSA members took it upon themselves personally to increase membership, would help a great deal. 500 additional members would net about $10,00.

(b) Increase dues. A major dues increase should be avoided at all costs, since a major dues increase would result in some loss of membership and much of what would be gained through increased dues would be offset. A minor increase, of perhaps $2.00 to $5.00 per member per year, timed and tied directly to increased income, could be expected to net $10,000 to $25,000 in revenue the first full year in operation, and approximately 5% per year thereafter. This change would require approval of the membership by secret ballot.

(c) Seek to raise additional capital. One of the reasons that the building costs the Association so much is that we do not own it free and clear. The same is true of other capital outlay costs. Even relatively small amounts of additional capital would be of considerable help to the Association. For example, for $3,000 we could purchase a copying machine which would permit savings of almost $2,000 per year in copying costs. For $76,700 we could pay off the mortgage owed to the Scholarship Fund (the smaller of the two mortgages on the building), thus reducing our interest costs by $3,825 annually.

(d) Increase club utilization. The primary reason that the club is unable to cover its share of administrative costs is because its utilization is essentially limited to lunch business, and even then, the club is not consistently used to capacity. Any option designed to keep the club would require greater club utilization. One way to achieve this would be to open club membership to members of the international community. This in turn would require establishment of a new form of affiliate membership. We should also seek to expand the Club's special events and catering business, which have proven to net a higher proportion of receipts over expenditures.

If we make all of these changes and a number of other lesser modifications, it should be possible to save both the building and the Club.

Option 3. Save the building but not the Club. If the Association did not have the Club, but wished to retain the Headquarters building, we would only need one (or so) of the three floors of the building for our own purposes. The remaining floor space could then be rented out, yielding revenue for the Association. The difficulty with this approach is that we would need considerable capital to convert the club area back to office space. We have estimated that this would cost at least $50,000. Furthermore, before the upper floors could be put in sufficiently good condition to yield high rentals, substantial repairs and renovations, costing roughly $25,000, would be needed. If this much capital could be raised, we estimate that we could obtain between $13,200 and $17,600 in annual rentals. However, this option depends entirely on our capacity to raise this amount of money. To borrow the money for this purpose commercially would raise our indebtedness to unacceptably high levels, and the interest on such indebtedness in the first few years would wipe out much of the revenue from rentals.

Option 4. Sell the building. The Association purchased the building in 1967 for $316,700 and put an additional $150,000 into capital improvements. Even after depreciation, we have a considerable amount of equity in the building itself, last calculated by the auditors at $125,000. At present, we have two mortgages on the building, amounting to $329,314. In the past few years, property in the Foggy Bottom area has appreciated substantially, and we have been told that a sales price of $600,000 to $700,000 would not be unrealistic. After paying commissions, lawyers fees, taxes, and liquidating all of the Association's indebtedness (not just on the building) we would have between $100,000 and $200,000 left in cash. If the Association rented facilities nearby at going estimated rates, we would bring about an annual savings of $40,000 for the first year after selling the building, though these savings would decline progressively as rents increased. Such savings would, in the first full year, put our financial statement in the black by approximately $21,000. An even more promising alternative would be to purchase smaller facilities outright in the area using the capital gains from the selling of our present building. Townhouses properly zoned in the immediate area with ample floor space for all of our needs (except a club) can be purchased for $75,000 or less. Even assuming very substantial renovation costs, we would still have cash reserves, no financial obligations, and a headquarters building owned

outright. This approach, after allowances for property taxes, utilities, depreciation, upkeep, etc., would bring about savings of $48,500 the first full year, or a budgetary surplus of $29,600. With the budgetary surplus, we could further strengthen our cash reserves and devote more resources to the JOURNAL and our Employee-Relations and Professional Interests program.

In straight financial terms, the fourth option is by far the most attractive, but involves a major change in priorities by the Association. Choosing this option means, in effect, deciding that our professional interests and employee relations activities are our primary reason for existing, and that running a Club and owning a large building close to the State Department are secondary. In the final analysis, what is at stake is not simply a question of finances, but of priorities and values.

