

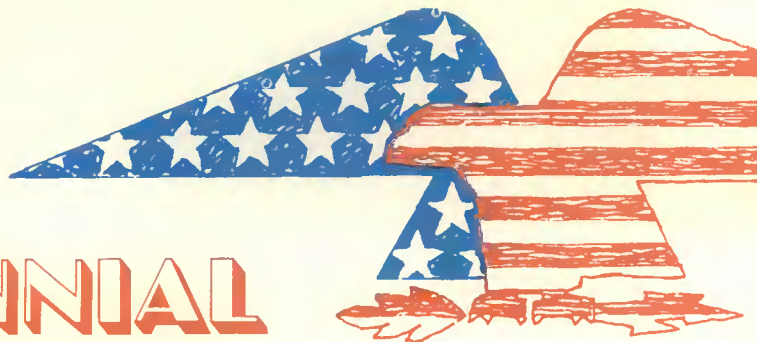
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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL
MARCH 1976 60 CENTS



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**FOREIGN
SERVICE
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BICENTENNIAL CONTEST

for the David K. E. Bruce Awards

The FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL is pleased to announce that Ambassador David K. E. Bruce has generously funded a contest to stimulate contributions to the JOURNAL from members of the Foreign Service and the American Foreign Service Association. Information and contest rules follow:

PRIZES: \$500 first prize, \$300 second prize, with two additional prizes of \$100 each.

ELIGIBILITY: All members of the Foreign Service of the United States (Department of State, United States Information Agency, Agency for International Development) and all members of the American Foreign Service Association, except for members of the JOURNAL Editorial Board and employees of the American Foreign Service Association, are eligible.

There is no limitation on the number of manuscripts which an entrant may submit.

SUBJECT MATTER AND LENGTH: Manuscripts may be either factual or fictional but should deal with some aspect of Foreign Service life, foreign policy, or diplomacy and its operations. Manuscripts must not have been previously published. Length should be 2500-3500 words.

FORMAT OF ENTRIES: Entries should be typed, double-spaced, one side of paper only. Cover sheet should carry author's name, Foreign Service rank and assignment, title of manuscript and the notation that it is submitted for the David K. E. Bruce Awards. An author wishing to use a pseudonym may do so by submitting a separate letter which will be held in confidence by the JOURNAL staff.

JUDGES: The Editorial Board of the JOURNAL will serve as the contest judges. Determination of the winners will be by majority vote of Board members.

USE OF CONTEST ENTRIES: It is understood that the JOURNAL may retain any non-prize-winning manuscript for publication at regular rates. Payment will be made on publication. Authors of prize-winning entries will receive their prizes in addition to the regular rates. Any manuscript which the JOURNAL does not plan to publish will be returned to its author.

CLOSING DATE: All entries must be received by close of business September 30, 1976, at the JOURNAL's office, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

The awards will be announced in the December 1976 issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL. Publication of winning entries which have not already been published will follow as quickly as possible.

AWARDS: The funds for the awards donated by Ambassador Bruce are on deposit, in escrow, in a special AFSA Fund. The awards will be mailed immediately upon the final determination of the judges which will be no later than November 15.

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The JOURNAL hopes to see this evolve into a yearly contest.

FSJ

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The FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL is the journal of professionals in foreign affairs, published twelve times a year by the American Foreign Service Association, a non-profit organization.

Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and is not intended to indicate the official views of the Department of State, the United States Information Agency, the Agency for International Development or the United States Government as a whole.

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For subscription to the JOURNAL, one year (12 issues); \$6.00; two years, \$10.00. For subscriptions going abroad, except Canada, add \$1.00 annually for overseas postage.

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and/or *America: History and Life*.

Microfilm copies of current as well as of back issues of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL are available through the University Microfilm Library Services, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 under a contract signed October 30, 1967.

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Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and at additional post office.

WHO ACTS FOR AFSA?

By now you have heard rumors of dissension between the majority of the AFSA Board and AFSA President, Mr. Hemenway. The rumors are largely true. Since it took office last July, this Board has been wracked with internal struggles which have made it extremely difficult to accomplish its duties and objectives for the Association and the Foreign Service.

The underlying issue is: who acts for AFSA? This is perhaps the most important issue any voluntary association can face. For unless AFSA is capable, after due deliberation and debate, of acting with clear purpose on professional and employee issues, there is really no point in having an association, or attempting to act as *exclusive* employee representative.

The Bylaws clearly provide that it is the Governing Board who acts for the Association. Article IV.1 says "the property and affairs of this Association shall be managed by a Governing Board composed of Officers and Representatives . . . Each Board Member shall have one vote." Article VIII.2 states that "Decisions taken at meetings of the Board shall be by a majority of the quorum present at the meeting." Article VII, entitled, "Powers and Duties of the Governing Board," provides broad powers and duties to make policy for the Association.

In contrast, the AFSA President's powers are narrow and specific. Article V.3 provides, "The President shall function as the Chief Executive Officer of the Association and shall exercise supervision of the affairs of the Association subject to approval of the Board. The President shall preside at meetings of the Membership and the Board, shall be the principal representative of the Association, and shall have such other powers and duties as the Board may delegate." Article VIII.1 and 4 deal with his responsibility for calling meetings. That is all; no power to make policy for the Association, or to speak for it independently of the Board's actions; no executive privilege, no separation of powers, no inherent Presidential powers, no Presidential infallibility, no divine right of Presidents. And if there is any doubt about the interpretation

or implementation of the Bylaws, Article VII.4.h. provides the answer:

"4. In addition, the following specific powers are hereby expressly conferred upon the Board . . .

"h. To make regulations implementing the Constitution and these Bylaws; and to interpret the Constitution, the Bylaws, and any regulations issued. Except as otherwise provided in Article IX (Elections), the interpretation of the Constitution, these Bylaws, and the regulations of the Association made by the Board shall be determinative."

One such regulation was passed by the current Governing Board at its first meeting on July 17, following Mr. Hemenway's gratuitous insult to the Secretary of State in an interview published July 12 in the Washington Post. The regulation provides that public positions of the Association are determined by the Governing Board; that any Board Member purporting to speak for the Association must have had the Board's prior approval for his or her statement, and that Board Members speaking publicly for themselves must indicate clearly that they are not speaking for the Governing Board.

Thus the Bylaws provide for a strong collective leadership in the Governing Board. There are other democratic forms of government, but this is the one chosen by the Membership when it voted for the Bylaws. If Mr. Hemenway is chafing under what he calls "the tyranny of the majority," he has two honorable courses of action; to seek to persuade the Board majority to his view, or to persuade the Membership to change the Association's Bylaws (or its policies, through referenda), but meanwhile to respect majority rule and the Bylaws; or to resign. Mr. Hemenway has chosen neither course. Instead he has continually violated the Bylaws and Board resolutions, and abused his own powers and duties as President, in order to frustrate the Board's attempts to carry out its own responsibilities, to use the Association as the vehicle for the propagation of his own personal

Continued on page 20 and see also A Message from the Association President, opposite, on page 21



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An open letter to my friends in the Foreign Service

Dear colleague:

Since the inception of our recreation/retirement land development project in 1971, we have advertised in this magazine so that those of you who are interested in purchasing a fine parcel of land in an ecologically oriented, security controlled development not too far from Washington D.C. could come by and see what we offer at predevelopment prices.

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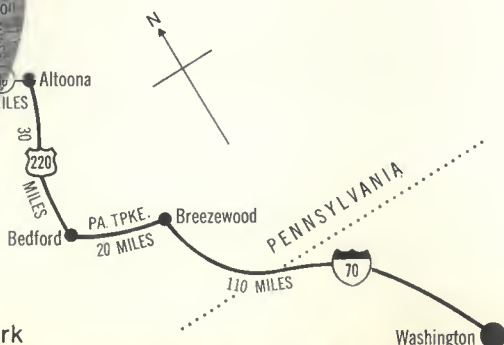
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LETTER FROM PHILADELPHIA

CENTENNIALS - 1876 AND 1976

CARL CHARLICK

Philadelphia—the melodious syllables conjure up a panorama of American history, and this in turn suggests to our frame of mind the Bicentennial celebration of the American Revolution this year. The amiable city on the Delaware, so often treated with condescension when compared to its giant near-neighbor New York, has proclaimed itself the Bicentennial City for 1976, and no one will dispute this claim, not even history-laden places like Boston, New York or—by courtesy—Washington, D.C. The title of Bicentennial City does not derive from any official act of government, and yet Philadelphia knows its mission for 1976 and is continuing feverish preparations for it. Everywhere in the city the pounding of hammers, the buzzing of saws, the whir of pneumatic drills and the rumble of bulldozers are helping to make ready for the nation's birthday ob-

servance. A captivating new Visitors Orientation Center has been put up, a combination of museum and vivid lesson in history. Over on Market Street, Franklin Court, the founding sage's last home, is being reconstructed, not in the original form but in a modern symbolization. Close by, the house in which the Declaration of Independence was written, and which had stood for more than a century until it was razed in 1883, is being rebuilt from original plans. Independence Hall, flanked by Congress Hall and Old City Hall, has been refurbished, as have Carpenters Hall and the first Bank of the United States. The Liberty Bell is being encased in plastic, so that it may be touched by untold visitors with impunity. Work is still going on at the Second Bank building, considered to be the classic prototype of American bank architecture. Not far away, at 6th and Race Streets, the Living History Center is rising. It will dramatize a multi-media presentation of 200 years of American history. Several 18th century landmarks—the Todd House, Bishop White's House, the City Tav-

Continued on page 25

Carl Charlick, frequent contributor to the JOURNAL, is now retired after many years' service with the government, first with the Army and more recently with the Department of State. He has been a teacher, librarian, translator and travel agent.

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After many years of unremitting search early explorers became convinced that the two American continents formed a continuous barrier to the Far East.

The Panama Canal Treaty: Past and Present United States Interests

ROGER S. LEEDS



In February 1974 Secretary of State Kissinger signed an Agreement on Principles that was to provide the basis for a new Panama Canal Treaty between the United States and the Republic of Panama. Although no specific timetable was set, both governments indicated their hope that negotiations would progress rapidly. Twenty months later, however, Ellsworth Bunker, President Ford's prestigious special emissary in charge of the negotiations, was sufficiently frustrated by the lack of progress to comment, "no treaty has yet been drafted," and "significant conceptual problems are still not resolved." The optimism of February 1974 had suddenly turned sour.

The negotiations with Panama have an importance for the United States that is significantly greater than the bilateral relationship itself. In light of recent remarks by former Governor Ronald Reagan and other Presidential contenders, the Canal may be a visible issue in the 1976 campaign. It also appears likely that further delays in the negotiations may affect United States relations with other nations in the hemisphere, all of which have expressed solidarity with Panama. And finally, Third World nations around the globe have already seized on the Panama issue to illustrate US intransigence in dealing with smaller, weaker nations.

Ambassador Bunker's pessimistic assessment of the current status of the negotiations raises a number of important issues. First, why did the United States initially agree to undertake negotiations with Panama for a new treaty? Second, what has occurred since the February 1974 optimism to impede the likelihood of a new treaty? And most importantly, what would be the political, economic and strategic implications of a new Panama Canal Treaty for US global interests?

The Original Treaty and Its Effect On US-Panamanian Relations

In 1903 the United States and Panama signed the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty that authorized the United States to construct, maintain, operate, and protect a canal

Roger S. Leeds is the Associate Dean at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. Dr. Leeds was a Peace Corps Volunteer in Brazil, served as a consultant to the Linowitz Commission, as adviser for foreign affairs to Senator Lawton Chiles and as management consultant to McKinsey and Company. He has published articles in the Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Washington Evening Star and Johns Hopkins Magazine.

across the isthmus of the newly created nation of Panama. United States officials agreed that a canal had long been needed to provide a direct maritime link between the two oceans at a time when US international trade was rapidly expanding. At various times, dating back to 1534, Great Britain, France and Spain had all considered the possibility of constructing an interoceanic canal across Panama, but in each case the plan was abandoned for lack of political or financial support. But in 1903, after the United States enticed Panama to proclaim its independence from Colombia, an agreement was finally reached and construction got underway. At the time, Secretary of State John Hay shared his enthusiasm about the arrangement with a colleague. He wrote, "We shall have a treaty . . . vastly advantageous to the United States, and, we must confess . . . not so advantageous to Panama . . . You and I know too well how many points there are in this treaty to which a Panamanian patriot could object." At the time, everyone concerned was in agreement that the United States had signed a highly favorable accord.

The now controversial Treaty provided the US control "in perpetuity" over a ten-mile-wide, 50-mile-long swath through the middle of Panama, an area that approximates one half the size of Rhode Island.

The Treaty further stipulates that the United States has the right to control exclusively the Canal Zone "as if it were sovereign." With this form of impenetrable legal protection the US-created Panama Canal Company became the sole arbiter of affairs within the Zone.

At the head of the Company is a high ranking United States Army officer, appointed by the President of the United States and accountable to a Board of Directors which is appointed by the Secretary of the Army. The company president also holds the dual title of Governor of the Canal Zone and is accountable to the Secretary of the Army in this capacity. In effect then, the United States Army has always had a high stake in the Canal's future.

Not surprisingly, as Secretary Hay expected, the 1903 Treaty quickly became a source of friction

between the two countries. Ever since 1924, when the first official diplomatic communique was transmitted to the US government indicating aspirations to revise the 1903 Treaty, Panama has doggedly pushed for a new accord that would better serve her national interests.

For its part, the United States resisted significant changes for almost half a century. But in January 1964 the Canal Zone presented President Johnson with his first major foreign policy crisis. Riots erupted in front of the American-run Balboa High School inside the Zone resulting in 21 fatalities and over 450 injuries. As a result of the bloody incident, which had to be quelled with the assistance of US troops, the United States began to reconsider seriously its long-standing opposition to the renegotiation of a new treaty. As Panama's opposition took on an increasingly violent and persistent

**"The Zone occupies
some of the most
sought-after land in the
country."**

tone, US officials began to recognize that the 1903 Treaty was untenable over the long term.

For ten years, the two countries continued to haggle over details while the United States went through the motions of studying the feasibility of a new sea level canal at another location in Panama, or possibly Nicaragua. Finally, in February 1974 Dr. Kissinger and Foreign Minister Juan A. Tack signed the Agreement on Principles that might be expected to lead to a new treaty.

Panama's Position

Why is Panama pushing so strenuously for a new agreement? Most importantly, the geographical position of the country has long served as its most valuable national resource. Because of its central location on a narrow isthmus between the two continents, Panama provided the best physical conditions for the type of canal contemplated. In addition to the benefits

derived from the waterway itself, Panama has also become an attractive location for many foreign enterprises because of its central location in the hemisphere. In addition to the revenues and jobs derived from the Canal, for example, this tiny country with a population of only 1.6 million inhabitants, boasts approximately 65 foreign bank offices or branches on its soil; 28 airlines route more than 600 flights a week through the international airport on the outskirts of the capital; and more than 300 multinational corporations have offices in the country. If it were not for her unique geographical position, this business activity would clearly be on a much smaller scale.

Given the high level of foreign involvement, Panamanians feel strongly that they are not deriving a fair share of the financial gain that comes from this activity. The labor force in the zone, for example, totaled 20,760 employees in 1974, of which approximately 25 percent were Americans. Panamanians are quick to point out, however, that the non-Panamanian 25 percent take home approximately 42 percent of the total payroll, while the 75 percent (non-Americans) are left to divide only 58 percent of the total salaries and wages.

Most authorities agree that the financial gain to Panama is inequitable in comparison to the United States. In addition to salary differentials, the United States pays no rent directly for the 14 military bases that are scattered throughout the zone compared, for example, to the \$20 million from the US that Spain receives for the use of three military bases on her soil. For the exclusive right to the 533 square mile strip of territory, the United States pays Panama an annuity of \$2.3 million, a paltry sum by any standard.

Another bone of contention from the Panamanian point of view is the land itself. The Zone occupies some of the most sought-after land in the country. For example, Panama City, suffering under the strain of rapid urban growth, is bordered on one side by the Gulf of Panama and on two others by the Canal Zone. It is a source of considerable frustration that further expansion of the city is impeded by the Zone, much of which is either totally unused, or underutilized.

Panamanians point with frustration to the statistics of land use within the Zone: 68 percent for military purposes (much of which is rarely used), 25.2 percent unused, 3.6 percent canal and installation, and 3.2 percent miscellaneous uses. One of the major unresolved issues in the current negotiations is the redistribution of control of these lands.

