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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

MAY 1975

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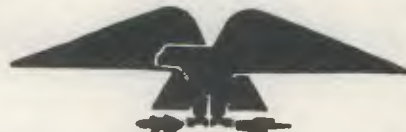
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LETTERS TO FSJ

When To Resist

■ I very much appreciate Ambassador Herz's thoughtful and stimulating response in the February FSJ to my article on dissent and disloyalty in the Foreign Service (May 1974), and would like to add the following:

1) "staying to minimize the damage" of bad policies, which Ambassador Herz sees as an alternative to resignation, resistance, or acquiescence, is in actuality a form of acquiescence. But I would not deny that in many instances it is both honorable and the only practical course in an organization based on the tradition of service.

2) Ambassador Herz defines loyalty as the obligation to give "our best and unvarnished judgments." But when these judgments lead to the persecution of individuals, as in the decimation of the China service, or in the stifling of differing views, it seems to me that the individual acquires the right to take the argument to other forums. The problem with this, however, is that "persecution" and "stifling" are subjective terms which lack precise definition. The only certainty is that an individual has moral as well as bureaucratic responsibilities, and if he acts on them he must be ready to accept the consequences. That perhaps is not much comfort for an individual trying to buck the tide, but can it ever be any different?

3) Ambassador Herz says that in Vietnam "officers who felt strongly that we should pull out regardless of the consequences" should never have been assigned there. But the opposition of many officers was not based on pulling out, but on the dubious wisdom and effectiveness of much of what we were trying to accomplish. Further, this opposition arose *after* their arrival in country and not before, and was based on what these employees saw and experienced personally.

4) I would strongly doubt that there are many Foreign Service employees who challenge "the general thrust of our foreign policy" for the past 30 years. Certainly the Foreign Service must have been an unhappy place for

them during this period. But I assume that there are many who would argue that our basic policy of containment has embraced both conceptual and practical excesses, and that these have done considerable harm to our basic interests.

5) Finally, Ambassador Herz sees resistance to the President's policies as preventing the Foreign Service from assuming its proper role. From studies of modern bureaucracies, we know that they often do resist policy makers, although more for jurisdictional than for political reasons. That being a fact of life, it seems to me to remain only to try to define more precisely when resistance is appropriate and by what means. Ambassador Herz's warning against resistance in every instance seems to imply a role for the Foreign Service as the mere implementer of policies framed by others, rather than as a substantive partner in the creative process of policy formulation.

WILLIAM R. LENDERKING, JR.
Rome

Dissent and Loyalty

■ I read Ambassador Herz's article in the February issue of the JOURNAL with interest. It prompted me to reread Mr. Lenderking's analysis of the subject focusing on the dilemma presented by the inherent conflict in the Foreign Service between one's personal sense of what is supportive of the nation's interests as opposed to his or her understanding of what loyalty to the organization entails. In the bureaucracy of the Foreign Service, such a conflict is liable to occur, in degree, all too frequently. A sensitive observer who need not be a perfectionist has only to experience minor machinations of a typical Embassy to suspect the problem is indeed insoluble. Thus, Ambassador Herz's concept of considering employment in the Foreign Service as fundamentally a service to be rendered, ultimately without question, rather than as a potential outlet for intellectualizing policy determination appeals in its administrative if not philosophical logic.

But such logic has a way of contradicting itself in this day and age. The corner we painted ourselves into in Vietnam underscores the upside-down result of such loyalty to the service ethic, to suggest one

example. The hope is that an officer who chooses to "tough it out," engage in purposeful dissent while demonstrating the requisite loyalty, does not jeopardize simply remaining in good standing, let alone improving upward mobility. In this connection, I noted a recent reference in the Washington Post that a ranking official of the Service was being replaced after a relatively brief tenure in his job presumably because "he was believed to be too outspoken." This kind of story, whatever its full authenticity, seems to indicate again that heart-and-mind loyalty is *de rigueur* for "advancement by merit," while dissent, even discreetly kept within the family, is a conditional privilege granted on an individual basis and not an accepted right of the system. Loyalty at the expense of integrity negates the principle of professionalism.

JAMES F. CRANE, FSIO
Washington

Ambassadorships

■ The February 1975 Foreign Service JOURNAL article "Our Man in Jamaica" (which was an excellent idea) suggests a line of action which AFSA might properly consider.

AFSA should be in the front line of combat against such insults to the country and to our service as the sale of ambassadorships to anyone, whether or not as blatantly unfit as de Roulet or as contemptuous of the career "help."

As part of such an effort, it might be useful for AFSA in January 1976, or sooner, to make a firm public statement to each major Presidential candidate setting forth the case for professionalism and against dangerous amateurism in the conduct of foreign affairs. AFSA might also ask each candidate to make a public statement on the criteria he would apply in making foreign affairs appointments, including ambassadorships. If he declines, that fact should also be publicized.

In the wake of recent scandals, such statements might prove very newsworthy beyond the foreign affairs community, and focus public attention on both the issue and AFSA.

Now that AFSA speaks for foreign affairs professionals,

Continued on page 22

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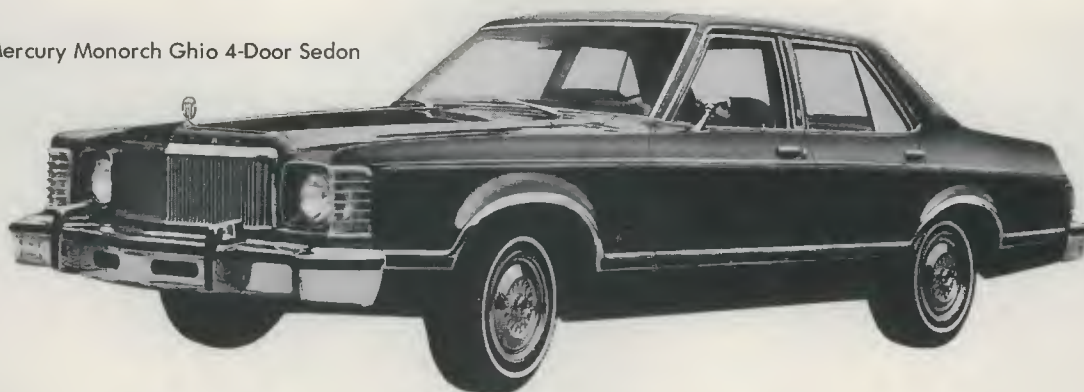
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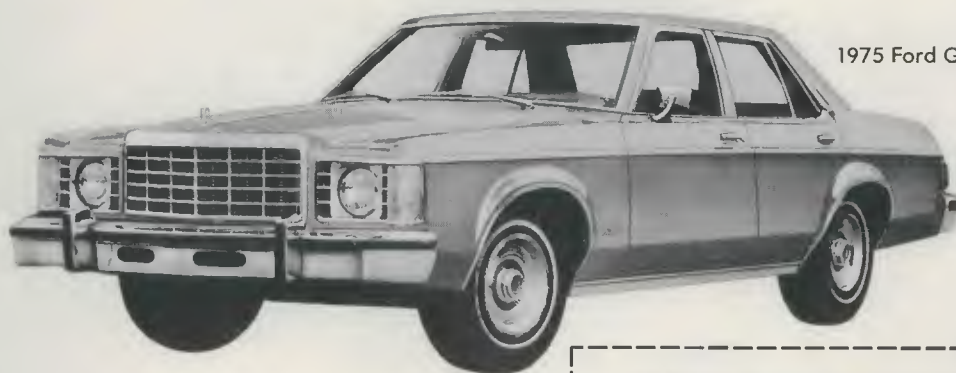
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Even in the meanest sorts of Labor, the whole soul of a man is composed into a kind of real harmony the instant he sets himself to work —
Carlyle

The Wasted Resource:

FOREIGN SERVICE

WIVES

CARMAN C. WILLIAMS

IN SPITE of all the commissions and the studies, the inspectors' reports and the proposals for reorganization, there remains an important subject which has yet to be addressed by the Foreign Service. It is a subject whose time has come and no amount of sweeping under the rug will make it go away. I

Carman Williams is an FSO-8 who spent 13 years as a Foreign Service wife before taking the Foreign Service exam and coming into the Service. She is working in PER/PCE/EPPS, Executive and Professional Placement Services.

refer, of course, to the wife problem.

In the not too distant past such a problem hardly existed. When my husband came into the Foreign Service in the early '60s we both accepted without question the traditional role established for Foreign Service women: I was to be a gracious hostess for his representational entertaining; to rear a family in trying circumstances (compensated for by having servants and inter-cultural children); to learn as much as I could about the cultures

and languages of our various host countries (with area and language training at FSI on a "space available" basis and *if* I could find and afford a baby sitter); to participate in mission functions including newcomers' teas and Embassy Wives' meetings; to support my husband in all his professional endeavors. My reward was to be mentioned once a year in an efficiency report in a sentence which read something like "Mrs. Williams is a charming and gracious hostess and a great help to her hus-

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band in the performance of his representational duties."

Well, it won't wash any more, just ten years later. All over the United States women are deciding that it isn't enough to bask in the reflected glory of a husband's achievements. The compulsion to "do something" with one's self isn't new, nor a creation of women's liberation. But, for a variety of reasons, in the past most women were willing to stand aside while men performed the "valuable work" of society. As we are so frequently being told these days, such is no longer the case. Recently in the Washington Post Lauren Bacall expressed what many are thinking when she said, "I really believe that work is the most important thing in your life. It keeps you going. It keeps you alive, active, interested, it keeps the juices going. I have a horror of being dependent on my children. I think women are more and more finding they've got to do something, not to compete with men, but to have something for themselves. Everything works better when you're working." In droves,

women are taking pride in achievement and independence. They are selecting first, and second, careers. They are going back to school, becoming professionals, stretching their wings and taking the first few tentative wing flaps toward soaring (or, as witness the

Trapped overseas in a set of circumstances which for all but the creative few—those lucky painters and writers who can perform equally well in Tijuana or Kathmandu—preclude any possibility of career or professionalism, Foreign Service wives are increasingly frustrated and bitter.

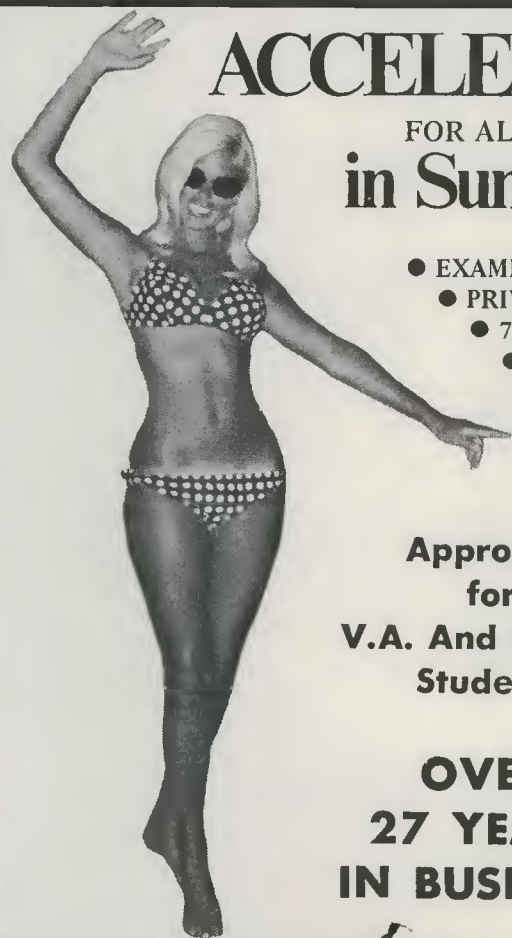
sharp increase in feminine violence and alcoholism, crashing).

What all this will mean to American culture in the long run is still difficult to predict. What effect large numbers of women seeking to enter today's decreasing job market will have on the economy is a matter of debate. How the traditional American family structure will change as both the husband

and the wife are increasingly equal partners is a matter of speculation for social scientists and psychologists. In any event, society is changing and a woman's place in the world is being redefined. ERA may not become an amendment to the Constitution, but we will never go back to the social standards of the '50s either.

In the midst of all this change, what is happening to the Foreign Service wife? Here is a segment of society, albeit very small, for whom change has not been possible until now. Trapped overseas in a set of circumstances which for all but the creative few—those lucky painters and writers who can perform equally well in Tijuana or Kathmandu—preclude any possibility of career or professionalism, Foreign Service wives are increasingly frustrated and bitter. The rumbles heard from overseas are turning into roars in Washington. As Foreign Service officers are themselves achievement oriented, service motivated and generally highly educated, their choice of wives quite naturally reflects the

Continued on page 20



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The Golden Sunshine

JOHN BOVEY

IN EXPLAINING to British readers why the author of "The Scarlet Letter" suddenly found himself posted to Liverpool as American Consul, Henry James described in simplest terms the alchemy by which Washington converts domestic debts into foreign credits. When the party of Franklin Pierce came to power, "all good Democrats, in conformity to the beautiful and rational system under which the affairs of the Republic were carried on, began to open their windows to the golden sunshine of Presidential patronage." Hawthorne had been Pierce's classmate and campaign biographer, and although he was a more talented and sensitive observer than most of today's political appointees, he owed his post, as they do, to patronage pure and simple.

The practice of exchanging handouts abroad for contributions at home took root in the period when we had no organized foreign service. Although our first Presidents had had first-hand experience in foreign affairs and were unashamedly élitist in their choice of envoys, the spoils system in the era of Jackson encouraged the indiscriminate use of diplomatic posts to pay off political obligations or to get importunate office-seekers out

of the capital. For nearly a century, our foreign business was mostly consular. What little diplomatic business we had was conducted in Washington, and the forgotten appointee abroad grew into a hardy perennial, watered by American indifference to foreign opinion and fertilized by American self-confidence during the long dream of our insulation from the woes of wicked Europe. The species coexisted happily with the rather exotic professionals created by the Rogers Act of 1924. Even the brusque awakening of the Second World War and the incessant tinkering with the Foreign Service during the ensuing period of new requirements have left the diplomatic offshoots of the spoils system undisturbed. Now and then they earn a horselaugh, as when the nominee for Ceylon cannot remember that the Indian Prime Minister is called Nehru, or a sweating insurance man admits to Senator Fulbright that his post in Scandinavia is worth just about the amount of his modest campaign contribution. But on this subject, public sentiment, which considers that diplomats operate in a world of unreality akin to that of Groucho Marx's immortal Rufus Firefly, has rarely gone beyond amused head-shaking. When journalists asked if post-Watergate reforms would curtail the nomination of political ambassadors, Mr. Ziegler, in a rare flash of accuracy, replied that "the practice has been going on for years, as we all know." To judge from the appointments of President Ford, it bids fair to go on for many more.

No one asked Mr. Ziegler whether mere longevity sufficed to justify this method of filling posts abroad. Even if it did, one would have to recognize that the Nixon Administration created political ambassadors on an unprecedented scale. And the transactions of the unfortunate Herbert Kalmbach, formerly known in our embassies as "the bagman," left little doubt that the measure of an envoy's loyalty and even capability had become nakedly monetary. Foreign governments, which gauge their representation in more complicated terms, used to suffer in silence when we sent them wealthy ambassadors whose inexperience, as one member of the Quai d'Orsay put it, was global. But now that client states have dropped the respectful attitudes of the 1950s, their discontents have become more articulate. It is a grave offense to reject the representative of any head of state, and especially that of the American President, but the mutterings of host governments have effected changes in at least two European capitals, even though no career diplomat benefited from them. In a third capital, a left wing party laced into the government for accepting an American businessman who owed his appointment to the fact that a more lavish contributor had evicted him from a nearby post of less importance. The outburst had no sequel, but it set off sympathetic vibrations in a government to which we have accredited no professional since 1968—and very few before that since the foundation of the Repub-

John Bovey is a former Foreign Service officer who has served in Rotterdam, Casablanca, Paris, Oslo, Washington and The Hague. He and his wife now live in Paris and in a small village in the Cevennes. He has published articles and stories in Great Britain, France and the United States.

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lic. An unbroken cascade of political appointees is taken, quite justifiably, as a mark of American indifference or contempt, and to small countries such as Switzerland, Belgium, or the Netherlands, this kind of treatment is doubly wounding.

Campaign contributions have produced one interesting change since Hawthorne's day: the golden sun of wealthy aspirants now outshines that of the White House. Only an ambassador of the most flagrant dishonesty could find his job lucrative enough to amortize the outlay, and even the detachment of Henry James would be shaken by the scale of bidding in the quadrennial auctions that pass for the selection of plenipotentiaries.

The loftiest peak in the post-election range of diplomats is still that of Mrs. Ruth Farkas, who, after complaining to Mr. Kalmbach that a quarter of a million was "an awful lot of money for Costa Rica," upped the ante to \$300,000 and acquired Luxembourg. The Luxembourgers, whose long struggle with party faithfuls has been consecrated by Ethel Merman in "Call Me Madam," are doubtless flattered that the price of the Grand Duchy now tops that of the United Kingdom.

While the Farkas exhibit is by no means unique, there is no point in dwelling on the unedifying list of abuses to which the Senate Watergate Committee has given notoriety. It will suffice to recall that, according to the Committee's report, American ambassadors provided more than \$1.8 million to President Nixon's campaign for re-election; that eight subsequent beneficiaries contributed a total of \$706,000; and that six ambassadors "who contributed an aggregate of over \$3 million appear to have been actively seeking appointments at the time of their contributions."

In making new nominations, Mr. Ford has watered the financial wine, and even when the campaign of 1976 goes into high gear, National Committees and their hangers-on, remembering the fate of Mr. Kalmbach, will probably exercise greater prudence than in the past. But despite the investigative bustle on Capitol Hill and Mr. Kissinger's untiring quest for more docile collaborators, the new team

has shown little disposition to tamper with the "beautiful and rational system" described by Henry James. Thus Mr. Bush, the Republican National Chairman, is thrilled by his appointment to Peking. Mr. Bruce has abandoned the silences of China for the uproar of NATO. Mr. Rush of Union Carbide has attained a second Embassy by displacing, for motives unfathomable in Paris, the most capable of the four political appointees assigned to France in the space of seven years. Senator Cooper has been awarded the dubious pleasure of leading off our relations with the East Germans. The Belgians have drawn the scion of the tire industry and the Finns a dynamic radio announcer. One interesting piece in the polychrome mosaic is London: Senator Fulbright having sensibly declined to leave town before the end of his term, the Republican Administration has managed at one stroke to gag a prestigious dissident and to accredit a first-class ambassador in the person of Mr. Richardson.