Raising dues, according to law and our bylaws requires a secret-ballot vote of the membership. Since the building was purchased following authorization by the members, selling the building would also require approval of the membership. At this time we will not be seeking such formal authorization. However, we urgently need your views on which option you would prefer.

If we receive a clear preference from the membership for a particular option, we will pursue it. If, as appears likely, we receive mixed views, and there is no clear-cut preference we would then tentatively plan to take the following actions:

(1) Investigate the possibilities of option three. If unpromising, we would drop this approach.

(2) Place the building on the market with a high asking price. If a buyer is found, we would then request formal approval to sell the building.

(3) If this approach does not prove promising, we will begin actions on option two.

Addendum

At the annual meeting, considerable interest was expressed in tying dues to income. Our present dues structure, by being tied to rank, brings about no increase in revenue when Foreign Service income goes up. In a high inflation situation, this means as a practical matter that our revenues remain frozen but our costs have gone up dramatically.

Since we last raised dues in June, 1971, Foreign Service personnel at most ranks have received pay increases of 5.5%, 5.1% and 4.8%. If dues had been tied to income, we would have received increases in dues revenues of over 15%. This would have been more than sufficient to cover all of our present deficit, without the percentage of income currently allocated to dues ever changing for a given member.

It should be emphasized that "indexing" our dues by tying them to income is a separate issue from the question of which option we should pursue to deal with our financial problems. Hypothetically, we could tie dues to income in a fashion which would raise dues, or lower them, or leave the average level the same.

Name _____

Indicate which of the options described above you would prefer:

(1) Reduce a major program ☐
If you check this box, indicate whether you would prefer:

☐ Replacement of the *Journal* with a *Newsletter* or

☐ Reduction in Employee-relations and Professional Interests activities.

(2) The "Save the Club, Save the Building" Option ☐
(including a dues increase)

(3) The "Save the Building, drop the Club" Option ☐

(4) The "Sell the Building" Option ☐

(We hope you will also let us have your commeuts aud would particularly appreciate your views on the merits of tying dues to income, rather than rank.)

Please send your comments to AFSA, 2101 E. St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037

Letter to the Secretary

I am writing on behalf of the 11,000 men and women of the foreign affairs community represented by the American Foreign Service Association to express our shock and outrage at the recent action of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan in releasing to the Palestine Liberation Organization the eight convicted murderers of two US diplomats, Ambassador Cleo Noel and Curtis Moore. This shock is heightened by our grief at the news of the death of another colleague in Mexico, Vice Consul John Patterson.

We realize that our sense of shock and outrage is shared by the leadership of the Department and the United States Government as well as by the American people. We also are aware that a number of diplomatic measures have been taken or are contemplated in an effort to bring about justice in this case and to prevent future incidents of this kind.

We are gravely concerned, however, that the actions taken by the Nilotic governments involved in this unfortunate incident may have the effect of increasing the risks and personal dangers faced by our Foreign Service personnel overseas and, indeed, by all Americans residing or traveling abroad. We believe that more vigorous measures against governments condoning terrorist acts or harboring their perpetrators are the only effective way to prevent such outrages in the future.

This Association has supported the policy of the United Statcs government of refusing to pay political or monetary ransom. We believe, however, that the necessary collateral policy must be that any nation which refuses to take conscientious action, according to its own laws, against international murderers and extortionists must face heavier costs for refusing to act against such criminals than for releasing or harboring them. If this is not the case, our entire policy must be reviewed.

We would appreciate authoritative assurances that the Department will do whatever is necessary and reasonable to protect the lives and safety of our personnel stationed abroad.

F. ALLEN HARRIS
Acting President

Results of USIA Poll

Some 290 USIA-AFSA members—34 percent of the 850 polled—responded to the USIA-AFSA position paper, "Public Diplomacy in a Changing World," which was an attempt to obtain a "sense of the membership" regarding the future of USIA, CU, and

the government's overseas information and cultural programs.