Another important factor that goes to the root of the problem is national pride. Not unlike other developing countries struggling to achieve modernization, rampant nationalism is an omnipresent ingredient to be reckoned with. It is a source of extreme irritation to a Panamanian citizen, for example, that if he wants to cross from one side of his country to the other, he must pass through an area where he immediately comes under the jurisdiction of United States law. He is, in effect, treated as an alien in his own country. Given the current situation, no Panamanian politician can long survive without lashing out at an arrangement which is perceived to infringe upon the nation's sovereignty.

United States Interests: Past and Present

The United States has also valued the Canal as an important asset. Shortly after the turn of the century, when Panama hastily declared its independence from Colombia with US backing, the United States was already well on its way to fulfilling aspirations of global power. In a mere three months in 1898, the nation drove Spain from Cuba and the Philippines, and seized control of Guam and Puerto Rico. In the same year, Hawaii was annexed and we even flexed our muscles by sending troops to fight in China during the Boxer Rebellion of 1899. As one historian has noted, "The one-time continental republic had become the monarch of seas in two hemispheres."

An interoceanic canal was therefore considered by the President, the Congress and the American public to be a valuable and necessary asset in terms of future US national, economic and strategic interests. Shortly after the Canal was constructed and operating, the Chicago TRIBUNE echoed the sentiments of the public when it ed-

itorialized:

We built the Canal because we needed it in a special sense not shared by the world, and having built it we need it for our frontier and must make certain it does not pass into the hands of a rival.

The Canal had become a symbol of national pride, as it still is in some quarters.

Although the Canal remains a useful resource to the United States, its military and commercial value has clearly diminished in recent years. As one US official recently commented, "the Canal is an aging utility." Originally, the purpose of maintaining a military garrison in the Zone was to protect

"Because of the mounting incidence of popular protests and riots by Panamanians the issue was receiving widespread attention in international forums."

the Canal from foreign aggressors. Gradually the military significance increased as it became a major US Army training center and a command post for all US military operations in Latin American (SOUTHCOM). Today, the Zone maintains 14 military bases and more than 9,500 US troops.

But in an era of sophisticated weaponry and guerrilla warfare, the military value of the Canal to the United States is not what it once was. Regardless of who controls the Canal, it is no longer defensible from any individual or group with a penchant for sabotage. One recent study revealed that the Canal could easily be shut down for an extended period of time by the use of relatively unsophisticated weapons. It is estimated that at least 50,000 American troops, and possibly many more, would be required to protect the Canal Zone from prospective rioters and saboteurs. After the experience of Vietnam, there should be few in the United States who fail

to recognize the risks and costs of fighting guerrillas with United States troops.

The military value of the Canal has diminished in other ways as well. Once considered essential for the rapid transport of men and materiel in times of emergency (ships forced to navigate around Cape Horn would have to add 8000 miles to their journey), the United States now relies primarily on separate navies in each ocean. Moreover, a large number of US aircraft carriers are too wide to squeeze through the Canal, and many of the nuclear submarines must surface before transiting from one ocean to the other. And, since there is virtually no likelihood of a conventional attack on the continental United States from the South, the Canal Zone no longer has utility as a defensive outpost.

Also, from a commercial standpoint the Canal does not have the value it once did for the United States. Although just under 9 percent of US trade currently transits the Canal, according to a report prepared for the Commission on US-Latin American Relations the figure is slowly declining. Although use of the Canal does cut down on transportation time and related costs, the number of ships taking advantage of the route has steadily declined because the new larger ships cannot take advantage of the 61-year-old channel.

Critics of a new treaty raise the possibility that the Canal might become totally inaccessible to American vessels if the current Treaty is revised. According to this speculation, the left-leaning President Torrijos would immediately strike a deal with the Soviets and close the waterway to American vessels. Ignoring the fact that such a tactic would be totally contrary to Panama's economic interests, there is scant evidence to support this scenario.

In addition to the declining military and economic value of the Canal to US national interests, by the mid-'60s the Canal was proving to be an international political liability to the United States. Because of the mounting incidence of popular protests and riots by Panamanians objecting to US dominance, the issue was receiving widespread attention in international forums with comments unfavorable to the

United States. Although the Canal's supporters often point to the prestige associated with US control of the Canal, in the eyes of the world US reputation is tarnished by its insistence on holding fast to the 1903 Accord. Not only at the bilateral level, but also in hemispheric and global forums (e.g., OAS, UN) most nations have voiced strenuous opposition to US policy toward the Canal Zone.

Because of these factors, the United States displayed a conciliatory tone when Secretary of State Kissinger signed the February 1974 Agreement with his Panamanian counterpart. It was agreed that "the concept of perpetuity will be eliminated," and a "fixed termination date" would be specified in any new treaty arrangement. The Agreement also conceded that the US would terminate "jurisdiction over Panamanian territory" and recognize Panama "in its capacity as territorial sovereign." A number of other equally important points were stipulated and there was a general sense of optimism about the reasonably rapid resolution of this lingering international issue. The Agreement made it clear that senior US officials had resolved that it was no longer in the national interest to cling steadfastly to the antiquated 1903 accord. Although still a convenience, the Tack-Kissinger Agreement was tacit recognition that the Canal and the Zone were no longer considered to be vital to US national interests. With the exception of the Pentagon, officials generally conceded that the risks involved in retaining absolute control of the Canal were more dangerous than a new agreement that would gradually accede to Panamanian wishes.

Congress Balks at Prospect of New Treaty

The optimism surrounding the February 1974 signing soon faded into obscurity. Opposition in the United States to a new treaty quickly emerged on three separate but closely united fronts. First, as the prospect of a new treaty became a real possibility, both Houses of Congress suddenly took an active interest in the outcome of negotiations. In a series of resolutions during the past year it has become unmistakably clear that majority sentiment in Congress is

opposed to "giving up" the Canal. Second, Congressional opponents to a new treaty have found willing allies among a proliferation of citizen's groups that oppose a new treaty. And finally, with the President increasingly concerned about his chances for receiving the Republican nomination this summer, many of his closest advisers in the Executive branch have been counseling him to eschew the Canal issue, at least until after November 1976, so as not to upset the more conservative elements within his own party.

It is interesting to recall that it was not too long ago that the pre-dominance of the Executive branch in the conduct of foreign policy was the cause of considerable alarm.

**"Congressman
Bauman from Maryland
unabashedly claimed
that the Canal Zone
'is as much a part
of the United States
as Talbot County.' "**

Members of the press joined most members of Congress to warn that unchecked Executive power (most frequently characterized by Dr. Henry Kissinger, who at the time wore two hats) was a danger to the nation. While there was some truth to this argument, the pendulum now seems to have swung to an opposite extreme. As the Panama Canal controversy illustrates, both Houses of Congress have recently acted to impede the President's ability to conduct foreign affairs.

In June, 1975 a resolution sponsored by Congressman Snyder (R.-Ky.) to deny the use of federal funds, "to negotiate the surrender or relinquishment of United States rights in the Panama Canal" passed by a vote 246-164. Although the more liberal New York TIMES predictably called the action an "invitation to disaster," even the relatively conservative San Francisco CHRONICLE rebuked the Congress for this "upsurge of blind

nationalism." According to Article II, Section 2 of the Constitution, the President is vested with the right to make treaties with the advice and consent of the Senate; there is no mention in the Constitution or elsewhere that gives the House of Representatives a role of any kind in the treaty-making function.

The Senate acted in an equally negative fashion. Rather than wait until the conclusion of the sensitive treaty negotiations, Senator Strom Thurmond introduced a resolution in May demanding that the United States retain sovereignty over the Canal Zone; in effect, the supporters of the resolution were voicing their opposition to any change in the present treaty. Senator Thurmond was able to muster 36 other co-signers in favor of his resolution, three more than are required to reject a new treaty.

Then in July Senator Harry Byrd (I.-Va.) tried unsuccessfully to gain support for a resolution that, like the Snyder measure in the House, would have cut off funds for further negotiations. However, the Byrd bill failed to reach the Senate floor when it became clear that more than sixty Senate colleagues were prepared to cast negative votes. Although many supporters of a new treaty were quick to applaud this "defeat," others more realistically interpreted it simply as a sign that a majority of the Senators believed they did not have the constitutional right to impede the Executive branch's ability to negotiate treaties.

In September, after returning from their traditional summer recess, the House-Senate conferees finally reached a compromise that rejected the severe measures called for in the Snyder bill. Rather than cut off funding for further negotiations, the conferees were content to warn the Executive that "it is the sense of the Congress that any new Panama Canal Treaty or agreement must protect the vital interests of the US in the operation, maintenance, property, and defense of the Panama Canal." But the compromise was rejected in the House by a vote of 203 to 197, presumably because the new version was too watered down from the original Snyder measure.

In the most recent round of Congressional deliberations, the anti-

Treaty forces in the House moved again in October to cut off funds for the continuation of negotiations, but failed to receive the necessary support. Instead, a compromise resolution was passed that simply reiterated the September warning issued by the House.

Although supporters of a new treaty are encouraged by the less hostile stance of Congress in the last few months, it remains true that the legislative actions have successfully stalled serious negotiations. Even though funds have not been cut, the Congressional actions have convinced politically sensitive White House aides that it would be political suicide to send a new treaty to Capitol Hill prior to the November election.

In addition to the questionable propriety of these Congressional actions, it is unlikely that the votes are representative of public opinion on this particular issue. It is not so much that the public is uninformed about the Canal Treaty as it is misinformed. For example, it was reported recently that Senator Thurmond is of the opinion that the Panamanians "are too unstable and too vulnerable to communism" to be given control of the Canal, which he righteously claims as US property because "we bought it." Senator Barry Goldwater has publicly suggested that the Canal is so vitally important to the US national interest that the American public would support "sending forces to maintain our position on the Canal." And Congressman Robert Bauman from Maryland, one of the 264 who voted in favor of the House resolution, unabashedly claimed that the Canal Zone "is as much a part of the United States as Talbot County" in his own district. With misleading statements such as these, there is little wonder that the issue has been distorted almost beyond recognition in the public's mind. And activity on the floor of the House and Senate has done little to correct this faulty picture.

Additional Obstacles to a New Treaty

A second force contributing to the unlikely prospect of a new treaty in the foreseeable future is the emergence of the so-called Panama lobby in the United States, which became more vocal in its opposition to a new agreement after

February 1974. The American Legion, the American Council for World Freedom, the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Veterans of Foreign Wars are representative of the tenor of citizen opposition. The basic premise of these groups is that the Canal Zone is the sovereign territory of the United States "in perpetuity," and continued control by the United States is vital to the strategic and economic national interests of this country.

Further, these groups have expressed their conviction that Panama's General-President Omar Torrijos is a "hardened criminal . . . closely allied with the Communist Party. . . ." According to this view, the Communists will step in to seize control of the Canal and impede US access to the waterway—if the negotiations continue and a new agreement is reached. In the House of Representatives, Congressman Bill Alexander (D.-Ark.) perpetuated this myth by warning his colleagues that if the Canal is returned to Panamanian control, "the next thing we know the Soviet Union is going to want Alaska back."

Although Torrijos tries hard to play the populist role and has made friendly gestures toward Fidel Castro (along with many other Latin American leaders in recent years), there is no hard evidence to support the "theory" that a new treaty would open the door to Communism, and then leave the United States without access to the Canal.

These citizens' groups are being encouraged by the approximately 40,000 American citizens who reside in the Canal Zone (10,000 military, 4,000 civilian employees, and their dependents). In some cases representing four generations of American Zonians, this community unanimously and strenuously opposes any new treaty that would alter the status quo in the Zone. They have grown accustomed to a comfortable, if somewhat isolated, standard of living; and they are understandably apprehensive about the effect a new treaty will have on their future security.

Finally, there are those forces within the Executive branch itself that have undermined support for a new treaty. Shortly after Howard Callaway resigned as Secretary of the Army to assume his duties as

President Ford's campaign manager, he conceded that the Canal issue had political implications for the 1976 election. Although the sensitive treaty negotiations were in progress, the ex-Republican Congressman from Georgia took the liberty of informing the press that in his opinion "there is a feeling in this country . . . that Teddy Roosevelt helped the Panamanians get their independence . . . negotiated the treaty, paid for it . . . conquered yellow fever, brought them their sole economic enterprise. There's the feeling that the canal is enormously valuable, that we paid for it and it's ours." Directly contradicting the word and the spirit of the Kissinger-Tack Agreement, the President's campaign manager also stated that "the current period of US control over the canal is in perpetuity, and some say that perpetuity isn't long enough."

Although officially supporting the idea of a new accord, the top echelon at the Pentagon joined Callaway in undermining the negotiations. Until recently, the military establishment did little to conceal its disapproval. The United States Army, in particular, had a high stake in the outcome of the negotiations due to its controlling influence in the Zone. Not only is the Governor of the Zone accountable to the Army, but most of the 14 military bases in Panama are under the Army's jurisdiction. There is, therefore, understandable concern among many in the military that a new treaty would deny them a major asset of long standing.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff have strongly agreed that retention of control over the Canal Zone is vital to the national security of the United States. As explained recently by former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Thomas Moorer, the Canal is of "substantial strategic importance to the US because it provides the nation with the ability to transfer troops and materiel rapidly from one ocean front to the other." Colleagues of the former Chairman echo the same theme as they quietly express their concern.

Whether it was concern for the Pentagon or right-wing elements within the Republican party, Kissinger made a comment in mid-September that proved to be the

coup de grace for the negotiations. In response to a question by Alabama's Governor George Wallace at the Southern Governor's Conference, he stated that the United States must maintain the right "unilaterally to defend the Panama Canal for the indefinite future." Although the Department of State promptly moved to clarify the Secretary's remarks, the damage had been done. Panamanian Foreign Minister Tack immediately appeared on local television to denounce the Kissinger declaration and in effect conceded that there was no realistic hope for a new treaty in the foreseeable future.

Whether by design or not, the Secretary of State had become a bedfellow with the President's campaign manager. While the word was passing through diplomatic channels that the Administration was undertaking a sincere negotiating effort to consummate the agreement reached in February 1974, some of the Chief Executive's principal spokesmen were successfully undermining the talks. Thus, in addition to Congressional opponents and the conservative Panama Canal lobby, the Executive Branch itself was deeply involved in maneuvers to thwart the pro-treaty forces. Not surprisingly, therefore, the combined influence of these three forces has been more than adequate to place the Panama Canal issue at least temporarily on the back burner.

Consequences of the Administration's Panama Canal Diplomacy

Although the long-range effects of the Administration's about-face cannot yet be accurately assessed, it is not premature to make some preliminary observations concerning conceivable short-term consequences of the stalled negotiations. It appears for the moment that the new Ford strategy, as articulated by spokesmen like Callaway and Kissinger, has successfully permitted a potentially controversial political issue to be swept under the rug. However, November 1976 is still off in the distance and the global interests of the United States may be ill-served by the delaying tactics.

At the bilateral level, it is likely that relations between the two

negotiating countries will deteriorate, even if Torrijos is able to avert further anti-American demonstrations. Although many opponents of a new Treaty find it easy to dismiss Panama as a small, insignificant nation in terms of US foreign relations, the same was said in years past about such "insignificant" countries as Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. With over 40,000 American citizens residing in the Canal Zone, acts of indiscriminate terrorism by Panamanians frustrated by lack of progress in the negotiation could have serious consequences for the United States.

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Opponents of a new treaty are quick to assert their willingness to defend the Canal at all costs. But the Canal is no longer defensible in the traditional sense. If the dissatisfied Panamanians do not take out their frustrations on the American citizens who reside in the Zone, they can just as easily express themselves by detonating a simple, possibly home-made, explosive device placed at a strategic point in the Canal itself. It is estimated that such an action, in addition to drawing worldwide attention to the Canal issue, could render the waterway inoperative for a year or longer.

A second set of consequences may evolve on the hemispheric level. Not a single Latin American country, running from the ultra-conservative Chilean government of General Pinochet to Castro's Cuba, supports the United States effort to put off a new treaty.

Alejandro Orfila, Secretary General of the Organization of American States, stated shortly after assuming his new post last summer that the failure of Congress to approve a new treaty "... would set back relations between ... the United States and Latin America many, many years." And according to Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, the President's special emissary, "The Latin American nations have made our handling of the Panamanian negotiations a test of our intentions in the hemisphere." Given the unprecedented unanimity of our southern neighbors, it is likely that the fallout in hemispheric relations will soon spill over to other issues unrelated to the Canal itself.