Whatever the abilities of the new appointees, their assignments have done little to increase the proportion of career ambassadors. Nearly 40% of American diplomatic posts throughout the world are still headed by non-career appointees, who have taken over seven of the ten international missions, including those at NATO, the UN and the OECD. In key posts the ratio remains overwhelming: nine months after the accession of President Ford, twelve of twenty embassies in non-Communist Europe were headed by political appointees (the exceptions were Oslo, Reykjavik, Valletta, Athens, Nicosia, Bonn, Lisbon, and Madrid), while in Eastern Europe, six posts, including Moscow, were allotted to career officers. It is of some interest that in Western Europe, the Administration, having tried in vain to export surplus baggage from the Nixon era, has chosen or retained career officers of undisputed competence in posts, such as Bonn, Madrid, and Lisbon, where the stakes are mounting. Whether this glimmer of good sense can resist the wolves of the National Committees in 1976 is another question.

With the increase in political appointments to key posts, profes-

sionals find themselves virtually barred from important missions, except for occasional handouts in international organizations, in trouble spots such as Santiago or Saigon, or in the capitals of Eastern Europe, where the social life does not attract iron butterflies, or where the situation might get out of hand. The average career officer must hold his breath until the call comes from Abu Dhabi, Asunción, Ouagadougou, Bamako, or the like. There he enjoys the title of Ambassador in return for work which is exacting, tiresome, and even fatal, as the ghastly episodes in Guatemala, Khartoum, and Nicosia bear witness. But the mission he heads is not an Embassy at all. It is really a consulate or an observation post, which could just as well be handled by an adventurous junior. This possibility was destroyed in the anti-colonial frenzy of the 1960s, when numerous politicians found it quite expedient to ornament their front offices with blacks and pander to the vanity of the new leaders in Africa and the Caribbean. Since the latter demanded representation equal in grade, if not in quality, to what we provided in Europe, the useful institutions of the legation and multiple accreditation went by the board. The consequent proliferation of embassies created a handy dumping ground for frustrated career officers, but as a solution to the problems of representation it is neither adequate nor just. All of these pressures have produced serious damage: fewer qualified officers join the Foreign Service; others quit before they are too old to find more rewarding jobs.

Over the last quarter of a century, both career and non-career ambassadors have had their turns with the hottest issues of our time, including various facets of our relations with the Soviet Union, with the two Chinas, and with Israel and France, to mention two of our more rambunctious friends. These issues are still burning brightly, but so far without the ultimate disaster. One may therefore well ask whether the game of patronage has really damaged our diplomacy. Have the amiable businessmen and the eager admirals done any worse than the worry-warts in striped pants? What, in short, is all the fuss about?

DUFF COOPER tells us that when Talleyrand relinquished the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he presented the permanent staff personally to his successor. "You will find them loyal, intelligent, accurate, and punctual," he said, "but, thanks to my training, not at all zealous." When M. de Champagny showed surprise Talleyrand continued solemnly, "Yes, except for a few of the junior clerks who, I fear, close up their envelopes with a certain amount of precipitation, everyone here maintains the greatest calm. Hurry and bustle are unknown."

Such deliberation in conducting business was of great service to Napoleon, who, like many modern statesmen, wanted problems to go away immediately and always worked at top speed. He was frequently relieved to find that instructions which he had given too hastily to the Foreign Ministry had not been acted upon several days later when he was getting ready to countermand them.

Thus Duff Cooper makes clear what Talleyrand meant when he issued his often misunderstood warning against zeal. He was not defending laziness; he was attacking eager-beaverism. In the United States we have long been familiar with this attribute, but the smiles we reserve for it have always been indulgent. We are just beginning to learn how, in foreign affairs at least, it can ruin the best conceived initiatives, whether they be undertaken in Washington or abroad. And when Talleyrand contrasted this fatal ingredient with the four virtues he had inculcated in his staff, he put his finger precisely on the difference between professional diplomats and political appointees. He had come to realize that the rapid solution of international problems frequently entailed the creation of others, and he preferred to go slow until he was reasonably sure that the new set was no worse than the old. Henry Kissinger once consigned the Mideast crises to the same basket as the Balkan Question; he must have recalled that both are rich in examples of the perils which Talleyrand had in mind. On the whole, loyalty, intelligence, accuracy, and punctuality make a better compound than hustle and bustle. But where to find them?

Nearly all amateur diplomats—and especially the businessmen and soldiers—possess the "do something" mentality which Talleyrand deplored. The pity is that by the time they have earned enough money to stand the high cost of taking up their second calling, they are too old to unlearn the attributes which have brought them success in the first. At the same time, this dynamism (as well as its financial fruits) makes them popular with National Committees and with the White House, even during administrations less open in their worship of Mammon than that of Richard Nixon. American Presidents ever since Franklin Roosevelt—that is, ever since we had a genuine corps of professional diplomats—have always fretted and fumed against the Department of State because it is not "creative." President Kennedy described it as a bowl of jelly and Vice President Nixon once referred to its representatives as "cornballs." This view, which is shared by many members of Congress, reflects not only the growing American mistrust of élites but also an underlying impatience with the basic outlook of diplomats, who are congenital party poopers when it comes to facile or rapid solutions. The military and the businessmen, on the other hand, as well as the ivy-league wizards of the CIA are what Barbara Tuchman calls "brisk, can-do problem solvers," and a harried President in a critical situation will rarely look around for nay-sayers to give him advice. It was more agreeable for Franklin Roosevelt to hear Patrick Hurley telling him he could save his investment in Chiang Kai-shek than it was to listen to John Service's gloomy but accurate prognosis of the Chinese future. Dynamism is—or used to be—the American "thing," but when it gets into contexts where we no longer hold the whip hand, or where the natives, be they Arab, Indochinese, or French, perversely cling to native solutions, it produces delusion and disaster. The loss of China and the resulting damage to our own Foreign Service, the Bay of Pigs, the debacle in Vietnam and Cambodia, the floodlit fiasco of the "little steps," and the imbroglios with our allies over practically everything—the

Mideast, petroleum, the "year of Europe"—all bear marks of the zeal which Talleyrand abhorred.

No one would deny the need for vigor in foreign policy (of which diplomacy is only one instrument), but when policy makers call for "creativity" from their agents, what they really want is reinforcement for their own preconceptions. "Foreign policy," Barbara Tuchman tells us, "obeys Newton's law of inertia; it keeps on doing what it is doing unless it is hit by an irresistible force." Even when confronted by the inevitable, policy makers behave like ancient kings who killed the bearers of bad tidings. Stalin was infuriated by clear evidences of German intentions in 1941 because they devastated his own calculations. In the '30s President Roosevelt's entourage, including Joseph Davies, his henchman in Moscow, broke up the Russian Division in the State Department because careerists were reporting facts which made it too clear that we had cozied up to a régime even more brutal than that of the Czars. It took 25 years, during which we jettisoned our Chinese experts, to convince policy makers, including Richard Nixon, that Ambassador Gauss was right in 1944 when he frankly admitted that so far as Chiang Kai-shek was concerned, "I confess there is nothing that I can suggest we might do." And heaven knows how many heads have rolled since 1960 for recommending that we heed the warnings of the French and others about booby-traps in Indochina, or that we count our cards more carefully in dealing with Arab states.

Political appointees are usually more reluctant than professionals to recommend uncomfortable changes to Washington or to dwell on the less attractive antics of the clients whom they are supposed to keep in line. Because of their go-go inclinations and their greater sensitivity to White House staffers, who want optimistic pabulum for the Boss to use with press and Congress, many political ambassadors tend to fuzz over thorny issues and expunge from their reports some of the less agreeable phenomena which appear on the local radar. In reporting a possible rapprochement between the Labor and Catholic Parties in the Netherlands, one of

our junior officers referred to the "Roman-Red Coalition." After receiving a call from Washington (such inquiries are rarely made in writing), the Ambassador asked that we refrain from using that odious expression in our telegrams. For him the fact that the term was circulating in press and political circles was of no importance in comparison with the picture of stout hearts in little Holland which he wanted to furnish for the White House.

Short-term envoys also have a penchant for bringing off what are known as "diplomatic triumphs." If such triumphs are real, they produce in their victims a resentment and suspicion—even a thirst for revenge—that may well come to the fore just when the United States Government has the greatest need for the co-operation and confidence which its envoy has effectively destroyed. If the triumph is merely the product of an overcharged imagination, it may lead to misunderstanding at headquarters. Political appointees, unless carefully watched, constitute a threat to the objective reporting that is—or ought to be—the holy of holies in any foreign service. Not that career officers have any greater anxiety to wallow in unpleasant realities or to underline their inability to influence the situation. To apply a touch of gilding, however discreet, to one's mastery of the art; to report a little more than what one actually said or did; to take the thought (and especially the afterthought) for the deed—these are cardinal temptations which diplomatists have to resist tooth and nail. The professional, however, has usually developed a greater wariness than his political colleague; he has less of a sweet tooth for cheery bits and more of a tendency to scrutinize "dynamic options" in the light of what the traffic will bear rather than the short-lived admiration of the folks back home. While this may add to his value, it does not increase his popularity.

Another obvious disadvantage of the short-term diplomat was described in 1716 by François de Callières in his admirable "De La Manière de Négociier avec les Souverains." De Callières had been a secret agent and then an accredited representative of Louis

XIV in three countries, and he served as Secretary to the King's Council, a position analogous to that of Mr. Kissinger in the National Security Council. He published his book at a time when the consolidation of the nation state had touched off a revolution in diplomacy even more profound than that produced by the radio and the airplane. "We find," says de Callières, "that instead of gradual promotion by degrees and in the light of proven capacity and experience, as is the case in the usages of war, one may often see men who have never left their own country, who have never applied

"The variants of this insidious pretension to look like someone else are endless, but, unhappily, the cosmetics of culture and statecraft, no matter how thickly applied, tend to peel under the klieg lights of high office. The wearers rarely deceive the malicious foreigners for long, and they come to be regarded as frauds—amiable, perhaps, but faintly ridiculous."

themselves to the study of public affairs, being of meager intelligence, appointed overnight to important embassies in countries of which they know neither the interests, laws, customs, language, nor even the geographical situation." De Callières also observes tartly that while a government can always supply a brilliant but impoverished envoy with money, it cannot equip a rich but stupid one with brains. This is the obvious answer to those who tell us that only the wealthy can support the expenses of representation in London or Paris. While Americans may not agree that public affairs are a nursery of intelligence, anyone who has served abroad or scanned the testimony of ambassadors before Senator Fulbright's committee will acknowledge that two and a half centuries have done nothing to diminish the justice of de Callières' strictures.

The gremlins of public relations have introduced a further complication by planting in political ambassadors an obsession with their "image" that frequently carries them to pathetic extremes. No one in the 20th century would question the need for close contact with pub-

lic and press, especially with correspondents who deal in policy rather than the cheap spice of bureaucratic warfare. But presidential envoys seem to be haunted by a deep-seated desire to go beyond the humdrum requirements of diplomacy. X wants to speak French as well as General de Gaulle; Y has decided to lick the drug traffic single-handed or serve as America's gift to European youth; Z lusts to be the Machiavelli of atomic strategy or the Leonardo da Vinci of the space age. The variants of this insidious pretension to look like someone else are endless, but, unhappily, the cosmetics of culture and statecraft, no matter how thickly applied, tend to peel under the klieg lights of high office. The wearers rarely deceive the malicious foreigners for long, and they come to be regarded as frauds—amiable, perhaps, but faintly ridiculous. So that while officials usually accord the outward marks of respect to any ambassador, those who expose themselves as fakes in extra-curricular matters soon undermine the confidence which is indispensable to the conduct of their regular business. Far better to take a page out of Benjamin Franklin's book. While he was compelled to comb his few hairs and give up his knobby cane, his native character and gifts struck just the balance between sage and savage which the French required in the age of Rousseau.

We are often assured that nowadays, with Secretaries of State, Prime Ministers, and even Presidents and Kings calling up at any hour or pouncing out of the sky on a moment's notice, the ambassador, be he ignoramus or expert, has dwindled into a mere ceremonial appendage. He is viewed as a mailman—or even worse, a mailbox—and a purveyor of hospitality to visiting firemen. His expertise, so the argument runs, is not half so important as his cook. While culinary skill is far from negligible as an instrument of persuasion, a moment's reflection will show that this whole notion is false.

If jets and electronics can seriously diminish an ambassador, then he is not filling his indispensable rôle as Johnny-on-the-spot. With a modicum of bureaucratic guile, he can circumvent the many

unwise or offensive instructions he receives from headquarters and carry out others in a manner of his own choosing. He and his staff can best decide at what level in the hierarchy a *démarche* can profitably be made, to whom, and, above all, where and when. If the Foreign Minister is bored by the SALT talks, better try the Secretary General, who drafts the instructions on this matter anyway. On Chinese credentials, why not talk to that little man who kept correcting the Minister, without visible reproof, during our last interview? If M. Tel-et-tel is allergic to weekend calls, call M. Tant-et-tant, whose wife loves him to feel important. "Be sure," one of my chiefs in Paris told me, "to dispatch no business with Monsieur de X except in the morning when he is clear-headed and a little dispirited, before the long lunch hour and the red wine have restored his overweening self-confidence." If the ambassador is any judge of character—and nothing is more important in diplomacy—he can also find the right argument *ad hominem*, or nowadays, *ad feminam*. Tell Colonel Khadafi that petroleum cuts are pleasing to elderly atheists, but don't tell Indira Gandhi or Golda Meir to rely on her intuition.

Even when they descend in person upon their hapless envoys, American officials need guidance. Their success in dealing with Abba Eban or Brezhnev or Chou En-lai depends heavily on the man who knows how these gentlemen are feeling and how busy they are. And since Washington officials are briefed in haste and are often less retentive than Mr. Kissinger, they sometimes require a pull on the checkrein even in mid-course. They could do worse than to remember the words of one senior diplomat when informed that Washington was rushing out experts to help him untangle a financial snarl involving the British. "A few facts," he growled, "would be more useful than a posse."

While generals find it advantageous to direct battles from headquarters, it has become utopian, since the black day when President Wilson mounted the gangplank of the *George Washington*, to expect ministers and presidents to chain themselves to their desks. They prefer to flit from capital to capital

for "frank, constructive" exchanges in the glare of publicity; all too often the results are confusion and, despite fixed grins before the camera, hostility. One recalls the Eisenhower-Khrushchev confrontation in 1960, the Kennedy-Khrushchev bout in Vienna in 1961, Kosygin's pilgrimage to Glassboro in 1967, and, the shadow-boxing of President Nixon in Moscow. Mr. Kissinger has undeniable talents for the peripatetic style, but after the recent failure of our tactics in the Middle East, one is certainly justified, even though the trouble may lie elsewhere, in asking whether he wouldn't have done better in Washington than in Tel Aviv or Cairo. But the American propensity for these fatiguing and disruptive forays is only redoubled when Washington lacks confidence in the Ambassadors who spring from presidential patronage and who are unable to conduct, day after day, patiently—and above all, inconspicuously—the negotiations that finally pay off.

NO ONE IN our Foreign Service has a monopoly on Talleyrand's four virtues. The non-career ranks include astute and balanced men, whose special competence—say that of a banker in the Netherlands or a wild-life enthusiast in Norway—may prove useful to their mission. There are moments also when fresh insights are needed on situations where tired professionals have lost hope. "Tant mieux, vous n'aurez pas de préconceptions," was General de Gaulle's reply to the bewildered civil servant who pleaded inexperience as a bar to his heading the shattered French administration in Algeria. There are also political diplomats who have a genuine and discriminating enthusiasm for a game in which they have long since become professionals. One thinks immediately of Averell Harriman or Douglas Dillon, of Ellsworth Bunker or David Bruce, but unhappily the horizon of the Nixon-Ford appointments is rather bare of this kind of talent.

Even the rankest duffer commands the services of an embassy staff that is supposed to know the country well enough to prop him up at critical moments and to keep his reporting (he will draft very little himself) on the rails. But most

political appointees start—sometimes justifiably—by regarding their career staffs as poisoned gifts. Even the most indulgent, especially if they are businessmen, entertain a deep-seated suspicion of the bureaucracy at home and abroad. They see the regulars of their mission, particularly those with long hair, as tainted with radicalism ("soft on Communism" is still a current term among political appointees) and lusting for revenge on those who have taken over the top posts. While experience may mitigate this sense of having fallen into a nest of vipers, it is never agreeable to draw on the expertise of others. Nor is the second-hand product convincing to foreigners, who easily detect the facile generalizations with which nonprofessionals fill the gaps. "You have to live with problems yourself," one hard-bitten member of the Dutch Foreign Ministry told me, "in order to realize that you can't solve them."

Finally, one must admit that career officers frequently create their own problems. Most are loyal and precise, some are highly intelligent, but few are gods or even demi-gods. The traps with which their paths have been sown over the last 30 years foster conformism, even timidity, and discourage the qualities of initiative that their less gifted chiefs possess in abundance and, all too often, in excess. Few regulars can be expected to handle alone and unaided a diplomacy that involves space research, ballistic missiles, nuclear fission, drawing rights, farm subsidies, pollution controls, and petroleum pricing. While the myth of their expatriate mentality is unjust, they do give off an aroma of élitism. And long stays abroad isolate them from the rough and tumble of Washington to the point where they forget that sensible solutions won't always sell back home. In 1955 the Legal Adviser of the Department, a highly political animal, asked for a recommendation regarding American extraterritorial rights in Morocco. I replied that since the colonial era was rapidly drawing to a close, the realistic course would be to give up this anachronism. He suggested, quite properly, that it would be realistic for me to examine the records of the Foreign Relations

Committee to discover how senators reacted to proposals to give away something for nothing. No businessman, he added, would have made such a recommendation.