Of the three organizational options presented in the position paper, 42 percent of the respondents favored Option III, the incorporation of CU's activities within an independent USIA, but this selection received only 24 votes more than Option I, the integration of USIA into the State Department, which polled 34 percent of the total votes. Option III received 122 votes; Option I, 98.

Option II, which proposed an augmented Public Affairs office in State Department and a separate quasi-governmental agency for educational, cultural and scientific cooperation, polled 20 percent of the total with 58 votes. Twelve members, or 4 percent, did not favor any of the options.

While the results indicated no single option was decidedly favored by the USIA-AFSA membership, it was clear there was some consensus that:

1. Information and cultural programs can and should serve the same purposes; an integrated program approach was preferable.

2. Information and cultural functions would best be carried out if they were part of a single entity and not independent of each other.

The major division of opinion was over where this single entity should be located: Should it be totally within the State Department or should the information and cultural activities be lodged in an independent USIA. This is one of the major unresolved issues indicated by the survey, along with a similarly divided view over the organizational relationship of the Voice of America. In addition, the 20 percent support for Option II indicates a not inconsequential minority view regarding this organizational preference.

The results of this informal survey of members' views were reported at three open meetings held at the Voice of America, FSI, and USIA. Reactions to the position paper and the options and comments of those who participated were included in formulating a presentation given by the USIA-AFSA representatives on June 25 before the Panel on International Information, Education and Cultural Relations.

This panel, under the chairmanship of Dr. Frank Stanton, is composed of the members of the CU Advisory Commission and the USIA Advisory Commission, as well as Dr. Stanton, the former President of CBS; Peter Krogh, Dean of the Georgetown School of Foreign Service; Walter Roberts, Project Director and Director of Diplomatic Studies, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University; Andrew Berding, former Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs; Dr. W. Phillips Davison, Professor of Sociology and Journalism, Columbia University; Edmund Gullion, Dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; and Kenneth W. Thompson, Director, Higher Education for Development, International Council for Educational Development.

USIA-AFSA was represented by Ms. Lois Roth and Stanley Zuckerman, USIA's AFSA Board members, and Alvin Perlman, Chairman of the USIA Professional Interests Committee. Also present as invited observers for the presentation by USIA-AFSA were Francis Wilcox of the Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy (the "Murphy Commission"); John Ritch of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Staff; and Joel Woldman and Ms. Margaret Goodman of the Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress.

The USIA-AFSA representatives strongly endorsed the view that public diplomacy was a vital element in America's foreign relations and stressed there was a need to carry out this function regardless of the organizational form it ultimately assumed within the governmental structure. Such basic problems as the purpose and role of USIA, with specific reference to the USIA-CU relationship, were reviewed, and the results of the survey were reported.

The two-hour discussion covered a wide range of topics, but the Panel members were particularly interested in whether the information and cultural functions were complementary or antithetical. Of particular concern was the role of the policy spokesman in relation to informational and cultural programs.

STATEMENT OF F. ALLEN HARRIS, VICE PRESIDENT, AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION REGARDING RAISING OF EXECUTIVE PAY CEILING BEFORE THE POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE COMMITTEES S.3049, S.3550 and S.3551 JUNE 20, 1974

The American Foreign Service Association is the professional association and exclusive representative of the 11,000 employees of the United States Foreign Service working in the Department of State, Agency for International Development, and the United States Information Agency.

Since the establishment of the last executive pay ceiling, hundreds of senior Foreign Service executives in the three Foreign Affairs Agencies have had their salaries frozen because of the legal prohibitions in Title 5 of the U.S. Code which prevent salary increases in excess of level V of the Executive Schedule. The basic principle stated in S.3049 introduced by Senators McGee and Fong is that the federal statutory pay levels should be comparable with private enterprise pay rates for the same levels of work. This principle is the keystone for an effective Civil and Foreign Service system. The

SUPPORT AFSA LEGAL DEFENSE FUND

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AFSA is supporting a lawsuit to try to obtain an authoritative decision that home leave expenses are tax-deductible. Present court decisions are conflicting.