Finally, the US strategy could have adverse consequences on a global, as well as a hemispheric level. Third World countries on every continent have rallied to Panama's cause and will stand together in the United Nations and other international forums to condemn this last vestige of American colonialism in the Western hemisphere. When the Panama Delegate takes his newly acquired seat on the United Nations Security Council at the end of the year, he will be in an ideal position to rally international support for the cause of his country. If the United States continues to balk at a new treaty, the loss of prestige to the US around the world will be great.

Third World nations manifest their new-found power and influence in global affairs more each day. In the United Nations the bloc joins forces to win passage of a resolution denouncing Zionism as a racist doctrine. Many Third World countries refuse to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty because, they claim, it is simply a Super Power ploy to freeze the international status quo. At a time when the ability of the United States to influence the course of world affairs is on the wane, it is not prudent to provide more militant countries in the bloc with further "proof" of US unwillingness to accede to legitimate Third World interests. On the other hand, the US would enhance its credibility throughout the world by rejecting the spirit and the letter of the 1903 Treaty in favor of another, more equitable arrangement.

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"The business of America is business."—

Calvin Coolidge (1925)

THE EMBATTLED MULTINATIONALS:

America Against Itself

GEORGE C. MCGHEE

A disturbing change has occurred in recent years in the American attitude towards United States corporations doing business overseas. There appears to be an increasing divergence between the views of Americans toward our economic system at home and its operations abroad. This is reflected in a worsening of relations between our multinational companies and our government. This is particularly true of relations with Congress; however, the attitude of the Department of State and its representatives abroad is often cited as an example. Since I have spent half of my working years in business and half in the Department, and am currently a director of several multinational companies, I feel a responsibility to help heal this breach.

The average American appears to be increasingly conservative in his economic thinking. There has been a shift in sympathy at all levels against big government and the welfare state. Although there are still occasional complaints of price-fixing and tax-dodging, free enterprise is accepted as being as

essential a part of the American system as apple pie. Big business as such has come under suspicion, but no one seriously proposes dismantling our corporate structure. Since these are the same corporations that operate abroad, why have they, in their multinational aspect, come in question?

Criticism of the multinational companies originated in the developing countries. It is not reflected in the attitudes of developed industrialized countries such as England and Germany and Japan. If one goes back far enough one can indeed find examples of the abuses of economic power in the developing world. The loss of our oil concessions in Mexico in 1934, like the expropriation of lands of the United Fruit Company in Central America, was not wholly undeserved. It is curious however that, as the multinational companies moved to correct the evils of the past, the attack against them only increased.

It is, I believe, because the former colonial areas have only recently been able to use their new political muscle—to question what previously they had been forced to accept. In their reaction against the colonial era, with which our companies as well as those of the colonial nations were associated, the new countries made the most critical interpretation possible of the past record. Leaders were impelled by newly unleashed political forces to take strong action against the

companies, even to their own detriment. Since they had little to substitute, except poorly executed governmental initiatives utilizing meager resources, there resulted in many developing countries a real decline in per capita income.

Through the United Nations and in their "third world" gatherings, the developing countries have demanded a New Economic Order. Under such an order the per capita income of the rich and the poor would be brought closer together. Some seem even to believe that their relative positions will be reversed. Extremists call for the end of the multinational corporations entirely and the substitution of some new way of doing the business of the world. Many Americans, including those who would not raise similar issues domestically, have been caught up in these extremist movements abroad. Starting with an understandable sympathy for those who were for centuries exploited by the industrialized nations, many see in the demise of the multinational corporations a just retribution. Recent publicity regarding bribery of foreign officials, including, sadly enough, the successor to the United Fruit Company, adds fuel to the justification.

But, when one comes to consider the alternatives, one faces reality. The plain fact is that the business of the world today, both national and international, is conducted by a market economy through the cor-

Ambassador McGhee served as coordinator for aid to Greece and Turkey, as assistant Secretary of State for Near East, South Asian and African Affairs, as Ambassador to Turkey and to Germany, as well as Ambassador-at-large, as Under Secretary for Political Affairs and Chairman of the Policy Planning Council. In addition to his Foreign Service career he has spent considerable time in the business world.

porate structure. There are, of course, many countries outside the Communist bloc whose economies are controlled by the state; including right wing dictatorships as well as Socialist governments. In most cases where this has occurred, the government had no real alternative. Following revolution or freedom from colonial rule, the old order was discredited and a vacuum existed which only the state could fill. In most cases prospects were too precarious for foreign private capital, even where it was welcome. Ataturk, after setting up the new Turkish Republic following World War I, first sought private capital and accepted "etatism" only when it was not forthcoming. As a result a whole panoply of government banks and corporations was created in Turkey and persists to this day, although not on a doctrinaire basis since Communism is outlawed.

Of the trade between the nations of the world, over 20 percent is conducted within the multinational companies. Of the remainder, even though some is by Socialist states acting through agents, most international trade involves some corporate entity on at least one end of the transaction. Whether the economic units involved are individuals, families, middle-sized or large corporations, the essential elements of their economic functioning are the same.

This does not mean that governments cannot make noteworthy contributions both internally and externally. Mexico has after 40 years developed a relatively efficient national oil company. The Soviet Union has made progress in the development of its resources. In a number of instances, including the Aswan Dam, it has assisted other countries. However, the Socialist states have not developed any economic organization comparable in efficiency to the limited liability corporation. The Yugoslavs, perhaps, have come closest—with companies controlled by workers' committees under guidance from the government. None, however, has produced the equivalent of a General Electric or General Motors, with manufacturing and sales affiliates around the world, or consulting firms, such as Bechtel Corporation, that can build any size of facility anywhere.

Several traditionally free-enterprise European countries have in recent years "experimented" with government ownership of business. De Gaulle, although by no means a Socialist, injected the French Government into a wide range of banks and industrial companies. The British Labor Government, in many cases to save companies such as Chrysler which would otherwise have failed, has acquired control of much of British industry. However, Leyland Motors, a conspicuous example, is not being developed as an international arm of British Socialism but as a holding operation to save jobs for British workers. Indeed, rather than expanding it is closing down in Australia and elsewhere. The stray corporations taken over by

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Socialist governments are not likely to be the successors of the present multinational corporations.

These corporations, moreover, in addition to conducting the trade of the world, have the greatest accumulation of capital, technical know-how and skilled personnel—without which the world could not function. The 1975 FORTUNE survey shows that the top 500 United States industrial corporations, plus the 300 largest foreign companies, had assets of \$1,261 billion and 30,344,933 employees. These companies together generated \$350 billion in goods and services annually outside their own countries.

These are assets, moreover, which are not readily available to governments even if they want to use them. Apart from the popular opposition it would face, our own government would find it difficult to finance any wide scale takeover of corporations. Most Americans involved would probably seek employment elsewhere. The new

owners, the American people, would not be willing to pay taxes to finance risky operations abroad. In a word, the effectiveness of our companies in conducting the business of the world would have been largely eliminated.

It becomes self-evident, therefore, that the future economic progress of the world hinges not on the elimination but the perpetuation of something like our present multinational corporations adapted to the changed conditions of our times. Many countries which have sought to decrease their dependence on the companies have already discovered this and desperately seek to get them back. Australia is a recent example. We have seen other countries turn back from increased government intervention in their internal economic system. Most Englishmen would, I am sure, welcome the return of a competitive private British industry that could produce needed foreign exchange by successful operations abroad as well as at home.

How then can we explain the present lack of rapport between Americans and their firms doing business abroad, particularly since the present administration is known as the party of business? I served in the Department when our multinational companies felt at home there—and in our embassies abroad. It was considered the duty of our officers to help them in every way possible. And, within limits, they were given such assistance as they needed and requested.

Allegations are now being made in Congressional investigations that such cooperation represents collusion between government and business. This is on top of attacks against our oil companies arising out of the recent energy crisis, and against many companies as a result of "payoffs" to foreign officials. I do not defend the practices of some of our firms abroad in bribing for favors, although this is not new. Our companies should have been sensitive to the changing morality of our times. However, to put all of them on the block, guilty and innocent alike, and to ridicule and berate them before the world, is a form of self-destruction. Let's get our firms on the right track but let's not destroy them.

As a result of recent changes in attitudes, American corporations

tend not to seek assistance from our government, even where they need it and might get it. They prefer to act in secrecy, not divulging plans or problems. The Overseas Private Investment Corporation guarantees are not attractive. In a recent meeting in which corporate and government representatives were present, I argued for openness by our companies operating abroad, with our government, and government assistance where appropriate. To my dismay the majority ruled out such help, even where clear discrimination might exist against our firms in favor of other nationals. Under present circumstances our companies seem to feel that they are better off alone. Congress and government both seem to feel that American firms, as a State Department official reportedly told a group of oil company representatives recently, are "expendable."

In today's world America is in a position of declining influence. Although our payments balance is currently favorable, we face the prospect of increased long-range dependence on the world for fuel and raw materials. Our oil alone costs \$25 billion annually. To pay for this we have a generous agricultural surplus, but we also need the trading profits of our industrial corporations. We must also consider the direct contribution they offer the undeveloped world in the extraction of minerals, manufacturing and satisfaction of consumer needs.

In almost all cases our corporations are adapting successfully to the changed needs and attitudes of the developing countries. They are acting as good citizens. They have resolved troublesome problems of the past such as transfer prices and employment policies. The oil companies are giving up their richest concessions gracefully, receding to a service basis. Exploitation is now the exception. In most cases companies are fully responsive to national laws and interests. Under the leadership of the International Chamber of Commerce, and others, voluntary guidelines have been accepted.

The plain fact is that only the international companies have the capital, trained personnel, and entrepreneurial capacity to develop other countries and integrate them

into the world economic structure. There is no substitute. The United Nations offers finance for a limited range of projects only. It offers no organizational counterpart to the corporation. Neither does the Soviet Union nor the other Socialist states of Eastern Europe, who aid other countries and even each other, but only on a small scale. Countries who have bought Soviet aircraft are disillusioned with replacement costs and maintenance. Sales of Soviet industrial products are falling off due to lack

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of consistent pricing, standardization and spare parts. The Socialist Scandinavian countries manage their internal economies reasonably well but have limited sales impact abroad.

The multinational corporation is essentially an invention of the West, and US companies predominate. If we do not support our companies, not just we, but all countries—industrial and developing alike—will suffer. I would like to see American corporations welcomed again in Washington. I would like to see them free to call on our Embassies abroad. I would like to see them accepted, with appropriate guidelines, by the United Nations. The UN Commission on International Corporations can help bring this about. As a contribution the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development is preparing guidelines on behalf of the industrialized nations including a statement of principles,

responsibilities of governments and general standards of business conduct.

If our companies are to be welcomed by foreign governments, however, we must make a start here in America. Various organizations work toward this end. The Business Council for International Understanding, which I was honored to serve as Chairman, is one. It started in the Eisenhower administration and is supported by some 80 leading corporations. It arranges consultation between American diplomats going abroad and the corporations doing business there; training of business representatives going to particular countries; and meetings between corporate leaders and high government officials on business-government cooperation. It is unfortunate, however, and revealing, that a White House Conference planned for this spring has been cancelled.

But I continue to hear, from my friends in the business world, frequent accusations of indifference and even hostility on the part of certain American diplomats. It is said that some are preoccupied with political problems and not very well informed on economic matters. Some fear that helping one company will antagonize another. Some appear to be more concerned about the interests of the country in which they are serving than with our own country and its companies. Some seem more preoccupied with the often irrelevant social life of foreign capitals than with helping American business.

I believe this to be exaggerated. I believe, with few exceptions, that Foreign Service officers have a genuine desire to help our companies. Those who take an indifferent or superior attitude will not, I believe, accede to high posts. We must follow the lead of the British, the Japanese and other governments who, under economic pressure, have consistently made a greater effort to further their business interests abroad. We are not so powerful economically that we can ignore the vital contributions of multinational businesses. Moreover, we should under no circumstances fail to support the most effective institution yet found to benefit other nations.

Let's all get down to multinational business. ■

"Not houses finely roofed or the stones of walls well builded, nay nor canals and dockyards, make the city, but men able to use their opportunity." — Alcaeus

A Vice Consul

PETER BRIDGES

There is a poor city called Colon on the Caribbean side of Panama, founded when a railroad was driven across the Isthmus a century ago, long before the Canal. When the Americans beat yellow fever and built the Canal, and for a couple of decades after that, Colon lived off the Canal and the tourists and was prosperous. But after World War II the Canal Company cut back its payroll, the tourists started going to Jamaica instead, and the mold began to grow up the walls.

There was an American Consulate in Colon for over a hundred years. It was opened almost before there was a town there, and it was closed a few years ago, like a number of other old Consulates which we used to maintain in ports around the world and which often furnished a young Foreign Service officer a romantic beginning to a bureaucratic career.

This story dates from the time when the Colon Consulate was still open but the staff had been reduced to one young vice-consul-in-charge and a cross-eyed Panamanian gardener named Cox, whose grandfather had been an English sailor. The Consulate property amounted to two or three acres of lawn and trees looking out on Limon Bay, and two buildings, one the closed-up former consuls' residence and the other containing a ground-floor office and a large apartment above for the vice-consul.

The vice-consul was named John Klein. Colon was his first post abroad, after two years sorting papers in Washington as staff assis-

tant to an Assistant Secretary. Klein naturally liked the feel of being in charge, even if he had only Cox to command and rather few duties to fulfill, and even though he spent each Monday over at the Embassy in Panama City where the Deputy Chief of Mission asked him in detail—in a friendly way, to be sure—about everything he was up to in Colon.

Klein was a bachelor of 27, originally from Evansville, Indiana, middle-sized, with a firm good face that looked like some Durer portrait. As soon as he got to Colon he began an energetic series of calls on the local businessmen and politicians. One of the first businessmen he called on was a certain Arias, the local representative of an American pharmaceutical firm. Senor Arias turned out to have a pretty brown-haired daughter named Mary. Her mother was American, and Mary had recently come back to Colon after two years of college in New Orleans. Klein started seeing a lot of her. She was fun, and bright. After two or three months, though, and after Klein had gotten to know a couple of other girls from good families in Colon and the capital, he was a little less enthused about the bunch of them. They might have American educations, but basically, Klein decided, they were too much like something out of a harem—grand at being feminine, but there didn't seem much to them as persons.

Meanwhile Klein had hired a maid, Sabina, a tall stately woman from the Azuero Peninsula halfway to Costa Rica. She was dark, sultry, and canny, and on a rainy Saturday afternoon . . . but this begins to go beyond the scope of our story. In any event, it was the

rainy season. Every afternoon the skies opened and the deluge hit Colon. And so it continued for months; and Klein was getting to know Panama.

Then in December, one Monday morning as Klein was riding over to Panama City on the train, he realized that the weather was changing. In Colon it still rained faithfully every day after lunch, but around Panama City, which gets only half as much rain a year as does Colon, the deciduous trees were losing their leaves. That afternoon in Panama City, walking down the hill from a luncheon at the Ambassador's residence, there were dry leaves in the gutters, bright blues in the sky, and Klein caught himself thinking that autumn was coming on, autumn like Indiana's, the prelude to winter. But it was only the beginning of the dry season, and the days got even hotter than before.

Carnival that year was in February; and Panama, unlike most Latin American countries, still celebrates Carnival in a big way. Klein took Mary Arias to parties in Colon and Panama City, drank Scotch and soda, and did his best to dance the *tamborito*. They had fun, and she let him kiss her a few times when he took her home. He would get back to the Consulate at midnight or a little later, turn off the air-conditioner and open his bedroom window, and fall asleep listening to the faint night noises.

At six, as dawn was arriving, he woke up, put on a pair of shorts and track shoes, and ran a mile through town and back to the Consulate past the faded Hotel Washington, while flocks of little green parrots chattered by in the air. Then Sabina would arrive, with a faint smile, and after he had bathed and dressed she would serve him papaya, toast, and coffee and he would go downstairs to work.

One morning a delegation arrived. Cox announced them, rather formally, as being from the *Unión Progresista nombrediosense*. They were three thin black men, and they spoke only Spanish and no English, unlike most of Colon's Jamaican-descended population. They looked poor but proud, and they had a letter to the Ambassador of North America which they wanted to leave with Klein and which they quickly explained.