I have served under four political ambassadors and had dealings with a dozen more at conferences or in Washington. Most of them were estimable businessmen or soldiers, one was a civil servant, and another a wealthy writer (but not of campaign biographies). I have never quite fathomed what mysterious hankerings caused them to leave hearth and home—or bank and blockhouse—to take up a career to which none of them was basically suited. But I can only salute their sense of duty in submitting to unknown terrors and tortures—and paying heavily to do it. Homage is due also to their wives, many of whom, contrary to popular supposition, loathed the wild and futile unrealities of diplomatic hospitality as much as the rest of us but made a college try anyway. Some ambassadors reveled in their titles, others enjoyed calling the prestigious and powerful by their first names, and nearly all burned to show the State Department how to apply the methods of Wall Street or the Pentagon to such bargaining plums as General de Gaulle's vexing predilection for French independence, the unification of Germany, the recognition of China, and—most tempting tidbit of all—the energy crisis. Many of them, as I have said, gave the rest of us fresh insights into these problems; the incidental drawback that, so far as one can remember, they solved none of them should not detract from their evident good will. But the frustrations and failures, the sorrows and successes of political ambassadors are really of little importance by comparison with the unsuitability of their style.

Even in our frantic age, the task of diplomacy is surely not to resolve burning issues but to dampen and cool them until time and fatigue can accomplish the inevitable transformations by which differences—as distinct from the crises that result from mishandling them—finally resolve themselves with minimum damage. Recent history abounds in examples of the opposite method: our involvements in Indochina and Chile are perhaps

the most lamentable. But the Trieste Settlement, the Austrian State Treaty, and perhaps Ostpolitik, with its setbacks and its unremitting crawl toward acceptance of a fait accompli, are there to vindicate the snail-like approach. I hope I may be forgiven for thinking that, no matter how one may view the shortcomings of the career service, political ambassadors are generally deficient in the patience which this approach requires.

IT WOULD BE grossly unfair, however, to blame political appointees for the tattered state of American diplomacy. Their excessive number and zeal are only symptoms of a deep-seated infection in the body politic which has been intensified by our own internal dis-

"In some situations the interests of the United States overshadow even the contributions of the faithful."

persion, by our drift toward imperial government, and by the insidious influence of totalitarian methods on the conduct of foreign relations. Now that the triad of classic diplomacy—discretion, honesty, and tact—has been eclipsed by the shadows of the new—publicity, deviousness, and insult—it would take a Hercules of courage and objectivity to clean the stable. Only a general reorientation can change this situation, but while we await more radical treatment, we need to keep diplomacy alive. In the absence of supranational remedies, we shall have to make do with those of national practitioners.

In 1971, 13 task forces of the Department of State turned out 600 pages, telling us how to streamline our diplomatic apparatus. This formidable bolus is still working its way through the bureaucracy, with some notable digestive upsets in the younger and older sectors of a Foreign Service in full effervescence. Many of the proposals to improve morale, to increase junior participation, and to give proper roles to women are long overdue; others are unworkable. But the best answer to the importunities of patronage would be systems of recruitment, examination, assignment, and promotion which combined rigorous competition with maximum anonymity—a kind of

Jeffersonian selection à l'outrance. A corps of professionals so chosen and periodically winnowed, who joined hands with their colleagues abroad and kept up better with the art of the possible back home, might even revive the old international fraternity of diplomacy. Such representatives would have to be more attuned to public opinion than old-line diplomats, and loyal to American interests in their global dimensions rather than to nationalist ambitions. By practicing openness with the press regarding policy (as distinct from tactics) they could do much to overcome the misconception of diplomacy as a black art. Their effectiveness would depend also on the government's pruning the wings of other agencies (CIA, Pentagon, Treasury, Department of Commerce) whose officials insist not only on formulating policies, which is quite legitimate, but on carrying them out in the field, which is confusing for everyone. A corps of this sort could easily make room for talented outsiders and necessary experts, but its own high quality might encourage the White House to strong-arm the National Committees now and then. For in some situations the interests of the United States overshadow even the contributions of the faithful.

I am aware that all of this sounds utopian, but what is the alternative? If we continue to expose our diplomatic establishment to the full blaze of presidential patronage, the "beautiful and rational system" is likely to come a cropper. We shall earn the contempt and resentment of other governments just at the moment when our other powers of persuasion are on the wane. And as our disgruntled Foreign Service officers wander off to more rewarding careers, we shall have to put up with political zealots and technical wizards, who will provide the President with service inferior to that which Talleyrand's languid Ministry gave to Napoleon. Such officials may keep the White House in practice for public repentance and rationalization—not to mention frequent travel—but they make a poor substitute for Jules Canbon's preferred instruments of persuasion: two decent human beings, each of whom enjoys the confidence of the other and of his own government. ■

"If other nations and their leaders cannot trust our diplomats' discretion, our diplomacy is gravely impaired. — Nathaniel Davis

Deep Throat or the Ethics of Discretion

RAYMOND F. SMITH

MOST FOREIGN SERVICE officers would probably agree with the proposition that accepting the right to participate in the policy-making process, including the right to receive classified information, carries with it a concomitant obligation to play by certain rules of the game, a major one being not to release classified information without authorization. The disagreement comes in when, if ever, this obligation is overcome. The traditional position, as exemplified in Director General Davis's "Ethics of Discretion" letter (Department NEWSLETTER, October 1974), is that it is never overcome. At the point when one's conscience is totally revolted by the decisions of the system, the moral alternative is transfer or resignation, not the guerrilla warfare of unauthorized leaks.

A lot of Foreign Service officers, perhaps particularly those of us who finished college or graduate school and entered the Service in the 1960s, find the alternatives of doing nothing or resigning equally unattractive. When we were engaged in various forms of protest to the war in Vietnam, we were told to "work for change within the system." We joined the system, which now seems a bit too quick to tell us to "get out if you don't like what is going on." But I do not want to be accused of attacking straw men.

There are alternatives within the system to doing nothing, anonymous leaks, or resignation. The parameters of what is generally considered acceptable dissent have expanded in the Foreign Service. The willingness of the system to stand dissent without retaliation can easily stand comparison with that of most other systems in government, academia and business.

Nevertheless, there is rampant dissatisfaction with the way the system operates. I believe that this is traceable in part to doubts about whether the system is committed to encouraging effective dissent or to encouraging the appearance of dissent. The Foreign Service provides a variety of virtually risk-free methods of expressing dissent, in formats almost certain to be ineffective. The Foreign Service officer faced with a policy which (s)he believes is either wrong or mistaken, and whose conscience is satisfied by going on record with a memo disagreeing with the policy should have no trouble getting his or her needs met within the system. If, however, the dissenter wants to change policy rather than to assuage conscience (and I think this tends to be the case with officers of my generation), (s)he is likely to be frustrated with both the acceptable forms of dissent and the risks of using less acceptable forms.

In this situation, the Foreign Service officer may consider leaking classified information to someone in Congress or the press. This kind of leak infuriates policy-makers, not for reasons of morality (though the arguments against it may be couched in those terms), but because such leaks may be embarrassing, or (even worse) effective in mobilizing opposition to an

established policy. The selective dissemination (leaking, if you like) of classified information is considered legitimate by the system only if it is used by those at the political levels to garner support for an established policy. Knowledge, in these circumstances, is indeed power and those who have it intend to keep it if they can.

Does this fact suffice to overcome the obligation not to engage in anonymous leaks? I think not. The fact that others may not be as nobly motivated as they pretend to be is not a moral blank check to Foreign Service officers releasing them from all obligations for their own behavior. Moreover, I think there is no getting around the fact that an anonymous leak, however nobly motivated, is essentially an act of cowardice. It says: "I think this policy is wrong, but I am not going to risk anything to fight it."

Are there, nevertheless, any circumstances which do justify an anonymous leak? We can presumably dismiss out of hand those which not even their authors would claim to be acts of conscience: leaks motivated by pique at exclusion from the policy-making process or leaks designed as personal attacks on a policy-maker. (There is an important distinction between arguing that such leaks are not justified, in the sense of morally defensible by the leaker, and arguing, factually, that they will not occur. The policy-maker who wants to avoid leaks ought, on purely pragmatic grounds, to attempt to promote a sense of involvement by his or her subordinates in the policy-making process since, if (s)he does not, an alienated staff is likely to be a source of leaks.) The proportion of leaks so dismissed may, how-

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"Those who are considering dissent should be aware that in order to be effective and to act in a morally justified manner, they will have to incur risks."

ever, be mainly in the eye of the beholder. Policy-makers are likely to doubt the nobility of motive of those who leak, while most people who leak probably believe themselves motivated by a higher morality than organizational loyalty.

It may help our consideration of alternatives to realize that the Foreign Service officer's dilemma is not unique, but a specific example of the dilemma individuals have always faced when confronted with group decisions with which they seriously disagreed. Accepting the benefits of group membership creates a *prima facie* obligation to support group decisions. I suggest that time and again the following considerations arise when individuals try to decide whether this primary obligation to the group is overcome by the demands of their consciences:

- 1) whether or not the individual is accorded an effective role in the decision-making process;
- 2) whether the individual's position in the decision-making process is central or non-central to the issue involved;
- 3) the nature of the decision.

The more central the individual's position and the greater his or her role in the decision-making process, the greater, presumably, the obligation to accept the group decision, even if (s)he disagrees with it. The strength of this obligation can be seen in the fact that the great traitors of history (for example, Judas, for Christians, and Benedict Arnold, for Americans) have generally been centrally located and presumably accorded an effective role in the decision-making process. Yet even this obligation can be overcome by a sufficiently rep-

rehensible decision. The fact that Judas and Benedict Arnold have been accused of enriching themselves by their actions has obscured the ethical principle involved. When faced with a decision or policy with which they seriously disagreed, both Judas and Benedict Arnold resigned from the group and took public steps to oppose the decision. Condemnation of their actions cannot be separated from a judgment about the decisions they opposed. Faced with a sufficiently reprehensible course of action, an individual has not only the right but the obligation to oppose it by the most effective means available. In fact, only the Judas alternative (i.e., to resign and oppose) on its face accomplishes both purposes of dissent—to satisfy conscience and to act effectively to attempt to change policy.

The Director General's alternative (i.e., to resign and not oppose) is unacceptable to those who believe that resignation, if not accompanied by the use of the knowledge, including classified, which one possesses to fight the policy, is an act of assuaging conscience rather than an effective effort to change policy. Yet both the Judas and Director General alternatives share the quality of willingness to incur risk on behalf of one's position which provides in large part the moral validation of an act of dissent.

It is the unwillingness to incur risk which betrays the pretensions to morality of the Deep Throat, or unauthorized leak, alternative. We cannot dismiss that alternative too quickly, however, since the real issue in the case of Deep Throat, the high White House official who continued to draw his salary while

giving the Washington Post information that may well have been essential to exposing the Watergate coverup, is whether resigning or staying placed him in a better position to expose the cover-up. If the latter, the Deep Throat alternative was the morally justifiable one, even though it involved little risk, because the overriding social need was to expose the cover-up.

Of course, for most Foreign Service officers, these difficult choices never arise. Like most people, most times, they neither resign, nor leak, nor dissent, nor oppose policy. Those who are considering dissent should be aware that in order to be effective *and* to act in a morally justifiable manner, they will have to incur risks. Only when they have dissented vociferously, even obnoxiously, enough to put their careers in jeopardy should the Director General or Deep Throat alternatives arise. Even then, in most cases, because of the relative personal risks involved I believe that the willingness to resign over a decision is morally superior to the willingness to resist through anonymous leaks. I also think that in such cases resignation may suffice to meet one's obligation to one's conscience, although I personally doubt that I would feel much reluctance to use the knowledge that I had gained to fight a policy that had driven me to resign. The situation reverses itself, however, if the decision is sufficiently reprehensible. One's primary obligation then becomes to get the policy changed, a social rather than a personal obligation. In that situation, I prefer the conscience-stricken coward to the courageous establishmentarian, Deep Throat to the Ethics of Discretion. ■

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Outside Impressions

HOW AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IS
MADE, by John Spanier and Eric M.
Uslaner. Praeger, \$8.50.

THE AUTHORS of this book, two
professors of political science from
the University of Florida, have
cast their work in fashionable
terms of concentric circles of
power, from the inner circle sur-
rounding the President on out-
wards. And lest this approach take
them too far from the real world,
they discuss in detail several
specific foreign policy decisions of
recent years as illustrations of how
the foreign affairs "actors" in their
scheme have acted as they did on
these occasions. They also take up
such questions as the relative ap-
plicability of the so-called "rational
actor" and "bureaucratic" models
of decision-making. Finally, they
discuss at some length the pre-
tended American dilemma: how to
preserve a democratic order at
home while investing the govern-
ment with enough authority to
guard successfully the nation's
security.

All of this is satisfactory enough,
but the reader with Foreign Service
experience will wonder how an en-
tire book can be written on such a
subject with only the briefest pass-
ing mention of the Foreign Service,
and no specific treatment at all of
the role of the Service in initiating
(or in preventing the initiation of)
particular foreign policy decisions.
While it may be true that members
of the Service have had little to do
with shaping foreign policy in re-
cent years, it surely is a fact that
senior career officers have played
critical roles, for good or for ill, in
the shaping of policy on numerous
important occasions in the post-
war period. The part played by
career officers in drawing up the
Marshall Plan and by Ambassador
Kennan in putting forward the doc-
trine of containment are examples
which come to mind.

On balance, then, this short
book not only breaks little new
ground, it also leaves untreated
large and important aspects of its
complicated subject. But since so
much must also be said of most

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books with this hackneyed title, it should be added that, for the present at least, it can still usefully be read both as a relatively up-to-date treatise on the subject, and as a saddening reflection of the Service's evident insignificance in the eyes of outside students of the policy-making process.

—THOMAS A. DONOVAN

Stanley's Presumption

STANLEY, AN ADVENTURER EXPLORED, by Richard Hall. Houghton Mifflin Company, \$12.50.

HENRY MORTON STANLEY was one of the greatest adventurers of all time and Richard Hall, British journalist with many years' experience in Africa, has written a superb biography of him, exposing a great deal of new and important information. Hall pursued his task with care and diligence and it was a difficult one because Stanley himself left a long trail of fantasy and falsehood about his own life, beginning with efforts to conceal his "shameful origins" as the bastard child of a butcher's daughter in Denbigh, Wales. Hall reveals—among many

other revelations—that the boat in which Stanley sailed down the Congo was named "Lady Alice" after Alice Pike of New York and that Stanley had engaged her to marry just before departing in 1874 for his first crossing of Africa. Alice Pike broke her promise to wait for his return and married another man. Stanley suffered other romantic failures as well and these contributed to his insecurities and secretiveness about himself.

Stanley was an amoral eccentric but a tough and courageous leader of men. And what a life—workhouse childhood, emigration to America, fought for and deserted from both sides in the Civil War, journalist who reported the wars against the Indians in the American West, and then his first major expedition to look for and discover Livingstone in Africa. The two major crossings of Africa, in 1874-77 and 1887-89; the first crossing was a major achievement but was widely criticized, especially by the Royal Geographic Society in Britain, while the second crossing was everywhere acclaimed although it served the doubtful purposes of locating and "rescuing"

Emin Pasha and of furthering the ambition of Leopold of Belgium.

Stanley subsequently married, acquired British citizenship, and had a brief and undistinguished career as a Member of Parliament.

If the art of biography is the re-creation of a personality, then Richard Hall has fully mastered the art in this account of Stanley.

—DAVID LINEBAUGH

Changing Relations

CRISIS: *The Loss of Europe*, by Charles A. Cerami. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, \$7.95.

CERAMI, the foreign affairs editor of the Kiplinger Washington Publications, has written a volume which probably deserves brief perusal by foreign affairs professionals. He argues bluntly that the cost of American commitment to Southeast Asia was Europe. American commitment to South Vietnam and the prolonged fighting there made Europeans feel in second place; it destroyed the bright future of the Atlantic economy and polity; and by leading to divisions between America and Europe it in-

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vited the Soviets and Arabs to inflict inflation and energy crisis on the West. The loss of Europe entailed far too much in terms of American security, trade, and investment.

Perhaps to ensure that no one misses his points, Cerami has written simply about extremely complex questions of economics, politics, and security. That fact, and the choppy organization of the manuscript coupled with rather breathless prose, make the book seem shallow. Nor does Cerami have the answers to many of the questions he raises about the future of American-European relations. But he does ask a lot of important questions. His travels and personal acquaintances have furnished him with a fund of useful illustrative vignettes and quotes. And he takes no pains to cover up a brand of economic and political conservatism slightly out of fashion these days, which at least lets everyone know where he stands. Certainly he is right to call attention to the importance of changing American relations with Europe and to say that many years will pass before

the consequences of the Vietnam decade are clearly manifest.

—THOMAS H. ETZOLD

Groping for Strategy

THE FAILURE OF U.S. ENERGY POLICY, by *Richard Mancke*. Columbia University Press, \$10.00 hardcover, \$2.95 paperback.

THIS BOOK argues that much of the fault of our present energy crisis lies in the hands of our government policy makers. In this Mancke may be right. He also emphasizes the need to reduce the power of OPEC and our vulnerability to any import interruption by reducing our demand. He does not believe in the "limits to growth" theory with respect to consumption of fuel, he fears a boycott (which the US has already taken action against through the Energy Coordinating Group and its International Energy Program) and he argues for a "flexible groping strategy." Internationally, Mancke believes we should use import controls to obtain concessions from individual producer states. A good point. One proposal he outlines would be to

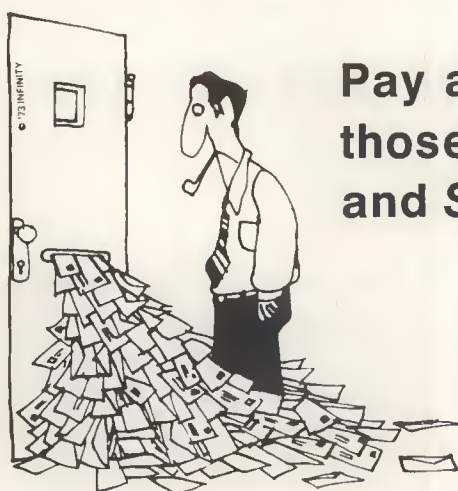
divide oil exporters into two classes—secure and insecure—and put higher tariffs on the oil from insecure sources. He notes the importance of consumer cooperation in checking OPEC monopoly power. Finally, he proposes a *comprehensive* approach including stockpiling emergency reserves, establishing a consumer counter-cartel, and reducing energy demand as major tools to solve the energy problem. Eventually, however, high energy prices are foreseen as a means of reducing consumption and promoting efficient use. All in all a good discussion with many controversial points worthy of evaluation.