All members of the Foreign Service community will benefit if a favorable decision is obtained.

Your contributions are urgently needed to pay for the suit, and are considered tax-deductible for US income tax purposes.

Make checks out to AFSA Legal Defense Fund, and mail to AFSA, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

As each member of the Foreign Service will benefit from this effort each member should contribute. A contribution of $5.00 or more from each Foreign Service employee will enable AFSA to fight for this cause for the sake of all.

Salary freeze for senior Foreign Service officers comes at a time when executives in the private sector have seen their salaries rise at a rate well in excess of the general 5.5 percent set under the government's previous economic stabilization program for executives as a group.

In addition, the rampant inflation which was running in May at over 11 percent annually has hit senior Foreign Service officers severely with their salaries frozen at the $36,000 level. Not only have these officers not received salary increases comparable to executives in private industry, but due to inflation their disposable income has been cut by as much as 30 percent. This disposable income has been reduced even further for personnel abroad in those places where inflation rates are substantially higher than in the United States and where buying power has been sharply decreased by the two recent dollar devaluations. We have raised this general issue before you in the past and have appreciated your earnest and concerted efforts on the McGee-Fong Bill. However, as time continues with the corresponding decrease in the dollar's value both here and abroad, the need for financial redress becomes ever more pressing. In sum we do not believe that this group of senior employees should be the only significant group in the government whose personal well-being regresses while its members are simultaneously expected to form the mainstream of American foreign policy.

The results of this financial squeeze on affected senior officers have been particularly vexing for the Foreign Service because of the many "business costs" which have traditionally been assumed by senior officers as an expected *personal* cost of Foreign Service life. These costs include regular diplomatic representation expenses for US visitors and for foreigners when the limited representation allowances are exhausted, frequent uncompensated moving expenses, interzonal clothing adjustments, new household costs, and other extraordinary costs associated with a transient life style. All of these costs have risen steadily in the past few years.

These personnel are also being prejudiced in their prospective retirement. With Foreign Service retirement being mandatory at the age of 60 (and quite frequent under our stringent time-in-class retirement rules in the mid-50s), employees can earn only limited retirement credit, compared to their Civil Service colleagues who can earn up to 40 years of retirement credit with a retirement age limit of 70. Moreover, Foreign Service personnel are dependent upon their "high three" years of income as the basis of their pension computation. Without these personnel receiving the salary increases to which pay comparability studies indicate they are entitled, their right to a fair pension is being denied.

The long existence of the current outdated salary ceiling is also taking its toll on professional motivation both in terms of personnel loss to the Foreign Service and lessening ambition for higher responsibility. Class-1 officers now receive the same pay as those few personnel granted the extraordinary rank of Career Minister (Executive Level V) and receive no more pay than some Class-2 officers. Therefore, Class-1 and many Class-2 officers receive no financial gain which would normally result from promotion, and since we have a rank-in-man system the only gain presently would be a satisfaction in the "psychic income" of a higher paper rank. This is not the way to run a first class Service. A significant number of senior personnel are leaving the Foreign Service not for professional reasons, but because of greater rewards in the private sector.

I would like to suggest one specific change in S.3049 regarding the composition of the Federal Pay Commission. The Association urges the Committee to add a twelfth member - the Director General of the Foreign Service - representing the Foreign Service Personnel System. It is extremely important that the Commission which prepares the key recommendation on Foreign Service pay levels have a representative of the Foreign Service on it. The absence of Foreign Service representation on previous Panels has led to a significant and serious pay comparability gap between the Foreign and Civil Services at the junior and midcareer levels. A Foreign Service representative on the Pay Commission is essential to its effective operation.

Professionally, the Foreign Service can offer unparalleled challenges and opportunities to its best personnel. But the nation cannot expect to attract top talent and retain its best officers at the highest levels of the Foreign Service when their standard of living regresses. This is an urgent problem.

The American Foreign Service Association urges the passage of the proposed increases in executive salaries and their review every two years instead of every four, so that reasonable salary standards can be analyzed and adjusted in a timely manner.