Peter Bridges is a Foreign Service officer who once served in Panama and is now assigned to the Department. Copyright © Jack K. McFall Contest.

They were men of Nombre de Dios, forty miles down the coast toward Colombia. There was little to do there, so they worked in Colon. Nombre de Dios was very poor, but it had once been a Spanish port and with help (they said) it could prosper again. They had heard of the Alliance for Progress, and they hoped the North American Ambassador could help them. It was simply a question of getting their little river dredged out. And they wished to invite the Ambassador to Nombre de Dios to see things for himself.

Besides, explained the head of the delegation, whose name was Salcedo, the United States really had an obligation to help Nombre de Dios. Way back when the Canal was being built, in 1912, the Americans had gone up and down the Caribbean coast looking for a good supply of sand to mix in the concrete for the Gatun Locks. Nombre de Dios had the best sand of all, and it had been agreed that the Americans could dredge it out of the local river at its mouth. Salcedo said this had also helped the town, naturally. It had provided them with a nice harbor for their fishing boats, and for the trading boats that cruised down from Colon. But unfortunately, Salcedo said, the storms and the river current had silted in the channel since then. If the Americans could come down again and help them it would be a grand thing, Nombre de Dios would be happy again, and this was the idea of the Alliance for Progress, *No es verdad?*

Klein, the young diplomat, was diplomatic as could be. He told the men that indeed the United States wanted to do all it could to help the people of the Republic of Panama to help themselves. He would be seeing the Ambassador the next Monday, and he would deliver the letter and talk to the Ambassador about it.

On Monday, the Ambassador, who had been a high official in a Western state and who had recently been named Ambassador to Panama after losing out for re-election, read the letter, listened to Klein, and said perhaps he might just like to go down to Nombre de Dios, Klein pointed out that there was no road; the only way to get there was by boat from Colon. And the only regular service along the

coast was that of the little trading boats which, Klein said, always looked crammed full of San Blas Indians, animals and freight when he saw them at the Colon city docks. There was, on the other hand, that Navy minesweeper stationed at the Coco Solo Navy Base . . . "In fact that's it, Mr. Ambassador: the minesweeper. I know the CO, he's a Lieutenant McCarthy, and he likes nothing better than an excuse to make a trip. He took some archaeologists down to San Blas, a month ago, to look for some town that Balboa founded. I could ask him, if you like."

At this point the Deputy Chief of Mission, Tucker, a 30-year veteran of mainly minor posts in Latin America, broke silence to suggest that it had best be arranged through the Admiral, if at all. But they'd better consider the whole thing pretty carefully first.

The Ambassador, a rather kind man and a wise one even if new to diplomacy, looked at his DCM and decided that Tucker's main concern was that Tucker shouldn't have to go. Then the Ambassador looked at Klein, envying his youth a little, and said, "John, I think—see how this sounds to you—that I'll ask Admiral Jarvis if we could borrow that minesweeper one day to take *you* down to Nombre de Dios. I'll tell the Admiral that you'll be representing me, which is true, and maybe he'll say OK. The more I think about it, it would be better for me not to go. They'd give me a free lunch but they'd ask me to rebuild the whole place in return. . . . Incidentally, you'd better take one of our aid people along if you do go. Maybe Larsen; isn't he the hydraulic engineer?"

Klein was overjoyed, Klein said "Yes, sir" and thought about that minesweeper taking *him* down the coast. It worked out, too; and rather quickly.

The very next week, in fact, on Ash Wednesday, Klein woke up to the alarm clock ringing at six to tell him to get ready to go down the coast. He usually woke up of his own accord, but last night he had taken Mary to the big Carnival party at the Hotel Washington, and it had been nearly three o'clock when he crawled into bed. This morning he decided to forego his run, and by six-thirty, before

Sabina had come, he had drunk a quick cup of re-heated coffee and was heading out to Coco Solo Naval Station in his Volkswagen.

Coco Solo is not what it was in the old days, when we fortified the Canal approaches. This morning, as the sun came up and began to heat the sweet-smelling land and the galvanized sheet roofs of the Naval Station, there was just one gray destroyer tied up at the quay and behind it a smaller gray shape, the minesweeper, with a big 592 on the bow. It was perhaps a hundred and fifty feet long; not much of a ship, but plenty for a vice-consul.

At the DCM's suggestion Klein had invited along the Governor of Colon Province and the Mayor of Colon City, as well as Salcedo of the *Unión Progresista*. Klein parked his VW, walked across the short gangplank to board the 592, and a young sailor took him into the little wardroom where he found Governor, Mayor, and Salcedo already having mugs of Navy coffee with Skipper McCarthy and a plump ensign. Sitting back in a corner chewing on an unlit cigar was Burbank Larsen from the aid mission, a stocky blond man in his forties. Governor Arias—he was Mary's second cousin—looked less than lively, and John Klein seemed to remember having seen the Governor last night still dancing away when he had taken Mary home at two o'clock. The Mayor, Duarte, was a dark-skinned man who, Klein knew, had played a considerable part in the last riots against the Canal Zone, a year before Klein arrived. However, Klein thought, things are okay right now, and he may hate me for a *gringo* but I don't hate him. Salcedo, the *Progresista*, was dressed up in his heavy Sunday black suit, and he told the vice-consul he had sent word up the coast by the Monday boat that they'd be coming.

In a few minutes they had cast off and were heading out beyond the breakwater, into the rising sun, and the waves were beginning to toss the little vessel around. It was full dry season and the trade winds out of the north blew very strong. Klein watched the flat coast grow distant as they angled out to sea and the green Isthmian sierra behind the coast came into view. Klein went back inside, a little queasy. Larsen was still sitting in

his corner reading a magazine. His White Owl was lit now, and it didn't smell good to the vice-consul. Larsen said the three Panamanians had all gone to lie down. Klein didn't want to do that, couldn't stand the cigar, and so went out on deck again.

It was a beautiful morning, indeed, all sun and waves and spray. They were running along toward the northeast, parallel to the coast now and about four or five miles out. The big waves were coming straight down from the north and hitting them on the port bow, and the little ship bucked and pitched. After a while Klein felt he had settled into a state of permanent malaise. He climbed up to the wheelhouse and saw the ensign, white-faced, sitting against the bulkhead with a bucket between his knees. The ensign smiled, sick, and said "Always happens." Klein went back down to the main deck and watched more waves. Eventually, two hours out of Coco Solo, he took courage and climbed up to the open bridge on top of the wheelhouse, passing the pale ensign still sitting with his pail. Skipper McCarthy greeted Klein in good humor, said "I always stay up here when it's a little rough," and drew Klein's attention unnecessarily to the fact that the mast was describing an arc of forty or fifty degrees in the air as the 592 rolled along the sea. But somehow, even so, Klein felt a little better now.

Then McCarthy said "Punta Manzanillo ahead; see there? Nombre de Dios is just a little way beyond."

"Is there any sort of a harbor for us to go into?"

"Christ, no. And the latest charts of this coast date from 1915. I'm going to anchor about a mile off the town, and they'll have to come out and get us."

"Get us in what, though?"

"They've got some boats, Mr. Klein; I asked your friend down below who comes from there. I can't risk taking her in close and running aground."

Now they slowly rounded the cliff of Punta Manzanillo, the waves white on the rocks before it, and they turned southeast. The waves were a little behind them now and the ship rode easier. After a few more minutes Klein could see a settlement ahead. It looked like

one- and two-story buildings with tin roofs, on the inner side of a very shallow bay. Klein thought he could see the mouth of a small river, too. They drew nearer. The skipper ordered "Dead slow ahead" and the seasick ensign went to the bow with a sailor who began heaving a lead. When the sailor reported four fathoms McCarthy stopped the engines and the 592 anchored, rolling in the waves but not as badly as before. Klein wondered what came next; then the next minute he saw that three or four small boats were putting out from the town. He went down to the main

"The two rowers in the fourth boat, who were beautifully muscled, black and bare to the waist, yelled some joke to the others and led the way down the green waves and spray toward the shore."

deck with McCarthy. Arias, Duarte, Salcedo and Larsen were all there, none looking very chipper. Arias said shortly "*Qué vaina!* Next time I stay home." Duarte looked sour as ever. Salcedo was happy, almost home. And Larsen had a new unlit White Owl in his mouth.

The boats, each with two rowers, got out to the minesweeper quickly. "With these waves we'll just have to jump for it," said McCarthy, and as each rowboat in turn came up to the side of the 592 they jumped, Arias and Klein into the first boat, Duarte and Salcedo into the second, Larsen and the skipper into the third. Then the two rowers in the fourth boat, who like the other boatmen were beautifully muscled, black and bare to the waist, yelled some joke to the others and led the way down the green waves and spray toward the shore.

It was a real tropical scene, something out of the movies, thought Klein: the waves surging up on a wide beach, the frame houses a little way in behind the beach, coconut-palm groves

stretching right and left along the coast and green forested hills rising inland to a sierra two or three thousand feet high. As they neared shore, reaching the most protected part of the shallow bay, the waves were much less and Klein thought they were going to land on the beach, but instead they went into the mouth of the little brown river which then curved right, parallel to the seashore and separated from it by a sand bank a hundred feet wide. They rowed along the brown calm river with the sandbank on their right and on the left the poor houses of Nombre de Dios, with all the thousand people of the town down at the water's edge. And then to a little dock, where they landed.

Klein was excited, not just because everyone was out to meet them but mainly because of history. For he knew that this bay of the Name of God was first sighted, and named, by Christopher Columbus, in 1502. Then, after Panama City was founded in 1519, the first trans-Isthmian road had been laid out from Panama City on the Pacific side through the thick jungles to Nombre de Dios on the Caribbean coast. Nombre de Dios had been a Spanish town; Spanish gentlemen and soldiers had loaded Inca gold here for Spain; and they had died here of yellow fever and malaria by the shipload, until after a few decades they were smart enough to move down the coast to Portobelo which had better air and a better harbor—and fewer mosquitoes, though they did not realize what that meant. But in the moving process some of the African slaves apparently ran away and hid in the bush, and it was these people, and not the Spaniards, from whom the present population descended.

Klein stepped onto land to be greeted by a deputation of the town elders. They looked pure African, no Spanish blood evident at all. Ahead was a double file of the town children, not more than thirty or forty in all, each holding little Panamanian and American flags no doubt imported from Colon. The path between them led up to a thatch-covered kind of meeting house with open sides. Salcedo was introducing Klein to the local *alcalde* and Klein could see speech-making in the wind. McCarthy, the minesweeper commander, who might have had the

natives' attention with his uniform and weather-beaten good looks, deferred all the way to Klein, and so John Klein stood with the Governor of the Province and heard five minutes' oratory from the *alcalde*—the subject Klein already knew from that first visit of Salcedo to his office—to a crowd of barefoot men, women and children. And then the Vice-Consul of the United States of North America mounted the little podium and it was his turn to speak.

Klein had not, as it turned out, foreseen quite everything on this trip, but a speech he had. He had written ten minutes' worth of what he hoped sounded like good Latin oratory, Alliance for Progress and everything it had done in Panama and elsewhere; then he had had the text polished up by the Colon lady who came three times a week to tutor him in Spanish. It seemed to go over well now—his Spanish was quite good and he even had the Panamanian accent with the half-dropped final "s"—but halfway through, a drum began to beat. An African-sounding drum, somewhere in the village, and the crowd was murmuring. The Governor of the Province said something short and sharp. A boy ran off behind the houses, and in a minute, after a last loud thump, the drum stopped. Klein stopped for a second, curious, but then went on and finished his speech, the crowd applauded. Now what? It was very hot, almost midday, and the sun was blazing in a sky still almost cloudless. Only, in the high air, a dozen buzzards swarmed circling some invisible great airy column. Now all the visitors and a half-dozen *nombre-diosenses* went off to lunch at the *alcalde's* house, a frame cottage raised off the ground, like most of the others, so that the breeze blew through beneath. Lunch was mango, something pasty that Klein guessed was *ñame*, and a curious stew in which he distinguished bananas and some meat that somebody said later (just as well it was later) was peccary. The beverage was beer, brought down from Colon and chilled a little in the *alcalde's* kerosene refrigerator. Klein drank two bottles in spite of it being the middle of the day.

Eventually lunch ended, and then it was time to show the Americans the great dilemma of

Nombre de Dios. The *alcalde* led the party back to the little brown river. This was what needed dredging; and (the tone growing a little polemical) it was the United States which had removed many tons of fine white sand from here in the first place, and the United States which had a moral obligation to help this poor village on the Caribbean neglected by the Presidents and Ministers in Panama City even if the honorable Governor of the Province did his best to press for justice for them; and so on and on, and Larsen muttered in Klein's ear "I think if they got to work with some picks and shovels for a few days they could make a new channel and get the river to scour *itself* out; that's what I think." But the *alcalde* was talking now about a Canal Company dredge which, he was informed, was sitting unused in a side channel that ran off the Canal behind Colon. The Canal didn't need that dredge; certainly they didn't use it every day. If the Alliance for Progress would just bring it forty miles up the coast—the trade winds would be dying down soon and a tugboat could bring it easily in a day—they would soon have the fine channel they had had many years before.

Somehow Klein was unimpressed. For one thing, he was fairly sure that dredge was used pretty regularly where it was; for another, it might be rather tricky work towing it up the coast. And why should we help on this anyway, he thought, when these people and their Government can't maintain a channel that the *yanquis* built for them in the first place. And yet, he supposed, if he were the *alcalde* he would feel as this one did; and after all the four centuries of Nombre de Dios had not been the kind of centuries that breed any local initiative.

Now, the *alcalde* said, he would like to show the Americans another problem the town had in addition to that of the river. It was the town water supply, which came down through a pipe from springs on the hill behind the town. For some reason it wasn't flowing the way it had, and although they did have wells in town, too, the well-water was brackish and tasted bad. Klein said Larsen was a water specialist; they'd take a look. So they set out, the whole party of ten or more,

through the brilliant hot sunlight and across the vegetable patches at the back side of town, and then onto a path going uphill into green forest along the three-inch pipe.

Klein realized he had to relieve himself. He told the others he'd catch up in a minute, and the others moved on uphill. Klein had just stepped behind a huge *corotú* tree when that drum began again. It sounded near, as if coming from the nearest houses just below him at the edge of town. It was like Africa in its rhythm, jungle and tropics and sultriness, not Europe, not even Latin. You only live once; Klein said to himself "Screw the aqueduct" and went toward that drum.

Between the houses in a little plaza they were dancing. As Klein came near to them a great brilliant white cloud moved in front of the sun, softening the daylight. He saw three tall men barefoot and bare to the waist in cotton trousers, and a girl in a white skirt dancing to the drum that never stopped, people chanting around them, drinking and laughing. The people saw him; they seemed to welcome him; he joined them. Big drops of rain began to spatter on the dust and now the people moved into the thatched hut where the drum was, on one side of the open plaza, and Klein came too. The rain came and poured suddenly out of the sky in sheets and the air smelled wet and cool and of the bodies moving to the drum. They danced. Klein wanted to dance, it was warm, it was dim and the drum was daring him . . . "Dejarlo!" someone shouted at the door—the Governor of the Province. The drum stopped. The rain still fell heavily and noisily. People pulled back. The Governor took Klein out, half-pulling him, through the rain, back to the *alcalde's* house where the others were waiting and looking at them curiously as they came in soaked. Duarte said something low to Arias, who replied "*Estaban bailando los congos*" and Duarte grunted. Now Klein remembered hearing someone in Colon mention a dance called the *congos*; a degenerate kind of Carnival, was what they'd called it.

The thin *alcalde* of Nombre de Dios looked from one to another of his visitors, looked nervous. He

Continued on page 28

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No matter where in the world you're living, from Brussels to Bangkok, Riggs can make living there easier. With Riggs Financial Services, you'll get the same expert banking service you'd get right here in Washington, D.C. And all you need is a postage stamp. As long as there's a mail box where you are, we can be there to help you. Almost any service you require from checking and savings accounts to personal loans and trusts can be arranged for you. When everything else is foreign to you, your bank shouldn't be. So depend on Riggs to make you feel at home. After all, we've been specialists in foreign affairs since 1836.

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views, and to create confusion about the official policies and views of the Association.