—HARRY C. BLANEY III

Castroland

INSIDE CUBA, by *Joe Nicholson Jr.* Sheed and Ward, \$8.95.

JUST OFF the press, Mr. Nicholson's short book, written two and a half years ago, is, unfortunately, dated. While it presents an optimistic view, Fidel Castro's "New Cuba" is much changed



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from what it was when the author spent six weeks traveling around the island. Since then, the material conditions of life for the approximately nine million Cubans have greatly improved. Whether the non-material aspects are correspondingly better depends on the observer's ideological frame of reference. In this respect, the author has tried to be objective, and, in his investigations, he probably probed as far beneath the surface as was prudent in a totalitarian society.

Mr. Nicholson's many conversations with Cubans have the ring of authenticity and his observations are accurate. The picture he paints is a balanced one. But readers with past knowledge will probably not be able to relate what he has written to anything they remember of the Cuba of pre-Castro days.

The report of a discussion with a Cuban editor on the role of the press is especially good, illustrating as it does the difficulty of trying to surmount Marxist thinking. Those who have visited Cuba will appreciate the author's frustration in reasoning with people whose over-

simplistic thinking is the result of rigid acceptance of socialist doctrine.

—JOHN P. HOOVER

Columbus's Egg

PUBLIC POLICY MAKING, by James Anderson. Praeger, \$8.50 cloth, \$3.95 paper.

MANY READERS of the JOURNAL are engaged in the making of public policy in the United States. Others are busy analyzing and predicting the public policy making process in other states. A sizable proportion of both groups have been exposed, usually in a haphazard fashion, to various facets of the growing new subfield of social science called public policy analysis, from its mention in high school civics courses to Yehezkel Dror's latest abstruse work in what he calls "Policy Science." In general, we can locate the subject by putting it inside the broader field of public administration, and by putting decision-making analysis inside policy analysis itself.

Professor Anderson's book is a

primer—it is not for the reader who is already familiar with the basic scholarly approaches and their applications. It is an excellent primer, however, and is ideal for those who are interested and know they know nothing as well as for those who have picked up a smattering but suspect they ought to at least check out the rest. It is short and easy to read, and the concepts used are illustrated by real-world examples, usually from US national domestic policy, but occasionally from US foreign policy and from other governments. Footnotes are exceptionally good—they lead the reader to a more specialized work on a particular subject but avoid the abstruse and the jargonish. Conclusions are simple and unambitious: public policy making is continuous, very complex, productive of insights into the total political process and environment, and still very largely *terra incognita*. To the reader who is tempted to close the book with "Why, I always knew that!", one can only mention Columbus's egg.

—JOHN W. BOWLING

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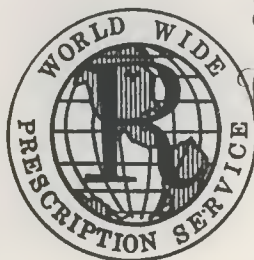
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FOREIGN SERVICE WIVES

from page 7

kinds of people they are. Foreign Service wives are bright, prepared, concerned women. And once their babies are off to first grade they are at a loss to know how to become contributing adults in their own right. The answer certainly does not lie on the bridge and tea party circuit.

It is particularly difficult for women who have spent tours in Washington preparing themselves for careers and actually practicing them. The moment the husband is transferred overseas it becomes necessary to give it all up to accompany the man and to play the domestic second fiddle to his diplomatic performance. Job seniority is lost, financial independence is lost, pride is lost. In the past there was that measure of pride to be attained in learning a foreign language, coping successfully in new environments, and in becoming an efficient and gracious hostess. Nowadays, such accomplishments are looked down upon and considered demeaning by modern

young women and, worse than that, officially ignored.

For the older Foreign Service wife the problem is a generational one. Much as she may lament that she has thrown her life away, that she would never have chosen to bear four or five children, but instead performed "meaningful" work, she is not isolated nor different from the rest of society. Women all over the United States of her generation—those who were in their early married and child bearing years in the '50s and before—share the same disappointments.

For the young Foreign Service wife the problem is more difficult. For the very few (about 30 to date) becoming an FSO may be an answer. But not all women are by temperament bureaucrats, and the places for them are limited. For some, teaching in American or international schools overseas may be an answer. But two year teaching stints do not make a professional educator, nor do they permit one to climb the administrative ladder, rung by rung, in the same

school district. Nor are there ever any guarantees of openings in the school at the new post. Some will serve as Embassy nurses; under other circumstances those same nurses could have been doctors. But what about the urban planners, the editors, the systems analysts, the bank examiners, the technical librarians, the engineers? What to do about these wives overseas is a problem which to date the Foreign Service has ignored. AFSA is considering taking the revolutionary (!) stand that dependents should be allowed to work overseas if they care to do so in a proposed revision to 3 FAM 10.735-206. This is hardly more than an idle gesture, a token, indifferent to the fact that a recent questionnaire (see the January, 1975 NEWSLETTER article "Questionnaire Provides Information on Job Opportunities for FS Wives Overseas") reveals that only four out of 34 posts reported total legal freedom for diplomatic wives to seek employment in the local job market.

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her spouse should consider the question and be aware that it may well be impossible for one of the two to pursue a career. And it is the kind of decision that should be reached (granted that people may well change their minds later on) *before* coming into the Foreign Service, not after. A paragraph in the Foreign Service officer exam recruitment booklet and a discussion at the time of passing the oral examination could soften the blow of discovering that one or the other of a Foreign Service couple could be either permanently unemployed or under-employed.

There are some alternatives which the Foreign Service should seriously consider. Setting aside the possibilities for working outside the mission (opportunities for which apparently vary tremendously according to the aforementioned article) the Foreign Service could provide many more jobs for wives who desire them than it now does. Instead of grudgingly allowing women to work—always last hired, first fired—and taken on temporarily and local hire (in order

to avoid paying allowances) wives should be encouraged to apply for and then trained for a myriad of jobs in overseas missions. Some could be clerical: secretary, teletype operator, etc. Some could be staff officer positions: B & F specialists, communicators, personnel technicians, etc. Wives could perfectly well function as consular clerks. They could prepare World Trade Directory reports. They could edit, translate, clip newspapers, write the Ambassador's thank you notes, and procure publications for the mission. They could do biographic reporting. Wives could free officers to do more contact work, travel and drafting. Another group of wives could choose to do representational work and entertaining (in their own homes and at the Residence) and be paid for it. The government saves a lot of money when an officer entertains in the home instead of in a restaurant. The wife should receive at least some of the difference in cost between dinner at home and dinner in a restaurant as her fee as a semi-professional

caterer.

Far from detracting from the image of the United States abroad, working wives enhance it. Nearly half of all American women work (although only about 14 percent do so overseas) and the situation women find themselves in overseas is ironic if you consider that one of the Foreign Service mandates is to represent as nearly as possible the current lifestyle in America. Thinking people in other countries might find it strange that so few American Embassy women work and that they contribute so little in spite of being generally freed from the burdens of housekeeping and childcare. No one better exemplifies to the young revolutionary in an under-developed country the neo-colonial parasitic woman than a wife who spends hours in the beauty parlor and at the local country club whiling away the hours with the oligarchs. And no one better portrays the image of an American woman than one who is able to care for her children, run an efficient household, and be a productive member of the work force. ■

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LETTERS from page 2

it has both the right and the obligation to inform presidential aspirants that we who risk our lives and health in foreign affairs consider it a serious business, and not a dumping-ground for dilettantes and political payoffs.

RICHARD S. DAWSON, JR.,
FSO-4

Istanbul

Toward Further Debate

■ I share Mr. Herz's disappointment that the JOURNAL's pages have not promoted more debate on "dissent, disloyalty and Foreign Service finkism" in recent months, and I am happy to accept his challenge to contribute to such a debate.

But first, I think I must establish my credentials. My observations and conclusions, during a war-time assignment to Vietnam, were diametrically opposed to those of Mr. Herz. I saw murder, torture, corruption, blackmail, bribery and kidnapping—and an Embassy which blocked the transmission to Washington of honest and objective analyses of these tragic realities.

Mr. Herz was one of the chief blockers of the reports which many, many officers were endeavoring to send to Washington in those repressive years. In his article, he explained why "... in the case of Vietnam we were in a war. In wartime, generalized dissent about the national aims is usually regarded as treason. One should not be surprised, therefore, that people in the Foreign Service trod warily when they opposed the commitment itself. They were opposing not just the judgment of their immediate superiors, but the Commander-in-Chief."

Mr. Herz rationalizes that the individual in a large organization must accommodate himself to its purposes and methods, its strategy and tactics. A throwback to "You can't fight City Hall."

His article helps explain why the President and the Secretary of State in the 1960s and 1970s did not have the true facts on which they could base sound policy judgments. And this helps to explain what is wrong with the Foreign Service.

If the JOURNAL should fail to publish this letter, I shall under-

stand better why the debate Mr. Herz explicitly elicited is not taking place.

WILLIAM H. DURHAM
Reston

Ambassadorial Criteria

■ In addition to its many professional responsibilities, our Association currently serves as a collective bargaining representative for many of its members. It does not and cannot represent all its members on a collective bargaining table, however, because some of its members are ambassadors—officials who serve *de jure* on the "management" side of the table.

As is true with most other collective bargaining agreements, one of the primary roles of our Association's service as collective bargaining representative is to help establish systems that delineate the rights and responsibilities of all parties within the labor-management environment. Few, if any, such systems, however, grant to "labor" the judging of individual appointees to "management" prior to their employment.

The January 1975 FSJ editorial requested Association member views on possible future AFSA involvement in ambassadorial nominations. Four suggested options related to individual review of non-career appointees. As citizens and tax-payers, we have a Con-

stitutional right to comment on Presidential nominations. But unless and until our Association relinquishes its responsibilities as collective bargaining representative (and some have argued a good case that AFGE better might represent such interests), I would prefer our Association to help strengthen the systems through which all ambassadorial nominations—career as well as non-career—are reviewed rather than to review each individual appointee.

One of the better systems might well be the criteria drafted with our Association's assistance in summer 1973 by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. If these criteria were adopted and carried out by the Committee, our Association can pat its collective back for a good job, well done, and move on to other activities of an equally pressing nature.

MORRIE K. BLUMBERG
Visiting Lecturer in
Public Affairs

Pittsburgh

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

Send to: Letters to the Editor, Foreign Service JOURNAL, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

Life and Love in the Foreign Service



"You're the one who wanted a special-purpose Consulate!"



QUESTION THE CANDIDATES Personally or in Writing

Meet, See, and Hear the Candidates in the 1975 AFSA Election!!!! Candidates will answer questions from members. Members who cannot attend the meetings listed below may submit written questions in advance to the Chairman, AFSA Elections Committee, 2101 E Street, NW Washington, D.C. 20037. Meetings are scheduled as follows:

May 1, 1975

Candidates for STATE DEPARTMENT CONSTITUENCY REPRESENTATIVES. 12:00 Noon to 2:00 p.m., East Auditorium, State Department

May 6, 1975

Candidates for 2nd VICE PRESIDENT, SECRETARY and TREASURER. 12:00 Noon to 1:30 p.m., Room 1912 State Department

May 8, 1975

Candidates for RETIRED CONSTITUENCY REPRESENTATIVES. 11:00 a.m. to 11:30 a.m., DACOR

May 8, 1975

Candidates for AID CONSTITUENCY REPRESENTATIVES. 12:00 Noon to 1:00 p.m., Room 1912 State Department

May 13, 1975

Candidates for PRESIDENT and VICE PRESIDENT. 12:00 Noon to 1:30 p.m., Room 1912 State Department

Candidate for USIA CONSTITUENCY REPRESENTATIVE—date and time to be determined later.

Please call this notice to the attention of your fellow AFSA Members.

Legislation: A Reminder

As we indicated last month, the problem of taxation of Foreign Service allowances, though cur-

rently dormant, is still not dead, and we expect that the subject may be revived toward the end of May. If you have not already done so, please take a few minutes to write your Congressman and two Senators, indicating what such legislation would do to you personally.

Similarly, the President has picked up major support from the new House Budget Committee in his effort to impose a 5% ceiling on Federal Pay increases this year, and a 5% ceiling on cost-of-living increases for federal annuitants. The Association believes it is unfair to single out federal employees and retirees for limitations not imposed on the rest of society, and that the limitation on retirees in particular constitutes a breach of faith by the government. We have already made these points to the two pertinent committees of the Congress, but strongly suggest that all retired members write their congressman and Senators indicating the unfairness of this proposal.

Staff Changes or Field vice Wallace

It is with considerable regret that we announce that Steve Wallace is leaving his job this month as AFSA Counselor and will be returning to AID and an assignment in the Philippines after a well-deserved vacation. Steve has gained the affection and respect of a great many people in AFSA and in the Service generally. Friendly, outgoing, tough and absolutely tenacious, Steve was perfectly suited to be Counselor, and in the course of his year with AFSA helped literally hundreds of individuals who have grievances or other personal problems with "the system." In addition, Steve bore much of the responsibility of negotiating with AID—a thankless task—answering inquiries on a hundred different subjects from members and writing "Red Tops" and a widely read

column in this JOURNAL. All this took unbounded energy and a willingness to work uncharacteristically long hours, even for the Foreign Service. He will be sorely missed.

Steve will be replaced by Don Field, currently assigned to the Peoples' Republic of China desk in the Department. Don, an FSO-5, was President this past year of the Junior Foreign Service Officers' Club and as such played a key role in the negotiations on the Threshold and Junior Officer precepts, and since then has been involved in a wide variety of AFSA activities.

A Couple of Gains through Adjudication

We don't win everything we take to third-party adjudication, but from time to time we do get highly favorable rulings from the Disputes Panel, the Grievance Board, or the Employee-Management Relations Commission. Recently, we won two important cases before the EMRC. In one case, the EMRC agreed with our contention that the Department had committed an unfair practice by refusing to provide AFSA with cost data on one of our proposals. This case is important because, in order to bargain effectively, we need to know approximately what AFSA proposals are going to cost. In the long run, everyone including management will gain from this decision, since it is in everyone's interest for us to concentrate on high-benefit, low-

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cost items, rather than low-benefit high-cost items (such as first-class air transportation).

In the other case, the EMRC threw out the Department's contention that our proposal, which would have required the Department to compensate personnel for regularly-scheduled duty overtime, was non-consultable (i.e. outside the proper scope of bargaining). Having overcome this procedural hurdle, we still have a way to go before we can resolve this question, but at least now it will be heard on the merits, and not thrown out on a technicality.

Negotiations

Progress on the Mustang Program

The Association has completed negotiations with the Department and expects to sign an agreement next week which will bring about a number of improvements in the Department's "Mustang Program"—the key upward mobility program for Foreign Service Staff Corps personnel. Under the agreement, the Department will drop

the current FSS-6 limit, and permit FSS-5 and FSS-4 personnel to apply for the program. The agreement also permits "Mustangers" to be competed for promotions under the junior officer program (where promotion opportunities are greater), rather than under the intermediate boards. Finally, the Department has agreed to permit former members of the Staff Corps currently stuck at the "Threshold" the options of remaining FSOs, or reconverting to FSSO, or converting to FSR in anticipation, after three years, or becoming FSRU. This measure should redress an inequity whereby a number of individuals in the Staff Corps were pressured excessively to convert to FSO, only to discover that the personnel system had changed.

Mid-career Lateral Entry Program

The Association and the Department have also concluded an agreement for the establishment of a limited program for hiring through lateral entry at mid-career, highly qualified women and members of minority groups who have

specialized skills in short supply in the Service. We think this is a step forward in making the Service more genuinely representative, and in meeting its EEO obligations, but under conditions which do not undermine the rights of those already in the Service and which do not undermine the professionalism of the Corps. We will have a more thorough report on this agreement next month. In the meantime, however, if members of the Association are aware of highly qualified individuals who might be good prospects for the program, they should contact the Department, c/o/M/EEO.

Population Conference

A Conference—Population Dynamics: A New Priority For Government is being held at Airlie House in Virginia May 20-21 for Americans working in international programs for the US Government and their spouses. It offers an opportunity to learn about US domestic population policies and programs. Speakers include Christian A. Herter, Jr., Congressman Joseph L. Fisher of Virginia and W. Parker Mauldin, Acting President of The Population Council. The cost is \$42.00 for registration, 4 meals and one night at Airlie. Call Marie Hazzard, Family Planning Orientation, International at 234-4362 before May 10.

Foreign Service People

David Welch, son of Consul Donald M. Welch, has been awarded \$3,000 by DACOR's Educational and Welfare Fund. The award is given to an outstanding student at the Georgetown



School of Foreign Service to help the recipient pursue advanced studies in international relations.

A panel of five Dacorians, chaired

Barlow, in rural Dutchess County, has in the past had several sons and daughters of Foreign Service families attend the School. Its small size, rural setting and homelike atmosphere create a "home away from home" feeling. Because we take no more than 100 students, we can give individual attention to each student, help him to expand his knowledge in areas of special interest.

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There is a wide choice of courses in the arts and natural history, as well as the basic college preparatory curriculum. An ideal place for your child if you have to leave for an extended period of time. For information and catalog write George B. Vought, Headmaster, or call 914/373-8111.

The Barlow School

Amenia, New York 12501

by John C. Pool, evaluated the candidates for the award.

David has applied for admission to the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and the University of Chicago.

Marriages

Oechsner-Adams. Ware Adams, FSO-retired, and Mrs. Olga Oechsner were married on April 4, in Leesburg, Virginia. Mr. and Mrs. Adams will reside at 4000 Cathedral Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016.

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.