In closing, Mr. Chairman I would like to thank the Committee,on behalf of the 11,000 men and women of the Foreign Service and of the hundreds of senior Foreign Service personnel whose salaries are currently frozen, for this opportunity to express our concerns to you.

HELP

We urgently need your assistance on these matters:

(1) Please take a few extra minutes, read through the materials on the Association finances, and fill out the polling form indicating your preferences on the options. What is at stake is not simply the Association's financial well-being, but rather a serious choice as to how we should spend our money and thus where our priorities lie.

(2) We still need nominations for the Herter, Rivkin and Harriman awards. We have $3,000 we are quite anxious to give away to those who have best displayed the qualities of integrity, courage and willingness to dissent. Deadline— September 1.

FSJ SPECIAL SERVICES

Listings in this Special Services column are 40c per word, less 2% for payment in advance, minimum 10 words. Mail to Special Services, FSJ, 2101 E St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

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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.

Great news for mothers of cavity-prone children!

Most children don't brush properly or often enough. That's why the dental scientists at Lever Brothers invented a new fluoride dentifrice called Aim®. If you have children, read on:

Most cavities happen between the ages of five and fifteen.

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Could be your children have poor brushing habits. Could be they're also eating too many sweets. And they probably don't brush properly or often enough. Surveys show the average child brushes less than 30 seconds at a time. Shocking!

How new Aim encourages children to brush longer.

Dentists have long stressed that there's *no* better cavity prevention than brushing. Even a fluoride toothpaste can't do its best if a child brushes too briefly or too infrequently.

That's why Lever scientists enhanced Aim's fluoride formula with flavoring compounds known to be especially appealing to children. The results were astounding.

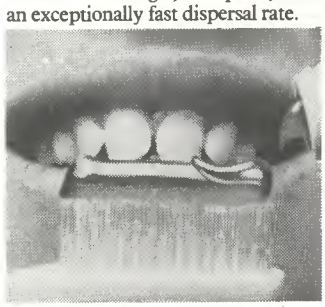


Children prefer Aim 2 to 1 over the leading fluoride pastes. Chances are, the better a child likes his toothpaste, the longer he'll brush.

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Why new Aim is a gel, not a paste.

The speed at which a toothpaste dissolves is called the "Dispersal Rate." Because Aim is a gel, not a paste, it has an exceptionally fast dispersal rate.



Aim's new clear blue gel formula spreads faster than paste.

This means when a child brushes with Aim, it spreads its good taste faster than paste in the normal brushing time.

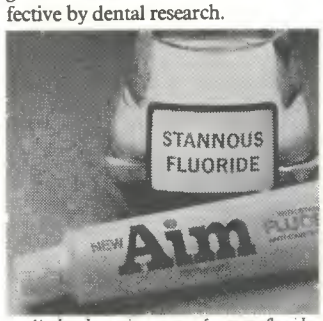
Unique gel formula is low in abrasion.

In order to clean teeth, all toothpastes must be somewhat abrasive. That's how they keep teeth clean.

But many mothers are concerned about abrasion. So Lever scientists designed new Aim to be among the lowest in abrasion of all leading toothpastes.

Aim has stannous fluoride, the proven cavity-fighter.

A child in the cavity-prone years needs all the help you can give. Be sure his toothpaste contains an anti-cavity ingredient that's been established as effective by dental research.



Aim has the precise amount of stannous fluoride established as effective against decay.

Stannous fluoride has been researched more thoroughly than any other anti-cavity ingredient. Aim has the precise amount of stannous fluoride established as effective by dental authorities in reducing tooth decay.

Ask your dentist about Aim.

Add it up: A flavor to promote better brushing. A gel that disperses faster and is low in abrasion. The precise amount of stannous fluoride established as effective against decay.

Like any dentifrice, Aim can be of significant value only when used conscientiously in a program of good dental care and regular visits to your dentist.

If you have a cavity-prone child, ask your dentist about Aim.



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