- Without having informed the Governing Board or obtained its approval (and without having obtained the approval of the Membership either, despite the recent statement in his mailout that "Neither the AFSA Board nor the President can speak for the Membership on certain major issues, particularly those affecting the careers of Members"), he has frequently communicated with the Congress on such important issues as the Career Minister nominations, the Foreign Service Grievance legislation, and the 1976 promotion list, seeking to lead them to believe that he was speaking officially for the Association, and attempting to persuade them to his personal views; when these views were opposed by or not even addressed by the Governing Board.

- As presiding officer at Board Meetings, he has abandoned the impartiality and tact required of his position, and has made arbitrary rulings; claimed a right to make unappealable rulings against consideration of matters which he personally interprets to be contrary to the Bylaws; interrupted Board Members and misstated their comments and motions; and failed conspicuously to keep order among his own supporters.

- He has abused his power to call meetings by arbitrarily and capriciously calling them on different days of the week; refusing to call, or cancelling, meetings he thought likely to produce Board actions he did not like; and refusing to call meetings on particular subjects at the request of Board Members—all of which made it harder to organize and accomplish the work of the Association and encourage regular attendance by AFSA members at meetings.

- He has refused to sign acts of the Governing Board with which he did not agree, although that is his duty as presiding officer, and does not imply his personal support for the measures taken. Then, by writing to management claiming that only his signature is binding for AFSA, he has attempted to exert a de facto veto power over the Governing Board's actions.

- He has just recently sent a mailout to the Membership, on AFSA letterhead stationery and using the Association's printing contractor, mailing list, and non-profit organization bulk mail rate privileges, at a cost to AFSA of \$519 which he has not paid.

- On substantive issues on which reasonable people can disagree, such as what AFSA should say to Chairman Pike about individually attributable policy advice from career FSOs, or whether and to what extent AFSA should compromise with management in order to obtain the passage of grievance legislation, Mr. Hemenway has attacked the motives of those who opposed his position, and charged them with "selling out" to management. Made against the leaders of an employee organization, this is the functional equivalent of McCarthyite charges of "treason."

Mr. Hemenway has claimed the Governing Board is muzzling him. But he talks more at Board Meetings than anyone else. He complains that we are not letting him communicate with the Membership. But in the past few months in office he has already had more personal messages in the FSJ than his predecessor did in his 18 months as President. He boasts that he is the elected President

when his narrow victory in a three-way race gave him no mandate to carry out his platform. He says the Board is run by the Progress Slate, but only six of us are members of that slate, and no one except Mr. Hemenway thinks there has been slate voting in the Board.

He has heaped abuse on Board Members who are appointed, but the AFSA Board has always appointed Members to fill vacancies caused by our itinerant trade.

Whatever Mr. Hemenway's intentions may be—and he has frequently complained that AFSA has become a "company union," and urged the abolition of the Executive Order on employee-management relations—it appears that his actions are likely to damage AFSA's ability to act as exclusive employee representative:

- If one accepted that the Governing Board cannot act for AFSA on any issue on which he thinks there should be a referendum, AFSA would be unable to carry out its responsibilities under the time limits contained in the regulations under the Executive Order. We would be vulnerable to unfair practice charges and to decertification efforts from management, individual foreign service employees, and rival organizations.

- If one accepted that AFSA cannot agree with management on regulations and on the composition of the Foreign Service Grievance Board until the Membership approves in a referendum, we would be in violation of the law which established grievance procedures for the foreign service, and imposed a 120-day deadline which ends this March 29 for implementation. This would scuttle the grievance legislation, and we would have to start from zero with management and the Congress.

- The timing of Mr. Hemenway's most recent burst of abuse directed at other Board Members including his February 5 charge to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that AFSA is a "company union," is likely to damage AFSA's chances to win the USIA representation election now in progress.

The Governing Board believes that Mr. Hemenway's activities have already done significant harm to the Association. Details of the Governing Board's past and current efforts to preserve AFSA's position and to carry on with the work of the Association are elsewhere in this issue of AFSA News, and have been in previous issues. Nevertheless, we are tired of running around after Mr. Hemenway with a dustpan, cleaning up the mess.

The Governing Board believes that if the Association is to survive as the exclusive employee representative or even as a serious professional association, Mr. Hemenway's activities must be countered effectively. The Governing Board is determined, using whatever legal means it has, to carry out its responsibilities to the Membership and to the bargaining unit. We ask for your understanding and support in the difficult days ahead. ■

Alford Cooley
Charlotte Cromer
Frank Cummins

Olcott Deming
Roy Harrell
Lars Hyde

JoAnn Jenkins
John A. Patterson
Kenneth Rogers

Willis Sutter
Glen Wolfe
Patricia Woodring

A MESSAGE FROM THE ASSOCIATION PRESIDENT

The Association President has been allowed only one page in the FSJ and 24 hours to write a reply to a longer "editorial" on the page opposite, which is full of slanders, falsehoods and misleading propositions. A full rebuttal is available (see below) on request. This is the first uncensored message permitted the AFSA President in the FSJ since August, six months ago.

The issue is not whether the Board or the President acts for the Association, as claimed by the "editorial." It is the legitimacy of *any* action: whether membership views are respected and whether normal efforts are made to discover those views. In this light, the present issue is usurpation of authority by the Board in its denial of the President's right to function and the Board's suppression of the President's right to communicate with the membership. My own belief is that the best guarantee of AFSA's democratic character and of a vigorous advocacy of member interests is active member participation in every aspect of Association affairs. Does any member wish to turn over his rights to any irresponsible Board or officer?

The malicious tirade in the "editorial" opposite, which is largely the effort of the "Progress" oligarchy on the Board, was written to denigrate a letter I sent to inform the membership. This letter requested the views of the membership on whether they desired referenda on vitally important issues affecting members' careers and interests, as required by the Bylaws. For several months, the Board repeatedly had ignored the President's call for referenda.

The President's letter was delivered to the Washington-based membership. Already more than 1200 signatures favoring four referenda issues have been received. (Only 100 signatures are required to authorize a referendum.)

Members overseas have not received this letter because Mr. Lars Hydle, the appointed Vice President who replaced Mr. Daniel Newberry, who resigned, removed from the pouch room 2,700 letters destined for the membership and has admitted to concealing their whereabouts from the President.

The President did not know that the overseas mail had not been sent until one week later when the letters were returned to AFSA offices. The AFSA President then personally re-delivered the mail to the pouch room. Mr. Hydle thereupon prevailed upon management (Mr. Nicholas Veliotis) to remove the letters from the pouch and send the letters to him personally. At the AFSA Board meeting of February 11, Mr. Hydle admitted responsibility for having the letters removed from the pouch. Asked where they were hidden, Hydle said they were in the possession of two AID Board members, Mr. John Patterson and Mr. Roy Harrell.

The February 11 meeting was tape recorded and attended by a federal postal inspector who will determine whether the matter is to be resolved by postal authorities or by the D.C. Metropolitan Police. A transcript of all pertinent sections of the February 11 meeting is available to all members on request (see below).

AFSA President's legal counsel advises that the Hydle-Patterson-Harrell action depriving 2,700 members of mail addressed to them appears to involve larceny.

With the specter of possible arrest hanging over the heads of at least three members of the Board, the FSJ reader can appreciate the desperate attempt by certain members of the Board to malign and slander the Association President in the preceding "editorial". As can be proved by tape recordings of each Board meeting, your President has acted with restraint for six months, abiding strictly by parliamentary rules and a strict interpretation of the AFSA Bylaws, as the tapes can verify.

It is obvious to members close to the scene in Washington, who already have signed their support of the referenda, that the actions of the President are consistent with the duties of his office and with the views of the overwhelming majority of the membership. Pertinent Bylaws—not cited in the "editorial" opposite follow: (Remember the President also is a Board member.)

Article VII (Duties of the AFSA Board): 4 f. to keep the Membership currently informed of important matters affecting the interests of the Membership and the Association . . .

4 g. to seek the advice of the Membership whenever practicable *before* adopting policies which will have a major impact on the membership or the Association. *Article XIII* provides clear authority for referenda.

The Board may well have some of the power that Board members signing the "editorial" opossite claim for it, but these powers certainly do not include refusal to consult the membership, tampering with the President's mail to the membership, or denial of full information on all important matters to the membership. Many letters of appreciation, all spontaneous and unsolicited, have been received by the AFSA President from Washington-based members who have received his letter on the referenda and "Major Issues That Have Caused Controversy in AFSA." For example:

"Dear John: This is with reference to your letter of January 29, 1976 to the AFSA membership transmitting a report on the shocking and deplorable conditions existing in the Board of Directors of the Association.

"From the vantage point of having attended four meetings of the Board since July as an observer, and having witnessed the disgraceful and shameful actions of the Board members in callously and brutally disregarding the interests and welfare of the membership at large of the Association, I want to take this opportunity to compliment you and thank you for your own patience, courage and undaunted determination to continue to serve the entire membership despite the irresponsible actions of the majority of the Board. It was my crystal clear impression after attending these meetings that some members of the Board were not only trying to destroy your effectiveness but were intent on the demise and emasculation of AFSA itself.

"Your document cataloguing the issues that have caused controversy in the AFSA Board is an evidencing of decency, fairness and integrity that should be welcomed not only by every member of AFSA but by every employee and official of the foreign affairs community. We are indebted to you, in giving us this opportunity to sign up for referendum on key issues, for a very timely and priceless reminder that our own organization of Foreign Service employees is a good place to start Democracy in Action.

"I am delighted to have this opportunity to participate in requesting a referendum on the issues listed in your letter as shown on the signed form enclosed herewith. Sincerely yours, Samuel T. Parelman, Member of AFSA, Attorney at Law, February 2, 1976."

Dear Member, do not despair for the health of AFSA as a professional organization. Simply demand that you be given full access to the facts. Write directly to the President, AFSA; 2101 E. St. NW; Washington, D.C. 20037. If the mail is not taken from the pouch, you will receive full information. And—dear friends and members whose personal notes I have neglected—please understand from the above how very busy I have been working in your interests!

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN HEMENWAY,
PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE
ASSOCIATION

SUBJECT: Request For More Complete Information

Please send by return mail more complete information on the above topics. I understand that all persons who already have placed their names on the future mailing list for special information on the referenda form automatically will be sent this material.

NAME (please letter)

MAILING ADDRESS

Mail Directly to: President, AFSA; 2101 E. Street, NW; Washington, D.C. 20037

A CARTOON HISTORY OF UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY 1776-1976, by the Editors of the *Foreign Policy Association*, with an Introduction by Daniel P. Moynihan. William Morrow and Company, Hardcover: \$7.95; paperback: \$3.95.

Honore Daumier, whom some consider the all-time great of political cartoonists, was jailed in 1832 for six months for portraying King Louis-Philippe as Gargantua. One wonders how Herblock and Oliphant would have fared in those days. The guillotine? They would, however, have been quite comfortable in the United States of the late 1800s, when Thomas Nast was doing what they do now. In 1871, Nast drew some fifty anti-Boss Tweed cartoons for HARPER'S WEEKLY, causing Tweed to complain that he did not care much what the newspapers wrote about him, but did care about Nast, because "my constituents can't read, but, damn it, they can see pictures!"

When Thomas Nast died in 1902, incidentally, it was in Guayaquil, Ecuador, where he was serving as United States Consul General. There may well be a moral in that somewhere.

—S.I.N.

Understanding AID

INSIDE FOREIGN AID, by Judith Tendler. Johns Hopkins University Press, \$9.95.

Judith Tendler's basic argument posits that the organizational environment plays "the central role in determining the content of development assistance programs." She believes development organization problems to be the result of "an organizational, rather than a historical, determinism." Said in another way she argues that what aid organizations are, and what they do, is more a product of the societal forces that shape the organizations and of what these organizations then become than the product of strong ideological or philosophical predispositions.

In the end Tendler does not make her case completely convincing. One finishes her book believing that there are many causes for our various failures. But one also finishes having learned a great deal and having been stimulated.

Perhaps I was particularly impressed because of my own lack of knowledge about the sociology of organizations and perhaps therefore things which seem to me revelatory are less novel to others. But I doubt whether this is the whole explanation; for some of the connections Tendler makes provide valuable insights even for those with better backgrounds.

A quote by Tendler from Robert Wood: "Operational matters flow to the top—as central staffs become engrossed in subduing outlying bureaucracies—and policy-making emerges at the bottom. At the top minor problems squeeze out major ones, and individuals lower down the echelons who have the time for reflection and mischief-making take up issues of fundamental philosophical and political significance."

Quote from Tendler: "Technicians working out of AID field missions were often surrounded by an aura of professional outdatedness, isolation, and bureaucratic timidity. This professional atmosphere seemed to be part of a general 'immigrant' style of life, rather than the simple result of professionals being separated from libraries, colleagues, and organizations. . . ."

Tendler on auditing: "The distant location of the foreign aid bureaucracy's constituency and projects removes the scene of action from the watchdog entities' world of experience. They do not have a hard time judging what is an acceptable degree of failure. . . the kind of feel that helps guide these investigators through their work on the home bureaucracies.

"The watchdogs seem to compensate for their lack of familiarity with the world in which foreign aid projects are built making a stricter and more comprehensive application of routine check-and-balance criteria—as if to make up for the loss of one sense faculty by the increased use of another."

On the different attitude toward writing in State and AID: "These differing attitudes toward writing were a result of the differing functions of written communication in the two agencies. In the Foreign Service, especially at lower levels, one wrote as a dispassionate observer of a strange and unpredictable world. Even if it did not bear

on a current policy decision, the well-written account was commended. In the AID mission, in contrast, one took to the typewriter not to describe the world outside but to bring considerations to bear on decisions in one's own organization. . . . AID writing, in short, was much more self-involved than writing in the State Department, where one did not have to worry that the people being described would ever read what was written about them or their country. In AID writing, one rarely saw the lingering descriptions, the amused disdain, or the adjectival abundance characteristic of Foreign Service reports. . . .

"As a consequence of these differences, State Department files contain a rich chronicling of political events as they unfold in important and unimportant places abroad. In AID, in contrast, there is a paucity of good reports on the valuable development experiences lived through by the organization's personnel. Ironically, the State Department is often said to overdo the chronicling of events, in relation to its need for such input in decisionmaking. The foreign aid program, in contrast, had a profound need, which it could not fulfill, for inside writing about what it did."

Tendler devotes the second part of her book (aside from a rather fascinating short piece on shadow pricing) to the discussion of a paradox that development assistance decision makers act as if aid funds were abundant in a world in which everybody knows how truly scarce development assistance is. Tendler ascribes this seeming paradox to organizational factors and derives from it reasons for the stress in development organizations on the large project and on the project which is foreign exchange intensive. She contrasts the inevitable difference in viewpoint between the AID organization whose success is measured in how much development money it can move and the receiving country which tends to see foreign exchange intensive aid as a bonanza which, rather than forcing it to program its own resources sensibly, tends to be a force against such programing. The argument is somewhat circuitous and not lacking in complexity. Again I do not find it wholly con-

vincing but Tendler is good enough to deserve to have her argument read in full (Chapters 5, 6 and 7).

To end on some more incidental joys. Her descriptions of the AID pay system and of AID perks, such as commissaries and PXs, and how these are precisely calibrated to prevent technicians who attempt to understand and relate to a country and to punish those who wish to develop these tendencies are classic. Again her comments need to be read in full (primarily Chapter 3).

Her book is one which should be read not only by everyone in AID but by all those in aid business and in the Foreign Service. Only one real carp—\$9.95 for 110 pages of large size lettering seems excessive even for a university press and even if the cover is well designed.

—ERIC GRIFFEL

Three on Japan

JAPAN: DIVIDED POLITICS IN A GROWTH ECONOMY, by J. A. A. Stockwin. Norton, \$10.

THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN, 2nd edition, revised, edited by Herbert Passin. Columbia Books (paper), \$4.

AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD JA-

PAN, 1941-1975, by Sheila K. Johnson. American Enterprise Institute (paper), \$3.

European socialists, led by the British and the Swedes, become overheated at the reality behind Mr. Stockwin's title. Japan has had a conservative government, a market economy and frustrated classes of socialist and communist intellectuals and trade union officials almost all of the 30 years since 1945. And, Japan has had spectacular economic and political successes. J. A. A. Stockwin, an Australian academic, looks at these successes with a clear eye and describes the politics of them with a very clear pen. He gives a basic analysis of Japanese political economy that should satisfy both expert and novice. If read together with Frank Gibney's, "Japan, A Fragile Super Power," a more generalized and personalized book (reviewed in the JOURNAL of June, 1975 and also published by Norton), an FSO or FSO-spouse will have a real leg up on a Japanese assignment.