EDUCATION

NEWBERRY COLLEGE, SOUTH CAROLINA — Co-ed church-related college of the liberal arts in a small pleasant Southern community 40 miles from Columbia. About 860 students. Intercollegiate athletics, strong intramurals, Air Force ROTC, good departments of music, theatre and business administration. New International Studies major advised by retired FSO. Third year abroad encouraged. Personal attention. Total costs \$2,995. 4-1-4 calendar. Students admitted from 11th grade if SATs and personal interview indicate. Write Gordon C. Henry, Newberry College, S.C., 29108.

REAL ESTATE

TOBAGO, Crusoe's Only Isle (We can prove it). For Rent: A charming new cottage directly on Courland Beach (Caribbean), fully furnished and equipped for four, 2 miles from championship Tobago Golf Club. Write Bob Johnson, Box 194, Scarborough, Tobago, West Indies.

BEGG INTERNATIONAL, INC. is the sister company and international real estate counterpart of Begg, Inc., Realtors, who have for so many years assisted FSO's to buy and sell their houses in the Washington area. Begg International specializes in best quality real estate overseas. For your retirement or holiday home in Portugal, Spain, the Caribbean, etc., consult: Begg International, Inc., Realtors, 1714 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. Tel: (202) 387-4805.

MOVING TO FLORIDA? We are specialists in Florida Sun Coast. Waterfront, inland and condominium properties for retirement purposes. Dery Associates, Inc., Realtors, 624 Waterside Way, Sarasota, Florida 33581. Contact Jean-M. Dery, FSO-retired, phone (813) 349-6177.

GIFTS

THE AAFSW OFFERS an assortment of ten informal notepapers with envelopes depicting five scenes from the Department of State Reception Rooms. They may be obtained at the Housing Office, Room 1248, Department of State, for \$3.00, or by mail, AAFSW, Publications Sales Committee, P.O. Box 8068, Washington, D.C. 20024 for \$3.25. All proceeds go into the Educational Aid Fund.

Rodes-Johnson. FSO Judith Rodes was married on February 15, in Santa Monica, California to FSO Stephen T. Johnson, son of FSO and Mrs. U. Alexis Johnson.

Births

Flood. A son, Stephen Norman, born to FSO and Mrs. Patrick J. Flood, on March 9, in Washington.

Harris. A daughter, Julia Louise, born to Tex and Jeanie Harris on January 14, in Washington. At two months Julia ranks in the 110th percentile in size for her age.

Johnson. A son, Benjamin Lee, born to FSO and Mrs. Sandor A. Johnson, on January 27, in Karachi.

Penner. A son, Robert DuBoise, born to FSO and Mrs. Vernon D. Penner, Jr., on March 6, in Washington.

Deaths

Butterworth. William Walton Butterworth, Jr., retired Ambassador, died March 31 in New York City. Ambassador Butterworth, a well known and highly respected career officer, served over forty years in the Foreign Service. As well as serving as Ambassador to Sweden and to Canada, he worked at posts in Lisbon, Madrid, Nanking, Singapore, London, Luxembourg and as Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs. He is survived by his wife, Virginia Parker Butterworth of 30 Battle Road, Princeton, New Jersey 08540; a son, Blair, of Seattle; a daughter, Cynthia Burns, of Greenwich, Connecticut, and two grandchildren.

Lutzeier. Paul Lutzeier, former FSSO, died in Rio de Janeiro March 15 as a result of injuries sustained in an auto accident. Mr. Lutzeier served as a civilian advisor in the US Military Government in Germany in the post-war years, and in 1949 was appointed Coordinator of United States Information Centers in Hesse within the HICOG organization. In 1954, he returned to private life, first at Wayne State University in Detroit, and then as Public Relations Director for the Secretary of State in Michigan.

Lyon. Frederick Bronson Lyon, retired Ambassador, died on March 20 at Georgetown University Hospital in Washington, D.C. Ambassador Lyon, who was promoted to the rank of career minister in 1957, served as first secretary in Cairo, consul general in Paris, and in Ankara and Algiers before his retirement in 1961. Survivors include his wife, Elizabeth Lyon of 4000 Cathedral Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.; a son, William of Pittsburgh; two brothers, George of Cleveland and Charles of Los Angeles, and three grandchildren.

Magdanz. Mary R. Magdanz, wife of FSO-retired James F. Magdanz, died in Pompano Beach, Florida on January

20. Mrs. Magdanz accompanied her husband on tours of duty to New Delhi, Tehran, Tokyo and Buenos Aires. She lived in Hong Kong during her husband's service in Saigon. Mrs. Magdanz leaves a daughter, Noni Magdanz, who resides in London and her husband who is currently employed by the American Embassy Association, c/o American Embassy, Bonn, Germany.

Moffitt. James P. Moffitt, FSO-retired, died February 3 at his home in Alexandria, Virginia. Mr. Moffitt, who joined the Foreign Service in 1919, served at Brussels, Rangoon, Cape Town, Lourenco Marques, Marseille, Amsterdam, Caracas and Monterrey. He is survived by his wife, Mabel Moffitt, of 1607 Mount Eagle Place, Alexandria, Virginia 22302; a daughter, Meredith Padula, of Alexandria, and two grandchildren.

Pallister. Mervyn V. Pallister, FSO-retired, died on February 1, after a long illness. Mr. Pallister joined the State Department in 1947 and was appointed to the Foreign Service in 1955. He served at Karachi, Brussels, Curacao, as well as at FSI and two years at the University of Pittsburgh in executive management studies. He retired in 1962 to 3521 Indiana Road, Okemos, Michigan 48864, where he is survived by his wife, Ellen R. Pallister.

Read. Peggy P. Read, wife of FSO-retired Robert E. Read, died on February 25, in Alexandria, Virginia. Mrs. Read accompanied her husband on assignments to Geneva and Stockholm before his retirement in 1965. She is survived by her husband of 3201 Landover Street, Alexandria, Virginia 22305, a daughter, Donna, with USIS in Morocco, and two sons, Robin and David.

Summers. Lionel M. Summers, FSO-retired, died March 30 in Winter Park, Florida. Mr. Summers joined the Foreign Service in 1947 and served at Rome, Tripoli, Benghazi, Yokohama, Tokyo, and as dean of the School of Foreign Affairs at FSI. He is survived by his wife, Lucy Summers; two daughters, Mrs. Natalia Brennen of Evanston, Illinois, Mrs. Luck Peters of Antwerp, Belgium, and eight grandchildren.

Williamson. Gertrude W. Williamson, widow of FSO-retired Francis T. Williamson, died on January 22 in Washington. Mrs. Williamson accompanied her husband on assignments to Rome and Bonn and joined the Department of State as a public information specialist after his death in the early 1960s. She is survived by two daughters, Libby, Mrs. Masoud Mirhadi, 2 Pinecrest, Apr. 2F, New York, New York 10003 and Ruth, Mrs. Andrew J. Harmond, Jr. of 10241 Stratford Avenue, Fairfax, Virginia 22030.

SPECIAL ELECTION SECTION

Pages 27-48 of this issue contain campaign statements which have been submitted by candidates for office in the 1975 AFSA Election.

In accordance with the requirements of Executive Order 11636 the candidates' statements are presented verbatim, as submitted. Each candidate bears the responsibility for the content of his or her own statement.

The Candidates for all of the positions in this Election are as follows (in the order in which they will appear on the Ballot):

PRESIDENT

Rick Williamson
John D. Hemenway
Elbert G. Mathews

VICE PRESIDENT

Daniel O. Newberry
Lars Hydle
John J. Harter

2nd VICE PRESIDENT

John A. Patterson
Samuel R. President

SECRETARY

Norman Achilles
LaRue H. (Pete) Velott
Bob Palmeri

TREASURER

Paul A. Chadwell
Edward R. Stumpf
Denis Lamb

AID REPRESENTATIVE

Sherwin Landfield
Campbell McClusky
Paul Saenz
Charlotte Cromer
Roy A. Harrell Jr.

RETIRED REPRESENTATIVE

Paul J. Leahey
Peter F. Szluk

USIA REPRESENTATIVE

Paul P. Blackburn

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Cynthia Thomas | 7. Alf Cooley |
| 2. Richard J. Harrington | 8. Roger Benson |
| 3. William T. Pryce | 9. Alan W. Lukens |
| 4. Kenneth N. Rogers | 10. Pat Woodring |
| 5. David Noack | 11. David Morrison |
| 6. J. J. Paciorka | |

It is each member's responsibility to see to it that his or her proper address and constituency (State, AID, USIA, or Retired) are on record with AFSA. Ballots will be mailed May 15, 1975 and Voted Ballots must be returned by July 10, 1975; therefore, if you have not received your Ballot by June 10, 1975, please notify the Chairman of the AFSA Elections Committee IMMEDIATELY, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

STATEMENT BY ELBERT G. MATHEWS

Why Is a Retired FSO Seeking the Presidency of AFSA?

Three principal reasons for my candidacy are that, first a group of employees on active duty asked me to run; second, AFSA is now a trade union as well as a professional society and trade unions are usually headed by an executive not subject to the pressures inherent in employment by the management with which the union must negotiate; third and most important, I believe the leaders of AFSA in recent years have not understood the unique nature and requirements of the Foreign Service and have in consequence but without intent acted to strengthen the hand of those elements in the Federal Government who have long urged the absorption of the Foreign Service by the Civil Service.

I have accordingly joined like-minded nominees for the several AFSA offices in a coalition whose major purpose is to bring the conduct of all AFSA activities a renewed appreciation of the unique nature of the Foreign Service and a greater professionalism. The positions of Coalition members on important issues will be set forth in papers which will be in the hands of AFSA members before this statement (prepared in late March) is circulated in the May JOURNAL.

I shall use the rest of this statement to express my personal views on the Service so that members who vote for me will know what to expect.

When I use the words Foreign Service or Service I include all those in the several Foreign Service categories of AID, State and USIA in all classes. I believe that the United States is best served by a unified Foreign Service. In the existing situation I believe that we best serve the national interest by operating abroad as much like a unified Service as we can. Those who served with me at foreign posts know that this is the way I operated.

The working milieu of the Foreign Service is foreign cultures, sovereignties, ambitions and policies in a world marked by rapid social, economic and political change, increasing interdependence and instantaneous communications. It is a milieu of high tension and some danger. It is quite unlike the normal working environment of other United States Government services. To function effec-

tively in its milieu the Foreign Service requires a very high order of competence and dedication in all categories and classes of personnel. I believe that Service employees should regard their duties as a public trust, should be prepared to devote their working years to the Service and should accept the necessity of so conducting themselves officially and personally as to reflect credit on the United States.

The unusual commitments of Foreign Service employees must be matched by commitments of the managements of AID, State and USIA to provide the specialized support needed for work in the Service milieu. All three managements have recognized and sought to fulfill many of the unusual needs of the Service. There are still important omissions which AFSA and the managements must deal with. In some cases recourse to the Congress will be necessary. If AFSA and the managements present joint positions, the Congress is more likely to be responsive. I believe that relations and negotiations between AFSA and the three managements should be in low key and based upon a presumption of common objectives and willingness to cooperate. However, I do recognize that on occasion such mutuality of interest will not be present. At such times I will not hesitate to strongly present the Service's case.

One area in which AFSA and the three managements have an obvious common interest is improvement of the professionalism of the Foreign Service and of the individual Service employee. Highly qualified people should be recruited for the wide range of jobs within the Service. As employees these people should be encouraged to develop their talents and increase their skills by appropriate assignments and in-service education. If this is to be done, I believe AFSA and the AID, State and USIA managements will have to produce much more farsighted and consistent personnel policies and procedures than are now in effect.

In conclusion, I believe a professional Foreign Service separate from other United States Government services is essential to the most effective conduct of United States foreign relations. My Coalition associates and I are committed to the strengthening of the Service.

THE PROGRESS SLATE—RICK WILLIAMSON FOR PRESIDENT

There is a big change coming

Except in AID, this summer there will be a total turnover of the AFSA Board, since none of the State, USIA or Retired members or officers of the Board will be running in this election. A number of us who have been active in AFSA affairs, but (except in AID) not as Board members, decided to put together a slate and run together for the Board. We decided to call ourselves **THE PROGRESS SLATE**. In future mailings, we will try to explain what we have in mind in the way of further progress for the Foreign Service and for improving AFSA. This time, we'll just tell you who we are.

What AFSA needs on the Board

In deciding to run together as a slate, two considerations were foremost in our minds:

(1) *The Board must be truly representative of the diversity of the Association.* AFSA is the professional association of the entire Foreign Service, and the exclusive employee representative of Foreign Service personnel in three agencies. Both of these roles demand that the AFSA Board reflects the broad diversity of the Foreign Service: three agencies, plus retired personnel; junior, mid-career and senior officers and the Staff Corps; and a plethora of ranks and pay plans.

(2) *Board members must have qualities of dedication, knowledge, experience and proven leadership.* The activities of the Association are highly diverse, and membership on the Board requires considerable dedication and hard work.

We think we have the people to do the job

In putting together our PROGRESS SLATE, we think we have done a good job of keeping these two considerations in mind. Please read over our statements and see if you don't agree. We represent all three agencies, a wide variety of ranks and pay plans, and a wide variety of occupational or functional backgrounds. Everyone on the Slate has a proven record of accomplishment in AFSA and/or other concerned organizations.

A little about me

I've never served on an AFSA Board. But for the past two years, I have worked, while on leave without pay as an employee of AFSA, first as Counselor, and later as Executive Director. I will be returning to the Department this summer, probably to a job in ACDA. I'm an FSO-4, and have split my experience between political and administrative matters. While in AFSA, I have worked on or handled every aspect of AFSA's increasingly activist involvement.

**JOHN D. HEMENWAY—A TRULY INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE FOR AFSA PRESIDENT
—SERVING NO CLIQUE**

• 48; Rhodes Scholar; Soviet and German Expert; Foreign Service for 15 years; Married to former USIA Press Officer, Betty Hearn.

- You can rely on Hemenway to protect AFSA interests and your personal interests.
- You have had two years of the so-called "Achievement" slate of Williamson/Boyatt/Harris. Do you now want two years with the same persons calling themselves the "Progress" slate? Harris and Williamson made progress; both were promoted. Boyatt went to the Senior Seminar. Williamson's only work for the past two years was full time for AFSA.
- Isn't it finally time that your own interests were represented in AFSA?
- Let's have an advocate who knows the Foreign Service, the Congress and the Administration and who will fight for your vital interests. Hemenway will work with the independent-minded representatives you elect to improve your service.

WHY HEMENWAY OPPOSES WILLIAMSON'S SLATE

For the past five years AFSA leadership under the "Achievement" Slate and now the "Progress" Slate has been a record of failure.

WILLIAMSON FAILURES INCLUDE:

1. *Financial*—AFSA finances are so bad that the scholarship funds have been drawn down to pay for Williamson's own salary as a full-time AFSA agent.
2. *Professional Survival*: AFSA leadership has stood aside and watched colleagues, professional associates and the profession itself get ground up. Yet Williamson and Harris won promotion this year on the basis of AFSA work—Williamson did not even have a job in the foreign service for the past two years. Whom did he serve?
3. *Other failures* are enumerated in the campaign statement mailed this week to the membership.

WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT HEMENWAY

Amb. J. Graham Parsons: (Sworn testimony of an FSO, dated January, 1969): The trouble with Hemenway is that he can't be bought off.

Ambassador Rush: Actions taken by John Hemenway are responsible for many of the reforms instituted in recent years in the Department of State.

Ambassador Stoessel: Mr. Hemenway is an officer of unusual drive, courage and flair.

(NOTE: After the last election Amb. Parsons wrote to the FSJ attempting to suggest that he had not made the quoted statement but he did not actually deny making the statement attributed to him. The FSJ refused to publish the verbatim identified sworn statement which Hemenway offered and which is of record. The FSJ also refused to publish Hemenway's short letter thanking the more than 500 voters who cast their ballot for him as AFSA President. So much for the "openness" of AFSA leadership.)

HEMENWAY RECEIVED MORE THAN 500 VOTES LAST ELECTION. IF ONLY 10% OF THE 5000 MEMBERS WHO DID NOT VOTE OPT FOR HEMENWAY, YOUR PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION WILL MAKE REAL PROGRESS THIS YEAR.

**WITHIN SIX MONTHS OF HEMENWAY'S ELECTION
AS AFSA PRESIDENT MEMBERS MAY EXPECT:**

1. A referendum vote by the membership on proposals to restore esprit to the Foreign Service by creating a two-tier professional organization. This will consist of:
 - a. A truly professional section to encourage professional standards and to encourage a return to the foreign service family concept among GS, FSR, FSS, FSO and other ranks.
 - b. An employee organization to promote vigorous union activity to go after the bread and butter issues that are so important. This group will seek out and destroy corruption that promotes maladministration wherever it is found, even if the path leads directly to the door of Congressman Wayne Hays.
2. The resignation of the present AFSA Legal Committee Chairman will be requested. In the place of his apologies for management a tough-minded group of volunteer lawyers will be installed who will vigorously defend the interests of the AFSA community, individually and collectively.
3. A formal proposal will be made to the White House to abolish E.O. 11636, the Macomber-sponsored fraud which has led to the current sorry state of affairs in AFSA. Labor Department supervision of this election was requested because of the corruption which E.O. 11636 inevitably introduces. E.O. 11636 has caused AFSA to become a "company union."
4. An end to the secrecy of the present AFSA leadership which uses "openness" only as a slogan. Hemenway was specifically requested to leave one board meeting in which the financial plight of AFSA was to be discussed (Boyatt/Williamson/Harris responsibility).
5. *Every aspect* of the Department of State personnel operations will be made public under the policy of conducting the public business of managing the foreign service in public.
6. AFSA will create a lobby to educate the public and the Congress to care about the Foreign Service.
7. Training assignments, promotions and assignments will be scrutinized by the AFSA organization by persons who personally stand to gain nothing, with a view to maintaining equity and keeping those controlling personnel and administration relatively honest. (NOTE: Even under this Labor Department supervised election the nomination of Mr. Mathews and four others was accepted one day late, in direct violation of the rules. A protest from me was made which has been under consideration for the past 14 days without action. Mathews was nominated by a group close to personnel and management circles in STATE.)
8. Hemenway opposes the ill-conceived proposals to return USIA to STATE.
9. Hemenway favors elimination of the "public member" system of promotion boards which permits manipulation by management of the promotion system.
10. If Hemenway is elected AFSA President, no one, but no one will be removed from his position in the foreign service community without AFSA supported due process. This is not now the case.

DANIEL O. NEWBERRY—COALITION CANDIDATE FOR VICE PRESIDENT

The following interrogation of Dan Newberry, Coalition Candidate, was recorded (but not taped) on March 30, 1975.

Q: What is a gray-haired veteran of the 1967 "Young Turk" movement doing, back into AFSA politics?

A: The "Young Turks" had a vision of AFSA as a professional organization for *all* those working in the foreign affairs agencies of the United States. Somehow AFSA has still not been able to reach much beyond its preoccupation with the concerns of "substantive" officers and *their* preoccupation with rival claims for preferment in assignments and promotions.

Q: Who among the professionals are being neglected?

A: The Communicators, for example, are professionals. The consular clerks are professionals. The couriers, by definition indeed, are professionals. The Foreign Service secretaries are professionals. All these colleagues approach their work with as much professional commitment and self-discipline as the traditional line officers. Yet they continue to come off being regarded as hired help, their devotion and commitment to the Service looking very much like a case of unrequited love. And we all know what that emotion can lead to.

Q: What can AFSA do about that?

A: AFSA could begin by establishing the principle that interfunctional assignments are not the preserve of those generalists resolutely on the rapid rise to program direction. AFSA could also turn management's attention beyond the "upgrading of skills" toward a genuine broadening of the professional development horizons of staff corps personnel. And much more.

Q: Does that mean that you opt for "interfunctional" emphasis over specialization?

A: My own career has taken me across many barriers—from clerk-typist to consular clerk, consular officer, economic and commercial, political, information, cultural, and most recently in the past five years, as principal officer in three successive posts. Not one of these experiences was irrelevant to succeeding assignments. In fact, I wish that some immersion in administration and budget management had come my way much earlier than it did.

Q: You seem to have touched every AFSA constituency except AID.

A: As chargé d'affaires in Bangladesh, I worked with one of the most remarkable AID relief and rehabilitation teams ever fielded. That gave me some understanding of the particular hopes and fears of our AID colleagues.

Q: Aren't you apt to seem a renegade from your own cone?

A: The political cone was my label but not an especially convenient one. The entire controversy over "cones" could be rationalized if AFSA could compel management

to face the elementary need to fit career planning and the promotion process to the deliberately calculated needs of the Service over a period of years. The annual round of improvisations and compromises upsets and disaffects more and more people and compounds the sense of instability that has wracked the Foreign Service for years. It doesn't have to be. People who commit their entire professional lives and the lives of their families to the Service should not be forced to recalculate the odds every year.

Q: How does the Coalition differ from the established slate?

A: There was no coalition until after the filing deadline. Like others who eventually joined the Coalition, I was nominated as an independent, indeed without my knowledge, but I decided not to duck the challenge. Many of the independents recognized right away the need for collaboration. We discovered a common sentiment searching for a way to insure that the concerns of all the people of the foreign affairs agencies be taken into account, and not just those of dues-paying AFSA members. We found that we shared a conviction that AFSA need not be disconcerted by the differing roles of a professional society and a collective bargaining agent. AFSA must perform both roles and do them better.

Q: What do you offer the militant groups that are operating independently of AFSA?

A: The commitment to equity and to broadening of professional horizons embraces most definitely the principles of equal rights and equal opportunity regardless of sex, race, age, national origin or professional specialization. Certainly AFSA can be more assertive and less reactive in pursuit of these goals. AFSA's dealings with management will surely be more effective if we work *with* those organizations more confidently and thereby reduce the need to *compete* with them for management's attention.

Q: Aren't you attempting to be all things to all men?

A: All men and *women*?

Perhaps; but the alternative is to invite more disaffection. If AFSA will not respond to the long-range needs of all the elements of the Foreign Service, AFSA risks its future as a trade union as well as its leadership of professionals. If the roles are separated or dispersed, the Foreign Service and the national interest will suffer immeasurably.

Q: How so?

A: AFSA as just a professional society, while some other trade union does the bargaining, is a disheartening spectre. AFSA as a trade union pure-and-simple, without a strong program of professionalism, sounds like a scheme to convert us into postal clerks. Some of my best friends are postal clerks but they would neither want nor expect to conduct the foreign relations of the United States.

THE PROGRESS SLATE—LARS HYDLE FOR VICE PRESIDENT

Fellow Members of the Association:

In my first message to you as a candidate for Vice President, I would like to describe briefly my career as a Foreign Service officer, and my activities in professional and employee-management matters.

Since I joined the Foreign Service nearly ten years ago, most of my career has been spent in or on Vietnam. I served two tours there in 1966-70, in Saigon, Bien Hoa, and Da Nang, and was on the Vietnam Working Group in 1970-72. I returned to Bien Hoa in 1973 on seven months' TDY, receiving a Meritorious Honor Award; and just this February, at the specific request of the Congressional delegation which visited Vietnam, I accompanied them there as an escort-interpreter. My other Foreign Service assignments have been in Belfast, Northern Ireland, as a Consul and Political Officer in 1972-74, and my present one as an Action Officer in the Plans Division of Headquarters, U. S. Marine Corps.

I first became active in employee-management matters in 1970 when I joined with a group of activist junior officers led by the Junior Foreign Service Officers Club (JFSOC) which was seeking to persuade AFSA to seek recognition as exclusive employee representative under the Executive Order 11491. In February 1971 I was named to the JFSOC Board; in May 1971 I was elected its Vice President and became President soon thereafter. When the President excluded the Foreign Service from E.O. 11491 in early 1971, I worked through JFSOC and the AFSA Committee of 40 toward the development of a good alternative E.O. for the Foreign Service. When management presented an unacceptable first draft, I drafted a "Statement of Principles" signed by the leaders of all employee groups and some 2000 Foreign Service people of all ranks, which rejected the draft prepared by management and asserted our right to elect an exclusive employee representative.

During the rest of 1971 I negotiated on behalf of JFSOC with AFSA, State management, and the Civil Service Commission on the content of the new E.O., the Interim Grievance Procedures (on which I testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee) and other employee-management matters. I helped to organize and headed an opposition slate for the AFSA election which, although not victorious, won about 40 percent of the vote. In the winter of 1972, at the request of the new Board, I prepared the first draft of what became the present Bylaws.

In Bien Hoa in 1973 I organized an AFSA Chapter and started discussions with management on local personnel policies and working conditions. Since my return to Washington in 1974, I have been serving on the AFSA committee negotiating with management on new permanent grievance procedures.

PERSPECTIVES ON 1975—THE 1973 AFSA ELECTION BY JOHN J. HARTER
CANDIDATE FOR VICE PRESIDENT

Before voting in 1975, AFSA members should know the facts about how their present Officers rigged re-election in 1973, and colluded with public authorities to cover-up their wrongdoing.

The Department of Labor has filed a Formal Complaint that the Incumbents denied AFSA members their right -

- To nominate candidates of their choice,
- To support candidates of their choice, and
- To participate as candidates.

Until now, these same Incumbents have blocked public discovery of how they cheated the ballot box in 1973.

The root of the matter was their fear that campaign debate would publicly expose their betrayal of the Foreign Service during the Macomber-Watergate years.

Their most sordid "achievements" related to the promulgation of Executive Order 11636 and the subsequent conversion of a venerable professional association of some fifty years standing into a company union.

Evidence to substantiate Labor's Complaint should have been presented before an Administrative Law Judge on January 22, but the scheduled hearing was inexplicably canceled just before that date.

Following is a summary of the suppressed evidence.

1. *Nomination of Candidates.* The Incumbents nominated themselves to remain in office, as part of a take-it-or-leave-it "slate," which did not reflect the healthy diversity of Foreign Service opinion. And they kept the election a near secret as long as they could.

Their campaign scenario presumed no effective opposition, despite widespread AFSA alienation against their policies, actions, and attitudes.

The Incumbents violated the letter and spirit of Article IX(2) of the AFSA By-Laws, which required the August FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL and/or AFSA NEWS to inform all members of the terms and conditions under which nominations would be accepted. *Most* members did not know an election was scheduled, or that they could nominate other members to be candidates, until the deadline for filing candidacies had passed.

The August, 1973 issue of the JOURNAL, which contained the required "Election Call," was delivered late in October—just after the F.B.I. raised embarrassing questions about the delay.

2. *Support for Candidates.* Unable to nominate their preferred candidates, members could not support those who would best represent them. But the Incumbents took no chances. They censored campaign inputs into the JOURNAL, imposed prejudicial limits on campaign literature, cut "campaign meetings" to the bone, and intimidated voters through a non-secret ballot.

(a) *The Foreign Service JOURNAL.* The Incumbents flagrantly exploited the JOURNAL—and flatly refused their opponents equitable access to its pages. This clearly contravened the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (Section 401(g)) and Labor Department Rules for such elections (Section 452.75).

For example, Rick Williamson described his predecessor in the JOURNAL as follows—

"For a year and a half, Tex Harris has worked full time for the men and women of the Foreign Service. His title, AFSA Counselor, does not begin to do justice to the incredible range of difficult tasks he has had to perform* . . . A full catalog of Tex's accom-

plishments would require a special issue of the JOURNAL. The Foreign Service owes Tex a debt of gratitude which we will be hard pressed to repay."

This was in the August issue, mailed shortly before most ballots were cast.

The 1973 Elections Committee Chairman acknowledged—after ballots were tallied—that this discriminatory use of the JOURNAL was "most unfortunate, and potentially injurious."

As another example, Rick Williamson's "Elections Round-Up," in the December issue, slashed and warped campaign statements submitted for verbatim publication.

Because of such abuses, the Labor Department has suspended the Williamson column during the present campaign.

(b) *Campaign Literature.* The By-Laws said platform statements should be in the October JOURNAL and/or elsewhere (Article IX(5)). But this requirement was violated, and campaign literature was held to near zero. Opposition candidates could submit only one statement, of less than 450 words—a limit ostensibly reflecting a cost-conscious count of words that would fit on one side of one page.

Not so. Publication of each statement on a separate sheet spilled onto the reverse, followed by nearly a page of blank space. The resulting expenditure on unused paper and extra postage was wasteful and inefficient.

The high cost of private distribution of campaign literature was prohibitive.

To ascertain the democratic will of an electorate, campaign literature should have been actively elicited, as in 1975.

(c) *Campaign Meetings.* The By-Laws said campaign meetings should be organized and publicized (Article IX(5)). But the Incumbents did not wish members to know their real election choices.

Hence there was only one campaign meeting at the State Department, and the form letter announcing it arrived at some members' Washington homes after it was over. Minimum publicity insured slight attendance, and those unable to attend heard nothing about it.

(d) *Ballot Secrecy.* The By-Laws specified—"The secrecy of each member's vote shall be guaranteed" (Article IX-8).

The single envelope ballot used in place of the customary double ballot was widely criticized as a potential deterrent to votes for opposition candidates.

In fact, most members did *not* vote, and many non-voters secretly opposed the Incumbents.

The Elections Committee Chairman eventually acknowledged that it was possible to determine during the tally how some votes were cast, as ballots were removed from their envelopes.

Any member could witness the tally, and one observer actually saw how some members voted.

3. *Participation of Candidates.* The By-Laws say "Officers shall be elected by and from the *entire* membership" (Article V-2). Nevertheless, the Elections Committee Chairman sought to exclude each person filing an independent candidacy. He flatly refused to permit Samuel R. President—long a member in good standing—his right to be a candidate.

*Condensed to meet space requirements.

THE PROGRESS SLATE—JOHN A. PATTERSON FOR SECOND VICE PRESIDENT

Background

- joined AID in 1966
- served in Afghanistan: 1967-1971
- Desk Officer for Mali, Mauritania, Senegal, Guinea, Gambia: 1973—present
- organized AFSA Chapter in Afghanistan: 1970
- AFSA Representative on AID Performance Evaluation System Study Group—1973
- Chairman, AID/AFSA Personnel Negotiations Committee: 1973-1975
- AID/AFSA Chief Negotiator: 1975-present
- AID Representative, AFSA Board of Directors: 1973-present
- AFSA Second Vice President: 1975-present

VIEWS

After nearly two years of experience with AID under E.O. 11636, there has been progress in the personnel management and members' interests areas at a time when the Agency has been under tremendous pressure not so much from external forces but from the leadership of the Agency itself. Certain fringe benefits have been secured, and personnel policies negotiated, but more needs to be done. Significant changes are required in AID, both to improve the conduct of US foreign development assistance policy and programs, and to provide more equitable treatment for AID's Foreign Service personnel.

The Association has gone on record in support of bilateral development assistance based both on humanitarian and national interest considerations. AID, however, is not sufficiently equipped, nor is it led by officials capable of carrying out such a mandate. What is needed is a legitimacy which foreign development assistance does not now possess. Furthermore, we must put an end to the dichotomy between the field and headquarters. Our business is foreign affairs which should be served by a foreign not domestic civil service. Foreign development assistance calls for a corps of development-oriented specialists under a career system based on performance not *ad hocery*.

The Association should continue to seek not only legitimization of foreign development assistance, but the reorganization of AID in a manner which will rationalize the conduct of foreign development assistance and which will guarantee equity and fairness to AID's Foreign Service.

SAMUEL R. PRESIDENT—CANDIDATE FOR 2ND VICE PRESIDENT

Under the law, AFSA has the obligation to protect the well-being of all AFSA members and non-members of AFSA of the Foreign Affairs Agencies so that an efficient administration of Government results from AFSA's participation in the formulation and implementation of personnel policies and practices affecting conditions of employment.

I support the many positive actions initiated by AFSA. Progress has been made but there is much to be done to fill the gaps and get our own house in order. Individuals in the Foreign Affairs Agencies are members of two systems—one is the formal system set up and controlled by management and the other is the system set up by the officers and employees themselves out of the feeling that they must protect themselves against abuse and indifference.

I have served as a member of the Foreign Service Club Committee, the Grievance Committee, as Keyman, as AFSA Representative on the Board of Managerial Advisors of the Mayo International Center, Chairman of the Foreign Service Club and Sub-Committee Chairman of the AFSA EEO group.

I support AFSA's stated goals—due process, employee interests, professionalism and the leadership role of the Service in foreign affairs.

I support equality of conditions in the recruitment, employment, assignment, utilization, training and promotion of Minorities and Women. You are a member of the Foreign Service to the extent that you are permitted to enjoy the benefits, the work experiences and the right to act like a member of the Foreign Affairs community. AFSA should exist to make the system work better and effectively.

My platform is uncomplicated and direct: *Law, Order, Loyalty, and Professionalism.*

Law—I strongly support the personnel laws as an expression of national policy. "All officers of the Government from the highest to the lowest, are creatures of the law and are bound to obey it.

"It is the only supreme power in our system of Government, and every man who by accepting office participates in its functions is only the more strongly bound to submit to that supremacy, and to observe the limitations which it imposes upon the exercise of the authority which it gives."

I want to serve on the Governing Board of AFSA to help rehabilitate officials who ignore employee interests, the public interest and foreign policy interests. AFSA should better inform all members of the Foreign Affairs Agencies about obligations and penalties under the existing laws, regulations and executive orders covering

employee-management relations so that both sides can avoid those thoughtless acts which cause unnecessary grievances.

Order—I support exclusive representation that provides AFSA with the formalized procedures to bring its demands directly to top management without being delayed and blocked by intermediate levels of management. AFSA should profile and delineate the basic problems of management that adversely affect the interests of members of the Foreign Affairs Agencies, the public's interest and the Nation's interest. I want AFSA to use the laws, regulations and executive orders to enhance the quality and understanding of Employee-Management Relations.

Loyalty—I support the concept that individual loyalty is essential so that both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue will respect and support the role and responsibilities of AFSA. AFSA must be considered as a useful part of the total foreign affairs structure. AFSA must be an organization which can effectively represent the interests of members of the Foreign Affairs Agencies and thereby help attain our foreign policy objectives.

Professionalism—I support professional thinking and attitudes that will turn on the lights so that no one will be left in the dark. Professional AFSA leadership should be a composite of Main Street U.S.A.—not separated from the members of the Foreign Affairs Agencies by distinctions of birth, money, power, cultural and attitudinal differences.

I have the ability to organize, to negotiate with management and to make an agreement work.

I would work with the members of the Governing Board of AFSA to make adroit use of AFSA resources to guide and prepare members of the Foreign Affairs Agencies to recognize and understand problem areas, issues and workable solutions.

I would help direct attention to the kinds of thinking and behavior which management must practice if it is to develop and maintain cohesive foreign affairs agencies capable of dealing effectively with international problems.

I would work to minimize those situations where members of the Foreign Affairs Agencies feel isolated, unsure of themselves and preoccupied with their own personal job-related problems.

I would work to create an atmosphere to make management's cooperation with AFSA understandable, natural and desirable.

If elected, I shall represent your views and aspirations.

Vote for Samuel R. President—candidate for 2nd Vice President.

LA RUE H. (PETE) VELOTT—COALITION CANDIDATE FOR SECRETARY

Many members of the Foreign Service, both active and retired, have difficulty in the acceptance of the concept that AFSA is now a labor organization just like AFGE, Teamsters, UAW, IBEW, etc. I also had a great deal of difficulty with this concept.

My difficulty stemmed from my background and experience in a professional field and never before the recent representation election had I ever been represented by a labor organization. I always felt that I could handle my own relationship with my employer and that I didn't need someone to intercede on my behalf in this relationship. I still have some of these feelings; however, the reality of what has taken place in the past few years requires that I change my attitude in this regard.

In December 1971, with the publishing of the Executive Order 11636, "Employee-Management Relations in the Foreign Service of the United States," the right was established for union representation for members of the Foreign Service. This right was exercised later through a representation election which resulted in AFSA becoming the exclusive representative for all members of the Foreign Service. In very simple terms, AFSA has the exclusive right to consult on (negotiate) working conditions for all members of the Foreign Service. AFSA will continue in this capacity until such time that another election may be held and a majority of the Foreign Service members voting in that election choose to elect either another exclusive representative or no representation at all.