The American Assembly's con-

ferences on Japan produced a fine volume in 1965 but this decade later up-date seems weak. There is unevenness in the contributors' levels of approach and a great deal of repetition in the contents. Edward Seidensticker (an ex-FSO) suggests US-Japanese relations now might benefit from a period of benign neglect, presumably opposed to the Nixon years of vicious neglect. His essay (marred, as is the whole volume by annoying typos, by the misspelling of his name) is a sensitive reading of the regrettably scant intellectual content of trans-Pacific relations. William W. Lockwood writes a fact-filled and guardedly provocative piece on Japanese economic development that contains many nuggets—e.g., Japan is the tortoise not the hare of economic growth. Editor Passin tries an "Orwell-plus-one" look at Japan in 1985 that comes closer to Herman Kahn's than self-conscious scholars usually like to go.

Ms. Johnson's book is at first glance a rather shallow analysis of attitudes on Japan as reflected in



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Jon Glassman

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popular culture, almost a minor league version of what Harold Issacs did on India and China in "Scratches on Our Mind." But her net is cast widely and with a good hand. At the end we can only agree with her than when asked about the alleged national characteristics of Japanese, we should have the good sense to reply, "The Japanese are an interesting and talented people, fully as diverse and capable of change as we credit ourselves with being."

—J. K. HOLLOWAY

Retreat or Officers Call?

SOLDIERS IN REVOLT by David Cortwright. Doubleday, \$7.95.

Effort is required to take seriously a book whose introduction describes the United States Army as "an authoritarian military machine oiled for world imperialism." George Scott, Stone Age LeMay or Dugout Doug may at times give such an impression to the unwitting, but truth is the US Army has given up peaceably more territory than most armies ever dream of conquering. Ideological blinkers aside, this is a serious and well-researched story of GI draftees' revolt against the Vietnam war. The author would like to have the reader believe that was

also a revolt against capitalism, the system, etc., but even tendentious quotes and juggled statistics can't make more of his story. The author's try at projecting this revolt into the all-volunteer army fails equally. Like those college boy idealists who forgot about Vietnam the minute the draft ended, the volunteer GI is really not very keen on ideology as long as he is not being shot at in some stupid campaign that his political masters describe as 70 percent "prestige."

The real question about Vietnam and the military is the effect on the officer corps. Neither the research nor the predilections gave Mr. Cortwright any chance to look at this problem. But the services (and State and CIA) are going to have to think about their officer corps in the wake of Vietnam. On the face of things, the apparatchiks made out best—from Operation Phoenix to Director of Central Intelligence, for example—but have we really concluded that Lieutenant Calley is bearing all our sins out into his Royal Crown Cola wasteland? Mr. Cortwright misses this point by as wide a margin as those clownish West Point cadets who "spontaneously" paraded in support of General Koster in his rather small share of Calley's and our disgraces.

—J. K. HOLLOWAY

Life and Love in the Foreign Service



"Over there is the land they've given us for the new embassy building. They admit it's a bit out of the way but say that it's the only way they can guarantee the personal safety of our officers."

CENTENNIALS

from page 4

ern—have been restored or rebuilt. A mile of busy Chestnut Street is being torn up and repaved as a pedestrian mall. Farther west, starchy old Benjamin Franklin Parkway is being spruced up with open-air cafés and entertainment spots. Even the city's notoriously sagging curbstones are being shored up.

A half dozen agencies of the federal government have a hand in this face-lifting, and a festival spirit is being fired by a host of local committees, planning groups and project coordinators. Philadelphia's many cultural institutions, art centers, lyric stages, dance ensembles, ethnic groups and civic organizations are readying plans to take a major part in the year's festivities, led by the American Philosophical Society and the Pennsylvania Historical Society. The entire effort aims to create a fitting background for this historical event.

More than that: the scene reveals an attitude of present-day America that in itself tells as much about us as re-enactments of Continental soldiers in blue and buff. This mood is our new sense of history, our historicity if you will, which stamps our present and perhaps our future.

This year's Bicentennial is itself the 100th anniversary of our first Centennial, our *monocentennial* of 1876, which was also held in Philadelphia. The locality, however, is the only thing the two events have in common. The 100 years separating them have wrought a change in the outlook of Americans, a difference more palpable than visible, but nevertheless significant.

Our *monocentennial*, or Centennial Exhibition of 1876, was an official undertaking of the United States, initiated—unlike this year's event—by an Act of Congress. Although the idea for a centennial celebration of American independence sprang from the brain of a mid-Western professor (of mathematics, not history), his suggestion burgeoned into the full-blown mold of the 19th century. And that century, so productive of material progress and wealth, one that proclaimed the apotheosis of science and the meritocracy of the engineer, but also sensed a budding social awareness, knew just what to do about national exhibitions. It exalted the application of knowledge to the advancement of material things. In an unexpressed way it mistrusted history as a record of bad old times that lacked such things, and preferred to look to the future. Germany's *Brockhaus Encyclopedia* of 1882 defined exhibitions as "milestones of progress and gauges of productivity." Pioneered by London's Crystal Palace in 1851, these evolved into gigantic technological shows, displaying the fulfillment of man as a worker and producer. The tradition has carried on to our day, leaving us with such mementoes as Vienna's *Riesenrad* (1873) and the Eiffel Tower in Paris (1889), not to mention Chicago's World Fair of 1893, or New York, Osaka, and Montreal in our own time.

And so in 1876, the cobbled streets of old Philadelphia, lined with trees and colonial brick houses, were not to be the backdrop of the great national celebration. For it a huge acreage, the present Fairmount Park, was claimed. On this tract of fields, woods and water courses rose an aggregation of buildings in iron and glass, a total of 190 structures. The focus was on Progress and on the things, strange and marvellous from all



"Typifying the change of mood between the centuries is the centerpiece of our historical interest, Independence Hall."

corners of the earth, to subserve this progress.

The success of the Centennial of 1876 was resounding. Nearly ten million persons passed through the Exhibition's gates, statistically one-fifth of the country's population; over half of the then existing 60-odd countries of the world were represented. Richard Wagner wrote a \$5,000 festival march for it. Whittier penned the Centennial Hymn, Sidney Lanier composed the Centennial Cantata. Distinguished visitors extolled the Exposition—Henry Adams, Jacques Offenbach, Herman Melville, William Dean Howells, Henryk Sienkiewicz, Thomas Huxley, Longfellow, Emerson and the Emperor of Brazil—; although Mark Twain didn't care for it, and left early. President Grant, in his speech opening the Fair, showed his usual instinct for plain language when he paid tribute to the "primal works of necessity" that had engrossed the country in its first 100 years, and went on to say that "while proud of what we have done, we regret that we have not done more," listing such things as science, literature, philosophy and the fine arts. As so often, Grant was too modest. Nearly 5,000 works of art flooded the halls and galleries of the Exposition, one-third of them by native artists, the rest from foreign countries. And for those who preferred the empire of the mind there was a full-scale Froebel kindergarten, "manned" by sixteen selected orphans from the city.

The literature of the 1876 Centennial was enormous. Whole publishing houses sprang up to print and distribute catalogs, brochures and guidebooks. A stream of retrospective descriptions kept appearing for years after. Some are still being written today. Yet, though the big event of 1876 marked a date in history, hardly anyone gave history a thought. A well-known local historian, Dorothy Ditters Gondos, after a meticulous search of newspaper and public comment of the time for her graduate dissertation on the cultural climate of Philadelphia in 1875-1876, found hardly any reference that directly touched upon the historic connotation. The main thrust of public opinion was that the Fair would be

good for trade and would lift Philadelphia out of its complacent lethargy. This it undoubtedly did. After an initial flurry of anxiety about the city's capability to handle millions of visitors, a number of new hotels and "dwelling houses" (a type of motel of the time) were built, additional bridges were thrown across the Schuylkill River, and new transportation routes were organized. Philadelphia, which a hundred years ago prided itself on the largest area of parks and green spaces of any city, and which boasted of "34,000 indoor bathrooms," proved to be a gracious and affable host to visiting crowds. As the Philadelphia PRESS reported afterwards, "for many thousands the Centennial of 1876 meant a new prosperity, and not new cultural opportunities." If any criticism was heard, it was that Philadelphia was too much "entangled in its past," something that we could only applaud today.

An English historian, John Maas, writing in 1973, sums it up in his "Glorious Experiment":

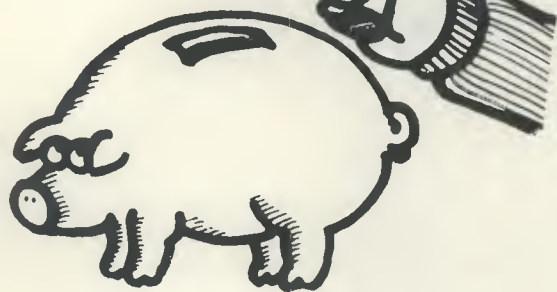
The Exhibition (of 1876) reflected the confidence or illusion which is of course missing as the United States approach the Bicentennial of 1976.

Typifying the change of mood between the centuries is the centerpiece of our historical interest, Independence Hall. Erected in 1748 to house the government of Pennsylvania (first the Colony, then the Commonwealth) the building witnessed many of the chief events of the Revolution and of our founding period. Nevertheless, its later existence was precarious. Its famed steeple was pulled down in 1781 as a fire hazard. Soon after, it was abandoned by both the federal government

and the State government, the one moving to Washington, the other to Harrisburg. For a time, Peale's Museum took over one of the floors, while the City government made use of the main structure after considerable alterations to its former appearance. About this time, the entire complex, for reasons of economy, nearly passed to the wreckers. It was saved only when the City purchased it in 1818. This marked the low point of its fate: a new steeple was erected in 1828, and a period of fitful renovation was undertaken to rescue the landmark from neglect and to restore it to its original design, aided by much patriotic oratory. Just before the 1876 Centennial a Committee for Restoration came into being. However, it conceived as its task to make Independence Hall a museum, and to assemble as much period furniture, paintings and other incunabula as could be found. This elicited an unfriendly comment that the Committee had managed to fill the Hall with "rubbish." A veritable campaign was waged to recover some of the chairs used at the Constitutional Convention. In 1876 the Committee did obtain from the American Philosophical Society the permanent loan of a copy of the Declaration of Independence which Jefferson had sent to its initiator Richard Henry Lee.

The later years of the 19th century were not free from stress. While the original wings of colonial times were rebuilt, a proposal had to be side-tracked to pull down the adjacent structures of Congress Hall and City Hall. It was only in our century that substantial relief came to Independence Hall, culminating in 1950 in the creation of Independence National Historic Park. ■

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PANAMA CANAL TREATY

from page 11

Conclusion

Fearing conservative forces within his own party, President Ford and the Congress have become allies on the Canal issue. Both have opted for a strategy that will delay serious consideration of ratification of a new treaty until at least after November 1976. The Executive and the Legislative have completed separate cost/benefit analyses and concluded that the domestic political risks are too great at the present time to pursue a policy that high Administration officials have acknowledged as being in the national interest, i.e., a new treaty.

The President's strategy may succeed, but the risks are formidable. Although the Panama Canal issue may never come up in the presidential campaign, it is equally possible that the Republican candidate will have to account for acts of sabotage against the Canal itself, or terrorist attacks that kill American citizens. While only 9 percent of

total US trade passed through the Canal in 1972, a relatively simple maneuver by a trained guerrilla could result in zero US trade transiting the Canal. As the United States continues to fight a rear guard action against the mounting power of the Third World bloc, an issue like the Panama Canal would only widen the schism that currently separates the US from its traditional allies.

Most importantly, it is erroneous to associate the "loss" of the Canal with a decline in US international prestige. On the contrary, it appears clear that refusal to accept a new treaty will have adverse effects on the United States at the bilateral, hemispheric and global levels. In addition to the possibility of open hostility and bloodshed in Panama, the image of the omnipotent colossus from the North manipulating a relatively insignificant underdeveloped country will not sit well with many individuals at home and abroad.

During the past seven years, a major tenet of US foreign policy has been the concept of détente, or

the reduction of tension in world affairs. Although practiced primarily in terms of US relations with the Soviet Union and China, détente also has relevance for relations with less formidable nations in the world. The United States should be as willing to display a conciliatory attitude towards relations with supposed allies such as those in the hemisphere, as it is towards its adversaries.

It is not, as some imply in an election year, a sign of weakness or lack of national resolve to be willing to accommodate a smaller, weaker nation. On the contrary, it would appear that intransigence displayed in the limelight of international public opinion will be more detrimental to US national interests than the marginal sacrifices associated with a new treaty. And, equally important to Gerald Ford the candidate, further delay may encourage dissatisfied Panamanians to take matters into their own hands. If so, the best interests of the nation and President Ford would be poorly served. ■

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A VICE CONSUL

from page 18

would like to show them the river again, he said, perhaps they hadn't understood what could be done with a little help from the North Americans, prosperity would come again, they must understand . . . Larsen, in English, broke in on him and said to Klein, angry, "These poor bastards are so full of malaria they don't even know how to clean out a dirty pipe. That's all that was wrong with their damned water system, just full of leaves and muck, and this guy wanted me to send someone up here to put a whole new system in. Why don't you just tell him to go to hell and us get out of here before them damn mosquitoes get us, too, eh? My Christ!"

The vice-consul was shivering in his soaked linen suit, and looking at his watch he saw that it was getting on toward five. And still raining. McCarthy looked at him and said "I'd just as soon get under way before dark, especially in this weather; we're in for a long rain

and it'll be blowing up for sure out to sea."

So they all went out with a couple of umbrellas that didn't do much good in the pouring rain, to look at the river again in the miserable gray light, and Klein told the *alcalde* he would talk to the Ambassador about what could be done, and in ten minutes they were in the same boats they had arrived in and rowing out to the minesweeper that looked larger now, civilized and modern.

Dark was coming down fast when the ship got under way. They had rain and waves all the way back to Colon, but the 592 rode easier, the waves on her stern. The damp Klein just sat in the wardroom, drinking coffee and wishing he were home and not saying much to either Panamanians or Americans sitting with him. At one point he said to Arias "That dance . . ." and Arias said "*Los congos*. It is African. There is not even a priest in *Nombre de Dios*." And that was the end of the discussion. But, Klein thought to himself, there's something else, too, and I was at

the heart of it for a minute in that village. It's something that wants me—but I think it wants to devour me. The heart of the tropics. He was shivering.

They got into Coco Solo a little before ten p.m., all thanked McCarthy, and they parted quickly on the dock. It was still raining. Klein went home and straight to bed where he slept without dreaming.

Next morning he didn't feel well, and the day after that he was sick. Fever, chills, headache; his temperature went to 104 and he got Cox to call the doctor. They sent him across the isthmus to Gorgas Hospital, where they kept him for two weeks trying unsuccessfully to figure out what tropical bug he had. Eventually he got better, they released him and he went back to his Consulate, but for a while he had lost most of his strength and a good part of his interest in life. He took Mary Arias out one evening to some friends' house, but by thirty he was so bushed he had to take her home, which Mary didn't like much. Klein decided he didn't

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like her. He had tried to tell her about that trip to Nombre de Dios, and what it had meant to him, and all she'd do was laugh—she thought he wanted her to laugh.

For Klein it was nothing to laugh about; it was a problem that had no solution. The first Monday after he was out of the hospital he had made his customary trip to the Embassy and reported to the Ambassador and the DCM about Nombre de Dios. The Ambassador got on the phone and called the Canal Company about the dredge, and the Canal Company said they needed that dredge where it was; too risky to take it up the coast, anyway.

Then the Ambassador had called his friend the Panamanian Minister of Public Works. The Minister knew all about it; the *Unión Progresista* had visited him, too, and more than once. But the Republic of Panama owned no dredge, and since there was no road to Nombre de Dios there was no way to get any earthmoving equipment there. It was unfortunate.

And then the Ambassador had looked at John Klein and said, "We

are supposed to be running an Alliance for Progress. But I don't think anyone, Panamanian or American, is going to dredge those people's river for them. But what if we sent them a load of picks and shovels? From what Larsen tells me, they could dig a new channel themselves pretty easily and the river'd clear itself out. After all, we're supposed to be encouraging these people to help themselves."