It was recognition of the fact of AFSA's exclusive right to negotiate working conditions for all members of the Foreign Service which brought me to the decision to join AFSA and to run for office in the current AFSA election. My working conditions and your working conditions are now subject to the consultations (negotiations) between AFSA and management.

AFSA must mature into a responsible, professional labor organization in order to assure that effective, open and consistent personnel policies are established and maintained by the respective managements of the agencies that make up the Foreign Service. Recent history in the United States has shown that a responsible labor organization can be an asset to both employees and management of any organization. It has also been shown that an ineffective labor organization can be a liability to both employees and management.

It is because of my personal desire to see labor relations in the Foreign Service on the asset side of the balance sheet that I have chosen to run for Secretary of AFSA. It is my hope that my education and experience in the field of personnel and industrial relations will help in guiding AFSA into the mature labor organization which is essential to achieve this goal. In my last experience in labor relations, I represented the management of a computer manufacturer in its negotiations with the International Association of Machinists. Since it is the goal of a mature management, just like a mature labor organization, to achieve effective, open and consistent personnel policies, this experience should prove helpful regardless of the side of the negotiating table one finds oneself on.

BOB PALMERI, FSIO-4—PROGRESS SLATE—CANDIDATE FOR SECRETARY

This statement is a reiteration of those points I cover in my direct mail statements. I start with a brief resume and reasons why I am participating in the Progress Slate followed by a discussion of two basic issues for AFSA in its relationship to USIA and AFSA members from USIA.

I am currently taking the FSI Economics course but will return to a position at USIA in July. Until last December I was a Program Development Officer in Economics at the Agency. My overseas tours included two years in Lagos as Ass't Cultural Affairs Officer responsible for the exchanges program, three years in Zaire first as Field Program Officer in Kinshasa rebuilding a cultural/information program in Kisangani and Bukavu, then as Branch Public Affairs Officer in Kisangani and fourteen months in Cotonou as a Public Affairs Trainee dividing my time between USIS and the Embassy where I did administrative, consular and economic work. Before joining the Foreign Service I taught in Nigeria for five years also gaining valuable administrative experience as head of the school's science department and as an unofficial staff assistant to the principal.

Participation in the Progress Slate—My two concerns in participating in Slate were being able to keep personal independence while still cooperating with a group of people and ensuring adequate USIA participation on the AFSA Board. I satisfied my first concern by joining a group that has a diverse background and which will bring diversified opinion to the Board. Simply by joining the slate I satisfied the second concern. Experience has shown that the only way to increase USIA membership is through participation in a slate. I do not think an independent running for office will get the necessary support to win an election. On the other hand by being part of a balanced slate, all three agencies can be assured of adequate representation. By running for the position of Secretary I am showing the compromise between USIA's small membership in AFSA but yet concern that it be represented.

AFSA as Employee Representative at USIA—Since AFSA is still rather new in its role as an employee representative, it has not completed the setting up of a network needed for its members to participate adequately in its affairs. Therefore as a Board member I would continue the efforts of the USIA-AFSA Advisory Commit-

tee particularly in the following areas:

A) *Membership*—AFSA represents all Foreign Service personnel, but since the last election fundamental changes have taken place in the nature of that personnel with the FAS system coming into full bloom. Most of these new Foreign Service officers are considered to be domestic personnel. They consider themselves as domestic and therefore have different needs and objectives. AFSA must broaden its objectives to include these new people and get their participation in AFSA activities.

B) *Grass roots participation*—The current USIA-AFSA Advisory Committee and keyman system is overworked. Those who have volunteered their services are doing an excellent job, but they need help. Therefore, I would hope to expand the present system enlisting more members to take an active role in the various committee activities and improving communications between the Board, the USIA Advisory Committee and the members.

C) *The FAS System*—The lofty ideals of the FAS system as constantly propounded by USIA's management can also be a cloak to hide abuse and subterfuge by that same management. Civil Service employees eligible for conversion to Foreign Affairs Specialist category are constantly being informed of the advantages of the new status. At the same time we can see considerable abuse of that system to weaken the *whole* Foreign Service personnel system as management tries to maneuver around regulations set up to safeguard the rights of its employees. We must be constantly vigilant to these abuses and take necessary action when they occur.

AFSA's Role in the "Future of USIA" Debate—I do not think that anybody involved in diplomacy today doubts the need for "public diplomacy." Certainly the events of recent years have shown the need for openness. However, the current organizational structure for the pursuit of that public diplomacy is completely outmoded and badly in need of reform. AFSA should ensure that the public affairs function is not interfered with and that any new form which is created to perform those functions will be the most efficacious in doing so, taking into account both the professional and personal interests of its members.

NORMAN ACHILLES—CANDIDATE FOR SECRETARY

FOUR YEARS AFTER

After a period of intense activity and progress AFSA once again faces a largely indifferent Foreign Service. Few AFSA members seem sure—or particularly interested—in what the present board has done or wishes to do. Most greet the coming election with a yawn. The majority will not know the candidates being presented for election or for what they stand. Unless we are alert we risk losing to apathy much that has been gained over the past four years.

AFSA is not the AFSA of five years ago. As the exclusive representative of those in Foreign Service in State, AID and USIA, under Executive Order 11636, AFSA now has the bureaucratic power to affect in important ways the careers of all of us. It speaks for us on the Hill, in the courts, and in negotiating the manner in which we are promoted, paid, assigned, and fired. AFSA can only be ignored at important cost to all our interests. As an independent candidate and one who was much involved in the efforts which led to AFSA's present shape and role, I will use future election mailings to tell you where we now are with AFSA, what key issues face the board, and who among the candidates can best carry through with what so many of us worked to build during the past five years.

NORMAN ACHILLES

(I returned to an assignment in the Bureau of European Affairs as economic officer for North Europe in mid-February after a 4-year absence from the Department. I was an officer of the Junior Foreign Service Officer Club (JFSOC) during the period 1970-71 when JFSOC led the reform of AFSA and successfully pushed AFSA to seek exclusive recognition under the President's Executive Order on Labor-Management Relations in Government. JFSOC initiated and carried through the fight to amend AFSA By-Laws to require the Board to open its meetings to the Public, to publish minutes of Board meetings in the JOURNAL, and to generally improve Board contact with the AFSA membership. I led the JFSOC effort to fight Deputy Under Secretary for Management Macomber's attempt to exclude the Foreign Service from the Executive Order on Labor Management Relations and was instrumental in shaping JFSOC's key role in moving the AFSA Board to seek exclusive recognition under Executive Order 11636.)

STATEMENT OF CANDIDACY FOR TREASURER—PAUL A. CHADWELL

My candidacy for the post of Treasurer of the Foreign Service Association is based on my professional standing as an Economist with the United States Government over a 25 year period. During my entire Civil Service career, my responsibilities have been in the field of international economics not only in the Department of State but also in the Departments of Defense and Commerce.

I feel qualified to become the Treasurer of the Association inasmuch as one of my fields of economics specialization is banking and currency. My work with the Federal Reserve Bank of New York further indicates my aptitudes and proclivities in the fiscal and financial areas. In private enterprise, I have been the Vice President and Treasurer of a New York export firm.

I am an Honours graduate in Economics of the London School of Economics and of University College, London.

As regards civic activities, I have been a member of the Citizens' Association of Georgetown for over 20 years and I have been a delegate of the said Association to the Federation of Citizens' Associations of Washington for four terms. While a delegate, I was consistently active in the Federation's Fiscal Relations Committee.

I believe that I can conscientiously perform the work required of a Treasurer in our Association and, if elected, I will be particularly concerned with strengthening our financial status by developing additional sources of income.

THE PROGRESS SLATE—DENIS LAMB FOR TREASURER

ASSOCIATION WITH AFSA

Member since joining the Foreign Service in 1964. Member of various Ad Hoc Committees and Working Groups since returning to Washington in September 1970. Member of the Finance Committee and trustee of the Scholarship Fund since 1973.

PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND

FSO-3. Administrative Officer.* Currently officer-in-charge, European Energy and Technology, Office of OECD, European Community and Atlantic Political-Economic Affairs, Bureau of European Affairs.

*Overseas Posts: Martinique and Paris.

EDWARD R. STUMPF—COALITION CANDIDATE FOR TREASURER

Among the major issues facing the new AFSA leadership in the coming year is the Association's financial condition. In order for AFSA to effectively carry out its increasing responsibilities as the exclusive representative of Foreign Service employees and to renew its role as a professional organization, the Association must operate from a firm financial base. At present the financial picture is poor. Over the past several years, the Association's costs have risen sharply because of expanded activities as the exclusive representative and the general inflationary conditions in our economy. AFSA has been forced into situations of having to resort to short-term borrowing to meet current expenses.

If we are to improve the financial situation, the new Board must make an overall assessment and must make some difficult decisions immediately after taking office. The following measures will have to be considered by the new Board.

1. *Dues Increase and/or Indexing:* One of the most efficient methods of increasing revenues is to raise dues. It is also unpopular and requires a membership referendum. However, we must recognize that dues have remained relatively constant while members' salaries have risen and AFSA's costs have increased. The Board must weigh some probable decline in membership against increased revenue. By initiating an indexing system instead of the current method of a flat rate per pay grade, individual assessments will become more equitable and there will be an automatic mechanism for revenues to keep pace with general salary increases. The requirement for a referendum means that the new Board must decide whether or not to propose an increase to the membership.

2. *Dues Check-Off:* One of the best methods for an organization to regularize its cash flow is to have dues deducted from its members' regular salary payments. Only about twenty percent of AFSA's members are currently on the check-off system. The new Board must look at methods of increasing participation in this system and must attempt to have the Department drop the fee it now charges for this collection.

3. *The Club:* The Club is a major drain on the

Association's financial resources; its costs continually exceed its revenues. There are three basic options—continue the Club, either as is or operated on a concession basis; expand Club membership to include associate members, operated ourselves or by a concessionaire; or, termination of the Club and leasing the facilities to a restaurant chain or converting the area into office space. The new Board must decide which option best meets the Association's needs.

4. *The Building:* This problem and the issue of the status of the Club are related and one may depend on decisions made about the other. Basically, we must determine if we are better off retaining ownership of the building and possibly leasing part of it as office space or a restaurant or selling it and leasing our office space elsewhere. The new Board will have to decide which is our most realistic option.

5. *The Journal:* The impact of the JOURNAL on the Association's finances must be assessed and ways of making it a self-supporting endeavor explored. If the JOURNAL is to be continued "as is," changed, or revitalized, we should, at the very least, be aware of the implications for the Association's financial picture.

6. *Professional Employment:* The increasing work load in AFSA's employee-management responsibilities has led to recommendations for increasing our professional level employment (executive director and counsellor) from two to three. We must weigh gains in increased efficiency against increased costs and determine ways in which this can be accomplished without increasing the Association's professional salary costs. Again, the new Board will be faced with this decision.

The new leadership of AFSA must be prepared to meet these problems if the Association is to carry out its obligations. As Treasurer, I will ensure that the Finance Committee is mobilized to present to the Board full, objective, speedy recommendations. The Coalition, of which I am a member, is committed to meeting these financial problems so we may enhance the Association's professionalism on a firm financial base.

**CAMPBELL S. MCCLUSKY—CANDIDATE FOR
AID REPRESENTATIVE**

PURPOSE: To participate directly (and indirectly during my up-coming overseas assignment) in AFSA Board activities to achieve the following:

Adoption of procedures designed to provide more adequate representation of AID membership views;

Acceleration of current efforts to focus AFSA influence and funds on establishment of (1) an acceptable base level of relations with AID management, especially regarding personnel matters, and (2) safeguards against any return to the arbitrary abuses which have characterized management's behavior during the past year;

Adoption of criteria and procedures rendering appropriate AFSA funds available for field chapter use;

Reformation of AFSA data-flow procedures in order to provide more complete and timely data on AFSA/W determinations and activities to all membership and potential membership;

Continuation of efforts to expand range of AID/W positions to be filled by FS personnel;

Adoption of fund raising through AFSA/W and field chapter sponsorship of money-making activities;

Adoption of procedures most likely to assure that each mission has a designated representative;

Regularization of reporting through FSJ of activities of overseas chapters; and

Reorganization of AFSA committee and sub-committee structure to provide greater accountability and more timely recruitment to fill vacancies.

OBJECTIVE: Early, repeat early, achievement of substantial improvements in AID management response and reaction to AFSA representations on behalf of AID personnel.

NECESSARY PRECONDITIONS: It is essential that AFSA be able, as well as willing, to commit more funds to this effort, especially toward legal costs; and it is essential that AID membership commit the time and effort necessary to demonstrate its concern to AFSA. AFSA will only be willing to make the urgent financial sacrifices required if it is assured that fund raising efforts of whatever nature are underway and beginning to show results.

Campbell McClusky—AID since 1965: In Vietnam with CORDS and Bangkok with the Regional Economic Development Office (RED); Active in Saigon Chapter 1968-69 and active in Bangkok Chapter 1970-74.

**ROY A. HARRELL, JR. FOR AID REPRESENTATIVE
ON THE PROGRESS SLATE**

I joined AID in 1962, and AFSA in 1963. In my career, I have been active in AFSA since January 1973, when I joined the AFSA Negotiating team working for employee benefits. I also served as a Keyman during the representation election. In mid-1973, I joined the AFSA Legal Committee and was instrumental in that capacity in helping the Association move from being strictly a professional association, to an organization which combined its professional role with that of being the exclusive employee representative. In 1974, I helped establish the AFSA Insurance Committee, and am presently working on devising an insurance program which will benefit all members by bringing in additional revenue for both employees and the Association. Finally, I have assisted many AID representatives with Grievances and with matters pertaining to members' interest questions.

In February, 1975, I was elected by the Board of Governors to fill out an unexpired term on the Board. I believe that this background is broad, and qualifies me to serve on the Board.

In the years ahead, AFSA must make a renewed effort to move from being a professional association exclusively, to one which can also well serve employee interests. Taking on and expanding this new role will necessitate changes in the legal structure, and a new strategy for negotiating with Management officials from AID. Renewed efforts must be made to involve all AID/AFSA members in these tasks. Keyman networks need to be established at the Washington and at the Chapter levels. Regular meetings need to be held. New membership benefits need to be studied seriously and implemented. The present disparities between the benefits enjoyed by the AID Foreign Service and those enjoyed by our Foreign Service Colleagues in the Department of State and the United States Information Agency need to be removed. The Association needs to be put on a sound legal and financial basis.

On the professional side, AFSA and Management need to enter into a dialogue with the Congress to the end that we all acknowledge that economic development is a continuing feature of foreign policy operations. To implement the development feature of U.S. foreign policy, AFSA needs to study and propose a homogeneous career personnel system. In addition, AFSA needs to develop and propose a systematic, long-range career development program for every employee, including upward mobility for staff personnel. To further assist in the career development of its employees, AFSA should encourage AID management to institute a formalized system whereby personnel details to the Department of State and the United States Information Agency can be readily arranged.

Finally, AFSA must help AID management persuade the Congress that the Agency is a permanent and not a temporary foreign affairs agency. The "hit and miss; now and then" approach to economic development must be recognized as a thing of the past. Intelligent planning, organizational and structural changes, and implementation of the professionalized planned approach to economic development desperately needs to be undertaken by AID. Such a development will immeasurably help employee morale, job security, and most importantly, help the United States participate effectively in economic development throughout the world. I feel that AFSA is uniquely qualified to help AID perform this task.

**THE PROGRESS SLATE—CHARLOTTE CROMER
FOR AID REPRESENTATIVE**

For the past 11 years I have been employed as a Foreign Service Secretary for AID. During that time, I have served in Turkey, Thailand and France and am currently in AID/W on a rotation assignment.

Since January 1974, I have been a Board Member of the Women's Action Organization. Also, in October 1974, I replaced Mary Ann Epley on the AFSA Board as one of the AID representatives.

During my tour in AID/W, I joined with a group of interested FSS women in urging and persuading AID to adopt a FSS Career Management Program. I served as the WAO representative on the AID/Management Task Force which designed the program.

As an AID-AFSA Board Member, and in my work with WAO, I have tried to represent secretaries and women, which I personally feel have been underrepresented in the past. If I am elected I will continue to concentrate on:

- Making cost of living allowances more equitable for FSS employees.

- Helping advance the role of FSS secretaries to a more professional level.

- Working on establishing a system of bridge positions for secretaries.

- Encouraging the hiring of more women as FSRs.

- Working on a fair placement system for FS employees.

In addition, I will work with the other AID representatives to try to solve some of the serious AID management problems.

**DR. PAUL SAENZ—CANDIDATE FOR
AID REPRESENTATIVE**

AFSA: The Paper Tiger

In these troubled times for both AID and its employees, AFSA has been an ineffective "paper tiger" in dealing with the major issues of the day:

- (1) the conversion of FSR "limited" appointments to career status;

- (2) the implementation of an effective affirmative action program for all employees;

- (3) assuring fair and equitable treatment for all employees during the RIF; and

- (4) promoting and protecting the developmental interests of the Agency in Congress.

The solution to all of these problems requires firmness in dealing with Agency management on internal matters. However, it also requires co-operation with management in promoting and protecting the interests of the Agency (and its employees) from external threats (such as unreasonable reductions in Congressional appropriations). Mutual trust, respect and co-operativeness on the part of both labor and management is absolutely essential in these troubled times if the best interests of the Agency and its employees are to be served.

SHERWIN LANDFIELD—CANDIDATE FOR AID REPRESENTATIVE

A. *Statement of Platform*

1. *Toward AFSA:* AFSA can continue to be the appropriate organization for AID personnel if there is increased *open dialogue* with AID members (through periodic meetings and an occasional survey) and if AID stands firm for its own "minority" rights within the AFSA majority.

2. *Toward AID/W:* AID management should accept that AID/AFSA is here to stay and begin to meet AFSA half-way. This means less lip-service and more credible discussion *before* the fact and not after. This could replace the sniping and epithets on both sides. AID professionals should be viewed not as the Agency's scapegoat but as its invaluable core.