Klein imagined the long faces in Nombre de Dios when the shipment of picks and shovels arrived instead of the dredge. And he could see the picks and shovels rusting, unused, in every day's rain. He encouraged the Ambassador gently to give up that idea, and instead the Ambassador sent a nice letter saying the United States was considering possible ways to help Nombre de Dios and meanwhile he hoped the progressive population were working hard to improve their town. And that was that.

Meanwhile the Ambassador had decided that John Klein was a promising young officer. Klein was transferred to the Embassy to be-

come the Ambassador's staff aide, and the aging Embassy visa officer was sent to replace him at Colon. By chance, Klein never went back to Colon even on a visit—didn't really want to—until his tour in Panama was up, the next year. Then we see John Klein saying some brief goodbyes, boarding the weekly Panama Line ship in Cristobal, and sailing out of Limon Bay for good as one more great thunderstorm prepared to soak that poor green coast. The womb of God, he thought to himself; the fountain of green life; and those wretched, helpless people down in Nombre de Dios . . . but were they really so wretched?

Years later, on cold raw days in the north, Klein would think of the great vivid skies of Panama, and of that trip to Nombre de Dios. He wondered idly what was happening to Mary Arias, and Cox his gardener, and dusky Sabina. He wondered if Panama was really still there, hot and lovely and blaming the *gringos* for its troubles. Somehow Klein didn't want to take that blame—at least, not all of it. ■

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THE EDUCATION OF LEV NAVROZOV, by Lev Navrozov. Harper's Magazine Press.

RUSSIA: *The People and the Power*, by Robert G. Kaiser. Atheneum, \$12.95.

Portions of "The Education of Lev Navrozov" were printed in COMMENTARY, but the book has otherwise received less public attention than it deserves. Perhaps its title, which might make one suppose it to be an ordinary defector's autobiography, has kept readers and reviewers away from it. A pity, for it is in fact a work of quite profound, if unorthodox, political analysis. Briefly, the author's thesis is that the leadership in the USSR is a self-serving band of gangsters who have made themselves absolute owners of the country they rule, and in doing so have put its population back into a form of serfdom as complete as that under the early Romanov Czars.

This thesis, in some respects not far removed from some of the propositions put forward so co-

gently by Solzhenitsyn in his "Gulag Archipelago," is not a new one. The German playwright Berthold Brecht made much the same political analogy over forty years ago, in a play showing Hitler and his storm troopers as a gang of Al Capone hoodlums. The merit of Navrozov's book is the persuasiveness with which, in recounting incidents from his early life, he succeeds in documenting this unfashionable thesis.

Robert Kaiser's book, based on its author's experiences as a Moscow correspondent of the Washington Post, provides a less ideologically engaged overview of the Russians. It is much more up-to-date than Navrozov's "Education," and perhaps too is more objective. Certainly it covers with much skill many aspects of Soviet reality which Navrozov, in his zeal to give the big picture of the Soviet System to his western readers, ignores. Kaiser is particularly good, for example, at depicting the political naivete and over-all intellectual torpor which characterizes such a

large proportion of Soviet citizenry. At the same time, however, he himself is not wholly free from some of that uncritical acceptance of the cliches of the conventional wisdom about the Soviet system which Navrozov so scorns. Kaiser would have us believe, for example, that unemployment and organized crime are modern curses which do not afflict the Soviet Union, and he tells us that "we have to abandon the image of the USSR as a bristling, powerful, and aggressive nation."

Perhaps, in the end, what we need is to have Navrozov, in the freedom of his new career to write without regard to Soviet police harassment, give books such as Kaiser's some of that detailed attention which an idle, if conscientious, Foreign Service JOURNAL reviewer is too poorly equipped to provide.

—THOMAS A. DONOVAN

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Referendum Suggested

■ The state of open warfare between AFSA's President and the majority of the AFSA Board cannot possibly serve the interests of AFSA's membership. The President's unilateral mailing of January 28 to the membership—presumably at AFSA expense—is the latest example of the existing state of affairs. And one has only to attend a Board meeting to confirm just how bad the relationship is, and to draw one's own conclusions about the implications for AFSA if the situation doesn't change markedly.

I don't profess to know what motivates the President's actions, or indeed to know what his real feelings toward the Foreign Service may be. My primary concern is that AFSA is being weakened and that my dues are being wasted. Accordingly, and in lieu of the President's proposal for a "referendum on referenda," I would opt for a referendum on whether the President should not be removed from office.

C. ARNOLD FRESHMAN
FSO-ret'd.

Rockville

For an Informed AFSA

■ I recently received President Hemenway's virulent attack on the present AFSA board which was couched as a "referendum on referenda" for members. I think some observations on Mr. Hemenway's actions should be shared with other members who do not have the benefit (or misfortune) of knowledge of them.

Mr. Hemenway states in his proposal that "the membership should decide the AFSA position on all matters." Strange words for a man who has continuously abused his office to advance his personal vendettas at the expense of members' interests and in the face of strong opposition from members on and off the Board. Latest and perhaps most flagrant of such abuses is Mr. Hemenway's testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee against the promotions of Messrs. Hyde, Bray, Stumpf and others,

all of whom qualified as victims of Mr. Hemenway's efforts by expressing views contrary to his own. In the interest of making his words consistent with his acts, Mr. Hemenway might better have written "membership should decide the AFSA position on all issues as long as it agrees with my views—or else."

Mr. Hemenway also expresses concern in his referenda proposal that the membership is not sufficiently informed of the positions of the AFSA president. Anyone who has witnessed Mr. Hemenway's rantings during board meetings can share his dismay, insofar as there's nothing as convincing as a live performance. Mr. Hemenway seems to forget, however, that he failed to inform the membership about himself on a crucial point during his campaign for the AFSA presidency—that he "retired" from the foreign service via selection out.

SUSAN M. KLING

Washington

Skulduggery Afoot

■ Character assassination from any quarter is unwelcome. It is particularly so from within our own ranks.

On February 5, John Hemenway—acting in his capacity as President of AFSA, but apparently without the assent of his Board of Directors—testified on the 1976 FSO promotion list before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He objected to five names on the list, mine included. I would like to respond in your pages.

Mr. Hemenway stated that the promotion list "reeked with skulduggery (sic)." Specifically, he said "it is my sorrowful duty to report that the above [five] promotions appear to be related on the part of the promoted officers to conscious acts favorable to Management, with the expectations of the reward they are receiving today. In short, it would appear that the promotion is a 'pay-off' . . . the kind of corrupt practice I am charging may well be a felony."

He conceded to the Committee that: "This is a serious charge and, no doubt, you would like to press me for evidence to back-up [my] assertion." Unfortunately, the Committee did not do so.

I do, indeed, wish to press Mr. Hemenway for evidence to support

such a charge, particularly since the "evidence" he adduced in my case follows in its entirety:

"1. On August 25, 1973, the Washington STAR NEWS reported you as 'not wanting to work for Henry A. Kissinger' after Mr. Kissinger was named Secretary of State. What changed your mind? You said publicly that you did not want to be a Kissinger-spokesman—yet that is the role you played unofficially during the Pike/Kissinger controversy. Why?"

"2. Exactly what role did you play in drafts that went forward to the Hill supporting Secretary Kissinger's position on the Boyatt (Cyprus dissent) controversy?"

On October 9 I wrote a letter which over 200 of our colleagues from virtually every Bureau in the Department signed as expressing our collective view that it would be damaging to the effective working of the Department and Foreign Service to make internal working documents available to the Congress—particularly dissent documents, since to do so could leave officers open to political reprisal in some instances. So far as I am aware, "management" of the Department was unaware of the letter until after it was mailed. As for "not wanting to work for Henry A. Kissinger," it is correct that I did not wish to serve as his official spokesman. But when a Secretary of State is prepared—whatever his purposes—to stand up for the Foreign Service, I consider it institutionally self-defeating for the rest of us in that service to remain silent.

I am told that Mr. Hemenway, also acting as President of the Association, signed the 1975 Selection Board Precepts. If, therefore, "management" was able to impose itself on the members of my Board (a gratuitous and tasteless insult to their integrity, I must say) it must be because the Association negotiated inadequate precepts.

It must have been unpleasant for Mr. Hemenway to have been selected out of the service. One can understand the depth of his desire to be reinstated. But it is difficult to sympathize with him when, as AFSA President, he holds the 12,000 men and women whom AFSA represents hostage to his personal situation. There has been too much of that in the past six

months. The members deserve better of a President.

CHARLES W. BRAY III
Washington

FSO Promotions Delayed

■ Our President John Hemenway's tragic personal "street theatre," which until recently played mostly before the Association's Board, is unfortunately now on the road. His most recent performance on the Hill is delaying Senate approval of the 1976 FSO Promotion List. Unfortunately, we are being forced to pay for both his vision of the world and his deep hurt.

Mr. Hemenway requested to appear before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to testify that ". . . in my view five names appear on this promotion list that make it reek with SCULDUGGERY." These five names, of course, belong to former and present AFSA Board Members who have opposed Mr. Hemenway's actions. The promotion list was sent to the Hill on January 22 and should have been approved by the Senate in January. It is now the second week of February with the list and the salary increases for 544 FSOs still being held up, while Mr. Hemenway provides the Foreign Relations Committee "facts" to support his assertions.

The situation has become intolerable. It is time for the curtain to come down.

F. A. (TEX) HARRIS
Washington

Distress in AID

■ I write as a discouraged and distressed member of AFSA and will attempt to expand on what my esteemed colleague wrote to you in the December issue of the JOURNAL. That letter was signed Penny Wise. I am writing to you, who has done so very much through the years to make the JOURNAL a magazine for which we can all swell with pride. I am not writing about you but about AID, and the directions it seems to be going. Permit me to expound through your pages.

I was so encouraged early in 1975 to learn that Charlie Mann was going to be at the helm of a very vital part of AID [Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Program and Management Services, Ed.]. I nourished the illusion that

as a senior AID FS officer Charlie would be sympathetic to the views and aspirations of the forgotten AID Foreign Service officer. He certainly had the qualities of empathy when I knew him in Laos and Vietnam. But alas, nothing has really changed. The personnel system is still based on nepotism. Look at the current situation in Portuguese-speaking Africa. I had hoped and thought that Charlie would certainly see to it that the top and most qualified people in the Agency would help the Agency mount its efforts there. I even remembered that Charlie had served in Africa and thus had hoped that he retained at least part of his empathy for the forgotten peoples of that continent. But alas, I am told that despite the existence in the Agency of at least two well-qualified people to head up the US efforts in Angola and elsewhere, the Agency is not utilizing them and probably won't. It pains me deeply to be forced to conclude that Charlie really is of little difference in stripe from all the others who have been corrupted by the system.

And I dreamed that Charlie would do something to smooth out negotiations with my elected employee representatives. But the word is out—AID will *not* negotiate *meaningfully* on anything. Rather, the GS people who run and control AID have been able to snow Charlie and again, the FS gets the knife. Precisely who of our GS colleagues are out on the street as a result of the current and unnecessary RIF? And why in the midst of a RIF do Charlie and his henchmen feel it necessary to bring in a class of over 100 Interns during 1976? I am disappointed. The FS are asked to be loyal in the face of this nepotism. We are asked to be patient by forgoing promotions. We are asked to be understanding. But nothing changes. Just more of the same, with or without Charlie Mann.

And now comes the biggest surprise of all. A recent high level group from your beloved city visited my mission recently. Having worked in Indochina before those gallant people fell to tyranny, I asked the group why one particular individual in AID had been singled out for exemplary treatment by being given a Superior Honor

Award at the awards ceremony. The reason for the question is that during an AID/W consultation, I learned that a special committee chaired by my good friend Eugene Champagne of the Department of State was to review all such awards. My understanding was that no awards were to be given to *anyone* connected with the evacuation of Vietnam without the Committee's reviewing the award. AID, I was told, had accepted this operating procedure. When I asked our distinguished and extinguished AID/W colleagues why a paper shuffler like [the award-winner] had been singled out for exemplary treatment, I was told, "Oh, but AID cannot ever be expected to abide by rules, regulations, and procedures of operation which it doesn't understand." One of the representatives on AFSA's Governing Board said that AID had said substantially the same thing during some pow-wow. May I ask what if anything does AID understand? Can't Charlie enlighten them?

I am distressed. The Agency will get nowhere fast by such horrible administration. I feel it keenly on the field end of things. We need, desperately, more people to help us carry out what Congress wants us to do. All we get is more of Murphy's—and Charlie's—paperwork. The rewards for completing all of that paperwork are nonexistent as I know that my next assignment will not be based on any merits I may possess, but who I might happen to know. I wonder if the Agency and AID is not being shortsighted. Can't Secretary Kissinger lend a hand to straighten out this terrible state of affairs? Our clients in the less developed countries deserve something more. As part of the higher echelons of this system, sign me

POUND FOOLISH—even stupid.

Editor's Note: Letters to the FSJ reflect only the views of the letter writers and do not constitute a position of the Association.

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.



This portion of the JOURNAL is the responsibility of the Board of Governors of AFSA and is intended to report on employee-management issues, conditions of employment and the policy and administration of AFSA, including its Board, Committees, and Chapters.

Members wishing to send letters on employment, working conditions or AFSA affairs should get them to AFSA by the 10th of the month preceding desired publication.

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THE 1976 PROMOTION LISTS: AN ANALYSIS

On January 21 the Department of State released the names of 544 persons on the 1976 promotion list, and on January 23, the FSSO, FSRU and FSR list was released. We were gratified to see that the lists were produced early. The anxiety of waiting was thus limited and those anticipating new assignments could do so better equipped, knowing that they had or had not been promoted.

Part of the process of the speed up of the list was doubtless due in part to the early negotiations and preparation of selection precepts, as pointed out in AFSA's telegram 806 of January 2, 1976 to all chapters. We realize that it is not possible to design precepts that will please everyone or every interest group, but we pointed management in the direction of precepts that were clear, simple, fair, and harmonious.

In that telegram we requested comments both on the precepts and

the whole promotion system (process). We had expected to receive such comments before the lists were out so that they would be made without the sense of disappointment or elation that the list inevitably produces. In any event, we would still appreciate your suggestions or criticisms for the next round. We also asked for such comments on the performance standards board and the special review board precepts. It will be recalled that in the past selection out fell on those in the lower ranges of a rank-order list by virtue of merely being there. Under the new system, such persons are certified in alphabetical order to a separate board, which measures their performance against a written standard to determine whether or not any should be selected out. An elaborate appeal and review process is available. The performance standards and special review boards precepts are found in FAMC 708 and the other selection precepts in FAMC 702 and 704. We urge you to read them and provide comments on them.

One of the most controversial parts of the precepts for the promotion list themselves is the method of competition for middle grade officers. You will see from the list that economic officers are being advanced much faster than political officers. This is because of promotion vacancy opportunities which tend to favor that cone. Unfortunately, each year the chasm between the economic and political cone becomes more severe. We think that economic officers of probably equal quality of the same rank are about five years younger than political officers. An officer in the admin cone in some specialties also tends to advance more rapidly. Interfunctional competition does tend to provide an opportunity for statistically better advancement prospects for those so competed. However, this has a built-in inequality. For example, a rea-

sonably good political officer who is serving out of his/her specialty cone or out of agency has a greater advantage over a much better political officer of the same rank and experience who is not serving out of cone. The precepts negotiating committee of AFSA, after considerable research, is inclined to press for general competition at the middle grades during the next round of negotiations; however, before doing so, we would like to have your comments. Our committee is very much concerned that many middle grade political officers who spend a long time in class and whose economic cone colleagues pass them by become insecure and their performance falters, thus actually dropping them lower in the rank-order lists.

We were gratified to see included in the DS NEWSLETTER supplement No. 175 (FSO promotion list) a brief explanation of how management sees the process by which promotions are made together with the attendant statistics. The appropriate portions of the statistics were provided (sealed) to AFSA before the boards adjourned as part of our safeguards agreement. They are not opened by AFSA before rank order lists are prepared. The new precepts during the past two years have included some important improvements, we believe. One is that position on the rank-order list is primarily to be determined on performance during the past five years or full time in present grade, whichever is longer (although the boards may look at the entire record). This is based on the principle that the most recent performance is probably most indicative of future potential and that events of some years ago should not hobble officers permanently. The other significant improvement is the "bridesmaid" theory. This may provide help to the officer who is often almost promoted but never quite makes it. After a board provides a rank-order list based on

preliminary deliberations, that list is returned to them with the names marked of those who were in certain upper ranges in recent years but were still not promoted. The boards may then, at their discretion, take this information into consideration to improve the likelihood of promotion for the frequent "near-miss" officer. This is especially important in cones and grades where advancement is very slow due to lack of promotion vacancies.