3. *Toward State:* AID should be encouraged to emulate some of State's better models; its long-range career development, its planned rotation in Washington, its generalist officer corps, its reserve officer backup. AID/AFSA should, however, resist any move to be absorbed by State and converted into a couple of its bureaus with resultant downgrading and politicization of the role of development and the reservation of its top positions for political officers.

4. *Toward Congress:* AID/AFSA must finally begin its dialogue with Congress. Everyone speaks about foreign aid up on the Hill—except the non-official rank-and-file pros who work at it. It won't be easy and it won't be quick, but Congress must finally be shown that development is a part of US foreign policy and entitled to a future and a structure of its own, like all other US foreign affairs bodies. AID/W must join this new foreign affairs development agency and cease being just another domestic civil service department of USG. Year to year, month to month, day to day existence for development affairs is no longer enough.

B. *Biographic Statement*

1. Graduate work: at University of Chicago (public administration and adult education) and at University of Paris (humanities).

2. Post-World War II experience: at Roosevelt University (administration and teaching); University of Chicago (Industrial Relations Center); Ford Foundation (Community Leadership Institute); International Harvester Corporation (Management development).

3. AID experience: 1960-1970, tours of duty in Haiti, Paraguay, Ecuador, and Bolivia; 1970-72, detailed to Department of State, CU and IO Bureaus, multilateral development (UNESCO and OAS); 1972-75, AID/W, Technical Assistance Bureau (active in founding new international journal "FOCUS: Technical Cooperation"; new AID group "Development Information Systems Committee," DISC; and new "AID Publications Catalog"); Chairman of AFSA Committee to prepare AID's definitive Position Paper for the key "Murphy" Commission (Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy).

THE PROGRESS SLATE—PAUL BLACKBURN FOR USIA REPRESENTATIVE

I seek election to the AFSA Board because I want to help focus the attention of USIA and State professionals on the critical issues relating to the revitalization and restructuring of USIA.

At a time when the future course of USIA is a subject of intense investigation and debate, we clearly need continuing discussion among ourselves—with a view toward reaching as much consensus as possible on the best organizational structures for performing the various information/cultural functions now carried out by USIA and CU. The AFSA Board should, I believe, be concerned not only about overall structural reforms but also with ensuring that broad changes eventually decided upon by higher authorities be implemented with imagination, effectiveness, and fairness to affected personnel.

The question of AFSA's suitability as exclusive representative within USIA is being vigorously challenged by AFGE. The merits of the respective cases deserve full airing, and AFSA should actively contribute to such discussions.

As USIA Representative on the Board I would expect to devote most of my efforts to some of these broader concerns of particular interest to USIA personnel. In addition, of course, I would actively participate in the deliberation of all other questions coming before the Board.

While I cannot expect to represent every individual interest and opinion within USIA, I feel that my experiences on the Young Officers Policy Panel in 1969 and 1970, on the 1970 Openness Task Force (as the only USIA member), and on the 1972-1974 AFSA/Japan Board (Chapter Chairman in 1974) have given me a broad perspective on some of our concerns, and that these experiences will be helpful to the Board as it tries to come to grips with issues affecting USIA.

**ROGER N. BENSON—CANDIDATE FOR
STATE REPRESENTATIVE**

The Foreign Service needs an Association

- Which will remain in touch with and be truly responsive to the needs and views of all the people whom it is supposed to represent;
- Which will fulfill its responsibilities as the exclusive representative of Foreign Service people in discussions with management;
- Whose leadership can speak with competence, judgment, experience and independence;
- Which will work effectively to help the department move toward a stable and rational personnel system which takes account of the Service's real requirements and resources;
- And which will actively seek to improve the working conditions faced by Foreign Service employees overseas and in Washington.

Having had experience as an AFSA overseas chapter president (Korea, 1973-74) and previous work assignments in economic/commercial, consular and political sections, I am familiar with the concerns of Foreign Service people.

I am running for State Department Constituency Representative in order to help create an American Foreign Service Association able to achieve its goals.

I support the coalition headed by Ambassador Mathews.

Roger N. Benson

**THE PROGRESS SLATE—ALFORD W. COOLEY
FOR STATE REPRESENTATIVE**

In 1965, following a brief stint as a lawyer at the House Judiciary Committee, I joined the Foreign Service and spent a year and a half in "central complement" in Taipei before being sent to Manila as a junior passport and citizenship officer. In 1968-70 I was the sole consular officer in Kabul, Afghanistan and was developing a certain expertise in destitution and drug matters when I was sent to Vietnam in the CORDS program to serve as chief "New Life Development" advisor in Ba Xuyen, a Delta province. I now work in the Visa Office as the deputy of the "Coordination" Division, dealing with the security aspects of the visa law. While in Washington I have also participated in the FSO 6-to-5 threshold panels, in the officer promotion boards, and in a group writing questions for the Foreign Service Exam.

Early a member of AFSA, I was inactive while overseas and rejoined when the plebiscite under the Executive Order made the Association the sole representative of the Foreign Service to management. Since then I have attended numerous AFSA Board meetings, offered amendments at the bylaws "convention" and participated in AFSA's open meetings on cone system revision and on the "Global Outlook Program." In 1973 I helped establish and was chairman of the Consular Officers' Association and more recently was present at the creation of Two Thousand Plus. In these professional sub-organizations, I with others have supported interests general to all AFSA members, soliciting members to join the Association to let their voices be heard by attending chapter meetings, voting in AFSA polls, and writing articles for the *FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL*.

My particular interests are in the maintenance of the career principle in the Foreign Service, with well-qualified people recruited mainly at the bottom, with some few brought in laterally in cases of need for special expertise. I believe that people in each career field should have an equal chance to compete for promotion, including the opportunity to obtain interfunctional experience. This in turn means that the Service should recruit more on the basis of future need than of past practice. I with other concerned officers have advocated these ideas in several *ad hoc* meetings with the Director-General and the Deputy Undersecretary for Management. I will work to insure that AFSA's future positions will reflect this concern for the career concerns and the well-being of the entire Service.

**KENNETH N. ROGERS—FSO-3—CANDIDATE
FOR STATE REPRESENTATIVE**

b. N.Y. '31, BS Social Admin., 1953, Ohio State U. 1953 thru 1955, naval officer. Juris Doctor Geo. Wash. U. 58 D.C. and U.S. Supreme Court Bars. Served in Hong Kong and Saigon as consular officer; Norfolk, Angola and Jamaica as political officer. In Department has served in PM, ARA, and now in ACDA. Superior Honor Award 1972. Many years AFSA keyman, recently on AFSA negotiating teams and AFSA selection precepts committee.

Platform:

(1) Strive for well-balanced and vigorous AFSA with fresh, practical outlook serving and fully responsive to needs of entire membership, not merely special groups represented by "slate."

(2) Stimulate and encourage comments and ideas from all members on a broad basis and utilize them in AFSA deliberations and actions.

(3) Emphasize balance and fairness in performance ratings, standards of selection for promotion and assignment.

(4) Improve medical services and protection for Foreign Service personnel.

(5) Seek AFSA consultation on non-career Ambassadorial appointments.

(6) Strict limitation of lateral entry.

(7) Rapid adoption of secretarial task force reforms.

(8) Rationalization of basement parking in Dept. partly on basis of contribution to environmental cleanliness and fuel saving afforded by carpools.

(9) At no additional cost to government, provide for shipment of pet of employees to overseas posts by permitting pet-owners to deduct from their normal freight allowance.

(10) Protect those assigned to other agencies and international organizations.

**DAVID T. MORRISON—CANDIDATE FOR
STATE REPRESENTATIVE**

My first concern with the 1975 AFSA Election was to promote an election in fact as well as in form. As the period for nominations drew to a close, it appeared possible that there might be no candidate or coalition of candidates nominated who could effectively challenge members of the slate which traditionally is formed by those who are participants in or close associates of the existing AFSA Board. Also of concern was the possibility that our membership might not be offered in their choice among nominees for the AFSA presidency a candidate with the experience, stature and perspective needed to lead AFSA effectively in its dual roles of labor union and professional association.

These concerns were shared by a number of other AFSA members, some of them candidates, with whom I have joined in soliciting and supporting the candidacy of Ambassador Elbert G. Mathews for the presidency. Ambassador Mathews, now retired, has been known during a long and distinguished Foreign Service career for his independence, professionalism and concern for the well-being of the Foreign Service and those who make up its membership. These traits are needed now in order to strengthen AFSA's ability as a bargaining agent on labor-management issues and to build up AFSA's role in preserving the unique qualities of the Foreign Service which have attracted to it a staff and officer corps of exceptional abilities and purpose.

I hold the personal view that AFSA should work to moderate if not end the constant restructuring of Foreign Service personnel policy which occurs at the apparent whim of changing senior officials. A stable system is needed over the long term which will allow and encourage the assignment of staff and officer personnel to varied types of assignments (and to varied regions) without requiring annual manipulation of promotion procedures to deal with the exceptional character of such assignments. With varied assignments treated as a normal part of our Foreign Service experience, the frequently artificial divisions within the Foreign Service would be diminished in their importance and the opportunities for promotion to senior Foreign Service positions would be broadened. Whether these or other views gain support, the process by which change occurs is critically important and must, if AFSA does its job, come from an open give and take between management and AFSA and between the AFSA Board and its Foreign Service constituency.

Although grievances and medical claims are of less frequent concern than are changes in general personnel policies, it is my impression that the Department has been neglectful, at times callously so, in its processing of these claims. In addition to the harm done to individuals, the Department's unfortunate head-in-sand response to legitimate criticism has been a further hindrance to the pursuit of a more coherent personnel policy.

**RICHARD J. HARRINGTON—CANDIDATE FOR
STATE DEPARTMENT REPRESENTATIVE**

AFSA needs a positive leadership program. It must act and not simply react to management proposals. An effective employee organization must develop a coherent and constructive personnel program and not rely on piecemeal reactions to management initiatives.

If the Foreign Service and the State Department are to respond to the demands of modern diplomacy it is more important than ever that the Foreign Service Association be forward looking and take the initiative in developing an effective personnel system. The system must be a highly professional one with advancement based on merit and it must develop all personnel resources as fully as possible.

Those of us who support Ambassador Mathews in his bid for the AFSA Presidency believe that he will provide the kind of affirmative and independent leadership that will make AFSA a constructive force in working with management for the development of a more open and effective personnel system. We believe this can best be accomplished through openness. We believe it is essential for the AFSA leadership to consult with the Service frequently with a view to developing a broadly based program. AFSA leadership must not only inform the Service about what it is doing but bring the men and women of the Service actively into the formulation of personnel policy initiatives.

What's more, AFSA must represent all interests and all functional specialities. A Board which represents or appears to represent a narrow constituency within AFSA weakens its position in dealing with management. More important it does not fulfill its legal obligation to the people for whom it is the sole bargaining agent.

As a candidate for State representative I urge you to elect a truly representative Board of Directors, a leadership willing to challenge management but also willing and able to offer positive and coherent personnel proposals. I believe that those of us who support Ambassador Mathews for President will provide such a leadership.

In ten years in the Foreign Service, I have served in three different regional bureaus and two functional bureaus and I believe I have gained a perspective which will permit me to be an effective representative. In addition, my most recent personnel assignment has provided additional insight into management which will contribute to the development of the kind of constructive proposals AFSA should be making.

I urge you to vote for me for State Department Representative on the AFSA Board of Directors.

**DAVID NOACK FSSO-2—
PROGRESS SLATE—CANDIDATE
FOR STATE REPRESENTATIVE**

Born New York, N.Y., 1938; US Army, served in France, 1956-59; Provident Mutual, Insurance sales, 1959-60; Southern Bell Telephone, Member of Communications Workers of America, 1960-62; RCA, Eastern Missile Test Range, Cape Kennedy, Active in election that established Communication Workers of America as representative, 1962-66; State, Office of Communication, Technician, Washington, 1966-67, Regional Communication Office, Frankfurt, 1967-68; Regional Communication Office Bonn, 1968-70, Office of Communication Plans and Engineering, Washington, 1970-75, Served on 1973 AFSA election committee, AFSA Key Man, Advisor to AFSA board member on OC matters.

As a Staff Corps member of the "Progress Slate" seeking your support in this year's AFSA election, I would like to present some of my views.

We have all heard the charge "AFSA is FSO oriented." Whether or not there is any truth to this charge, AFSA is "THE EXCLUSIVE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE EMPLOYEES." If you are not an FSO and feel there is any truth to this charge, there is one question you must ask yourself. How could this happen when non-FSOs far outnumber FSOs. The answer to this question is quite simple—YOUR PARTICIPATION.

In the 1973 AFSA election, only 33% of the members returned ballots. If AFSA is to be representative of your views, you must make them known. One way to make AFSA know your feelings is by voting in this year's election for the candidate or slate you feel can best represent you.

While not questioning the integrity or good intentions of past or present FSO board members, I feel it is essential to the employees, and to the creditability of AFSA, as the exclusive representative, to have a board made up from a cross section of the employees it represents. Any board that was made up from a single segment of the employees, regardless of which segment, would be equally unrepresentative and undesirable.

Most issues facing AFSA can not be labeled FSO or non-FSO as they affect all of us to some degree. However, the degree to which you are affected, and therefore the importance, varies by your employment status. It is this difference that makes it necessary for you to have representation on the board.

The present AFSA board, which has a cross section of employee representation has made outstanding progress in all areas. The "Progress Slate" offers you the same kind of balanced slate of candidates for continued progress. I urge you to support the Progress Slate by casting your vote for us in this year's election.

In closing, I wish to urge you, regardless of your views, to contribute to the strength of AFSA by returning your ballot.

IF YOU ARE AN AFSA MEMBER, VOTE.

IF YOU ARE NOT A MEMBER, JOIN AND VOTE.

**J. J. PACIORKA—CANDIDATE FOR
STATE REPRESENTATIVE**

When first nominated to be a State Representative in the 1975 AFSA elections it was as an independent. In speaking to other candidates it soon became apparent that several of us shared a common view on a number of issues and a loose coalition of candidates was formed—I now associate myself with that coalition.

My views: The American Foreign Service Association should represent the interests of all employees covered under Executive Order 11636.

A stable personnel system is needed which allows and encourages the assignment of officers and staff alike to a variety of functional assignments rather than being restricted to one narrow speciality.

The American Foreign Service Association should be a capable and effective association in its bargaining/negotiating functions with management.

The American Foreign Service Association should be willing to listen and take into consideration the views of other formal/informal organizations that now exist with the Foreign Service and the Department.

The members of the coalition will work to advance the aspirations and interests of people—as well as to have an impact on the overall effectiveness and professionalism of the Foreign Service. How successful we will be depends on the strength of our organization—and that, in simple terms, means how many of us join AFSA to make it a strong and powerful voice. All of us have our own ideas about what is wrong with their present system. The coalition will be presenting its views on a variety of these topics in the coming weeks. I believe that together we can make significant and meaningful changes in the system.



MY GOAL IS TO REPRESENT THE
NEEDS AND ASPIRATIONS OF
THE FOREIGN SERVICE FAMILY.

CYNTHIA THOMAS

INDEPENDENT REPRESENTATIVE
AFSA BOARD, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE PROGRESS SLATE—PAT WOODRING FOR STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Foreign Service Secretary, Mustang, Foreign Service Reserve Officer. Her more than twelve years with the State Department has included overseas tours in Vientiane, Laos; Zagreb, Yugoslavia; and Manila, Philippines. Duty in Washington has included SCA, Politico-Military Affairs, Congressional Relations, East Asia Bureau and Washington Finance Center. Her present assignment is Special Assistant to the Ambassador, Coordinator of the Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy at FSI. Crises, riots, typhoons, earthquakes and communist rockets have all been a part of Pat's varied and significant career. She knows—because she came up this route—the life and frustrations, hopes and ambitions of the secretary—the Staff Corps. Her entry into the Foreign Service Reserve Officer ranks through the Mustang Program uniquely qualifies her to represent this important segment of the State Department. In her present assignment she works with real people of the Department of all ranks on a day to day basis. She is an accomplished aviatrix, competent skier, is active in church affairs. She is actively participating in the negotiations of the Junior Officer precepts; she has worked as Co-chairperson of AFSA membership; is presently working closely with the AFSA Board on implementation of recommendations of the Secretarial Task Force; is a member of 2000+ and WAO. Her election to the AFSA Board will bring active, personal representation to a large diversified segment of the Foreign Service. She is her own person, a professional; she has been there, she knows and she speaks her mind.

PAUL J. LEAHEY—CANDIDATE FOR RETIRED REPRESENTATIVE

As a candidate to represent retirees, I call upon you to elect a strong Governing Board to administer the affairs of the AFSA.

Some biographical background may put my campaign in perspective: Grew up in Johnstown, Pa.; B.A. from Penn State, Class '42; US Army Air Force '42-'46; graduate work at Penn State and Catholic Univ. of Amer. (psychology, speech & drama) '46-'49; Nat'l. Acad. Science, NRC-psy. research '49-'50; Bu. Census '50-'51 statistician and psychologist; CIA and State Dept. (personnel and intelligence officer including brief assignment as Asst. Political Attache, '51-'60; US Civil Service Commission, '60-'63, developed standards for Science & Eng. occupations; US Dept. of Labor, '63-'68, personnel advisor to State ES agencies and '68-'73, regional Exec. Sect. to nine federal agencies involved in manpower training in cooperation with governors, principal city mayors and county elected officials. I have worked with various professional associations, unions and educational centers.

The AFSA needs to

(1) maintain regular contact with its members and each of its constituencies to determine what the paying members of the association wish the association to do for them.

(2) Study other professional associations to improve the AFSA's services.

(3) Develop a nation-wide speakers and advisors service for all retirees to bring the knowledge and experience of these people to the attention of their communities—business, universities, colleges, industry, etc.

(4) Organize a foreign student and retirees exchange service to facilitate travel and education as desired.

(5) Organize regional associations of AFSA as other professional associations have done.

(6) Encourage the use of a few pages of the JOURNAL to reprint letters, inquiries, etc., a retirees corner—not just births and deaths, and maybe a section where authoritative answers to questions can be printed on foreign policy and affairs.

Above all, use your right to vote for a strong Governing Board to represent your professional interests.

Paul J. Leahey
Corpus Christi, Texas

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