Another problem area is how much, if any, consideration should be given to seniority. The new precepts, in effect, permit the consideration of experience when all other factors are equal.

HEMENWAY, HARTER, THOMAS ATTACK FIVE PROMOTEEES BEFORE CONGRESS

On February 5, Mr. John Hemenway, purporting to speak on behalf of this Association, testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the 1976 FSO promotion list. In eight pages of testimony he charged that the list "reek(s) with sculduggery (sic)" because former and current AFSA officers Charles Bray, Tom Boyatt, Pete Velott, Lars Hyde and Ed Stumpf had been nominated for promotion. In this testimony, *inter alia*, he charged that "AFSA is run inside of a few dark closets whose doors are opened only occasionally for a public rubberstamp review by a Board dominated by the 'company union' authorities whose sweetheart arrangements have so completely discouraged any competitors that they all have resigned and abandoned their duty."

Charging the majority of the Board with illegal acts betraying the interests of their colleagues, Mr. Hemenway claimed he had the evidence on tape.

Mr. John Harter gave 12 pages of testimony, largely on his CIA thesis (that they manipulate the Selection Boards), the inequities of the core system and of Mr. Macomber, and the sins of Messrs. Hyde and Boyatt.

Mrs. Cynthia Thomas focused on grievance legislation, charging Hyde with "lying" to the Senate conferees.

Vice President John Patterson spoke (five pages) for the Association, averring that Mr. Hemenway

was actually speaking for himself and denying the charges against AFSA's good name. He concluded by stating AFSA's opposition to the political manipulation of the promotion system—by management, the White House, the Congress or intolerant ideologues and urging that Hemenway and Company's views be treated "with the contempt they deserve." He presented a letter to this effect signed by 10 of the 13 Board members.

State Representative Kenneth Rogers, the head of the Precepts Committee, then gave a detailed technical analysis of why it was impossible for management to "reward" or punish people for service with AFSA.

RECENT LEGISLATIVE GAINS

This year's newly-enacted State/USIA Authorization Bill contains measures affecting everyone in the Foreign Service.

Legislative Box Score

- 1 Enormous Gain—Grievance Legislation
- 1 Serious Loss Deferred—Taxation of Allowances
- 1 Serious Loss Prevented—Retaining July 1 Step Increases
- 3 Other Gains—Ambassadorial Nominations, Death Gratuity Payments Expanded, and Personnel Reform

Grievance Legislation

That one enormous benefit was the Foreign Service Grievance System. For years, the Foreign Service has needed a grievance system grounded in legislation, and AFSA has said all along that one based solely on regulation would eventually be abused by the Agencies. That turned out to be exactly the case—AID destroyed the interim grievance system in the Baumann case, forcing the Board members to resign in protest over AID's actions. That left the Foreign Service without any grievance system. The new legislation, if not perfect, is an enormous step forward for equity and due process in the Foreign Service. Details on the new grievance system have been provided in the December and January FSJ's.

Taxation of Allowances

The serious loss deferred is the taxation of allowances. After tes-

timony in opposition and considerable lobbying by AFSA and by many individual Foreign Service members, and a very strong, personal appeal by the Secretary, the House Ways and Means Committee reversed itself and decided to defer consideration of legislation which would have taxed all Foreign Service allowances. Even a delay of this sort is good news, but there is every reason to believe that the Committee will take the question up again later this year.

Cost-of-Living Increases

The serious loss prevented was preservation of annual cost-of-living increases on July 1 of each year. This issue is a little complicated, but the stakes were literally thousands of dollars over the course of the career of every FSO, FSR, FSIO and FSRU (FSS). As you know, all of these receive their periodic step increases on July 1 each year (unlike Foreign Service Staff and non-Foreign Service personnel who receive increases on the anniversary date of their last promotions). However, the law didn't say "July 1"; it said "the first of the fiscal year." And with the government's moving the fiscal year to October 1, instead of July 1, a delay of three months in getting our step increases would have resulted. For a Class 8 officer, a step increase is worth \$368, for a Class 2 officer, \$1,203. Twenty-five percent of that amount or from \$92 to \$401 would have been wiped out by the delay. Moreover, such a loss would have recurred in every year in which a step increase was due (i.e., unless promoted, or denied a step increase, or you hit step seven on the pay scale).

We all had a very great deal at stake if the law couldn't be changed. AFSA therefore proposed that it simply read "July 1" rather than "the first of the fiscal year." Believing that preventing losses is at least as important as making forward progress, we made this change top priority and got it adopted by both the Senate and the House. Here our three agencies were quite sympathetic to our position on this problem, once we had pointed it out to them.

Predeparture Lodging Allowance

Almost two years ago, we first

raised in our Employee-Benefit negotiations the fact that Foreign Service employees departing Washington and spending time in a hotel immediately before departure were not eligible for any government assistance. We pointed out why this might happen (having to rent one's dwelling at the end of a month, but not being scheduled to depart for several more weeks, or having to obtain temporary quarters after shipping household effects, or encountering unexpected delays in departure). We also pointed out that GS employees going overseas already had such an allowance, and that while we had a similar allowance for arriving at post, for leaving post, and for arriving in Washington, we had none for leaving the city.

We got the three agencies to agree to such an allowance, if we would agree that the Department would first take the question to the GAO for an advisory opinion as to whether the Department had the authority to pay such an allowance. Unfortunately, the GAO, while not questioning the need for, or the propriety of such an allowance, ruled that there was no legislative authority to pay it.

AFSA then submitted the question to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where we got a sympathetic hearing and a good deal of help from Senator Clark. In the Senate-House Conference, the House agreed to this new benefit.

Naturally, we are delighted. With the cost of hotel accommodations in the Washington area at near astronomical levels, our lack of such an allowance was serious, particularly when our members are lower-paid and with large families.

One word of caution: Don't rush to book the bridal suite at the Mayflower. This bill simply gives the three agencies the authority to pay such an allowance. It doesn't mean it is in effect yet, and in fairness it takes the Department time to corral the funds, change the regulations, notify disbursing officers, etc. That is the legitimate part—then the agencies take several more unjustifiable months. Maybe this time things will be different. In any case, we'll try to keep you informed as to what is happening.

Ambassadorial Nominations

You will recall that two years

ago, AFSA proposed and the Congress legislated that all Ambassadorial nominees must disclose to the Senate their financial contributions to political campaigns. The next year, we proposed that, and the Congress passed, these disclosures be published, facilitating public, as well as Senatorial oversight of ambassadorial nominees.

This past year, we made a yet more far-reaching proposal: That the Congress require at least 85 percent of all Ambassadors to be career officers of State, AID or USIA and further limit the Executive branch in its giving all the Western European posts to political appointees.

As we anticipated, the Congress was not prepared to go that far now. However, a "sense of the Congress" provision establishing a requirement for competence of Ambassadorial nominees was passed, saying

It is the sense of the Congress that the position of United States Ambassador to a foreign country should be accorded to men and women possessing clearly demonstrated competence to perform ambassadorial duties. No individual should be accorded the position of United States Ambassador to a foreign country primarily because of financial contributions to political campaigns.

While enforcement of this proposition continues to rest as before with the Executive Branch in making nominations, and with the Senate in giving its advice and consent, we believe this language will be of considerable help to our association in opposing flagrant abuses in naming ambassadors. The language on contributions would have been of considerable help if we had had it when we opposed Firestone and Farkas. (See FSJ of May, 1974.)

Death Gratuity Payments for Consular Agents

Last year, AFSA suggested a substantial death gratuity to survivors of Foreign Service personnel killed by terrorists. Congressman Hays successfully pressed through a revised version, providing a special gratuity of one year's salary. The terrorist murder of a consular agent (FSR Egan) in Argentina this past year pointed up two flaws in that otherwise excellent bill. First, consular agents and US delegates to international organizations were not covered, and second, basing death gratuities on salary may be fair for the best-paid

personnel, but does little for the lower-ranking staff corps personnel, junior officers, and consular agents, for whose surviving families one year's salary isn't much. We suggested that this latter problem be resolved by setting a minimum payment equal to the salary of an FSO/R/IO-4. The Congress resolved the coverage problem, but not the minimum payment problem. However, the Congress is not to blame. Department top management's promise of support crumbled in the crunch—why? Collective insanity or OMB pressure perhaps.

Personnel Reform

AFSA had proposed a large number of major personnel reforms, hoping to lay the groundwork for major legislative action in future bills (it is extremely difficult to get any change the first time it is raised with the Congress).

We suggested elimination of the double jeopardy facing FSRU (FAS) people by dropping their liability to being RIF'd.

We suggested further strengthening of the legislation concerning the requirement for FSOs and FSIOs to get off language probation.

We suggested that the Agencies be required to make a study of the unholy mess that has been created in the Foreign Service with its conflicting rules and plethora of payplans.

We suggested mandating merit hiring, conversion to FSO and promotion standards for all FSRs and FSRUs except for a carefully limited number of "Schedule C-type" positions.

Finally, we suggested a number of changes in the "Pearson" Amendment, which authorizes and requires FSOs and FSIOs to serve in mid-career with state and local governments. This Pearson Amendment was designed to keep Foreign Service people from becoming so over-specialized in foreign affairs that they lose touch with domestic US developments. As such the Pearson Amendment was a good idea, entirely in keeping with such other features of the Foreign Service Act as mandatory service in the US and home leave. However, the bill as passed last year was technically flawed and too restrictive in its approach. We therefore suggested a series of

technical amendments to preserve the concept but improve it and make it workable. The Department also suggested a number of changes of its own.

Much to our surprise, the Senate agreed to provisions on all these matters except language requirements (they bought the Department's argument that the matter had been handled by regulation along lines AFSA had suggested and that a law was not necessary) and elimination of the FASs from the reduction in force (on which AFSA will have to try again). In the Senate-House Conference most of these reforms were dropped. However, the changes in the Pearson Amendment were adopted. Moreover, the principle of a requirement for a thorough study of the personnel system was adopted. The Senate version had, as the conference report put it:

Stated the sense of the Congress that the proliferation of personnel categories within the State Department and the USIA "has resulted in a personnel system susceptible to inefficiency, inequity and abuse," and required the Secretary to transmit to Congress a comprehensive plan for reforming the system within 120 days.

The Conference Report goes on to say:

The conferees note that, in lieu of the enactment of this provision, the State Department provided assurances to the conference that a report on personnel system improvements would be submitted to Congress within 120 days.

We will, of course, be watching the Department's submission to the Congress closely, and plan to comment extensively to the Congress on it and to put forward our own recommendations thereafter.

OPEN BOARD MEETINGS SCHEDULED

In sharp contrast to the situation under the previous Board, in recent months AFSA members have not known when Board meetings would be held. AFSA's bylaws require but one meeting a month; otherwise the President is given discretion to name the time and place. However, the President has been calling meetings on varying days of the week, refusing to call any for several weeks and suddenly cancelling some of those that have been scheduled.

The Board has tried to combat this. First, on September 22, it re-

quested that meetings be weekly on Mondays. Second, denied a meeting since December 3, on December 23 it voiced its interpretation of the bylaws that special meetings could be held on more than one subject, that it could specify the time of a special meeting and that if the President failed to call such a meeting, the Vice Presidents should do so. Third, on January 27, the Board voted its sense, 9-1, that its meetings be called weekly on Tuesdays at noon. The President indeed scheduled the next meeting for the following Tuesday, but, immediately following his secretive mail-out, cancelled it.

Feeling that the Presidential grace to call and/or cancel meetings was insufficient to get our AFSA business done, 8 of the 13 Board members (later joined by 3 others) used the "special meeting" procedure to call for one on Tuesday, February 10. On that date, Board members declined to call their gathering a "meeting."

To further openness, we shall post the agenda and times of these meetings next to the cafeteria at State and on the seventh floor at USIA, 1776. For the week's location call the AFSA recording secretary at extension 28160. If you are interested in knowing on an on-going basis, she can put you on a mailing list for agenda and time.

BYLAWS, MINUTES OFFERED

Members may request the Bylaws or certain of the minutes of the Board meetings, giving the date(s) or subject(s) in which they are interested, by writing AFSA at Room 3644, New State. The latest meetings have dealt with the following topics: (Wed., Jan 14) USIA representation election, Career minister Selection Boards; (Mon., Jan 19) AFSA Recommendations for Grievance Board members, agreement on employees serving in former country of their spouses, ship travel for AID employees, USIA's refusal to consult during the representation election; (Tues., Jan. 27) AFSA recommendations for Grievance Board members, Insurance committee report, resolution recommending weekly board meetings be held on Tuesdays; (Tues., Feb. 3) Cancelled by president; (Monday, Feb-

ruary 9) no quorum; (Wednesday, February 11) Memorial Plaque, Nominations for Insurance Counselor Search, and Red Top/FSJ Liaison Committees, and for Grievance Board, FSJ Editorial and President's Reply, Censure on Mail-out, Referenda Procedures.

MR. HEMENWAY'S MAIL-OUT: THE ISSUES

The atmospherics and procedural aspects of Mr. John Hemenway's January 28 mailing to the membership are addressed in another AFSA News item. Here are discussed the substantive issues it raises. Mr. Hemenway's letter makes an appeal to members to enter into direct participation in policies which he wishes the Association to pursue. Four calls for referenda follow:

1. **1975/76 "Selection Out" Precepts: Proposal to deny ratification by AFSA on grounds that precepts lack basic safeguards.** An AFSA Cable of January 2, 1976 (State 806) and a Red Top asked for members' and chapters' comments on selection-out and other precepts. About twenty replies have been received.

2. **F.S. Promotion System: Requirement that AFSA President and Board submit various proposals to membership for total reform of all aspects of F.S. promotion system.** AFSA News is at a loss to offer any useful comment as to their possible substance, since Mr. Hemenway has not raised any such proposals at the Board meetings. However, AFSA has always stood ready to receive helpful suggestions on all aspects of Foreign Service life.

3. **F.S. Grievance Board: Approval by AFSA Membership, prior to permanent action, of composition, regulations and antecedent AFSA Grievance Committee actions.** This referendum call, while new to members of the Board, was not unexpected. Mr. Hemenway, on October 20, had asked for a referendum to determine the Association's final position on Grievance Legislation (December FSJ, page 37) and had written letters to the Congress covering grievance legislation, incorrectly implying Board support of his position on it. His interest in this aspect of the Association's work, as reflected in Board and committee time spent

addressing his concerns has been monumental. His success in obtaining acceptance of his views by the Board has been less so, 10-1 having been the voting repudiating his unauthorized letters to Congress on the matter.

As reported in the January FSJ (p. 32) the newly-won grievance legislation gives AFSA and management until March 29 to promulgate implementing regulations, appoint the new Grievance Board and establish its procedures.

4. Monthly President's Report: Requirement that AFSA President report monthly to members in FSJ without Board censorship. This issue has never been submitted to the Board for a vote. Mr. Hemenway's attempt to introduce a "Second Statement of the President" attacking fellow Board members into the November FSJ resulted in the Board's setting "Openness" guidelines for AFSA News and letters (December FSJ, page 36). The attacks in the second statement were indeed canned. Everything else Mr. Hemenway has sent for AFSA News has either been published (November FSJ, pp. 27 & 28) (February FSJ, pp. 31 & 32) or made available to the readership (*ibid.*, p. 32).

Mr. Hemenway asks that responses be sent directly to him at AFSA, 2101 E St., NW, Washington, D.C.

The rear of Mr. Hemenway's mail-out consists of an eight-point capsulization of his views on the four referenda points as well as: a reorganization of the FSJ, balancing the AFSA budget, committee structure of AFSA, and violations of the AFSA bylaws. All of these subjects have been covered in recent issues of the FSJ, albeit not from Mr. Hemenway's point of view.

Mr. Hemenway reports that necessary number of people have written in on each referendum point.

AFSA BOARD MEMBER CENSURED ON MAIL-OUT

On Wednesday, January 28, Governing Board members began picking up rumors that AFSA President Hemenway was preparing a mail-out to the membership. Questioned about it on the Friday, he asked how it had been found out. The pouched portion of the

mail-out was stopped at the pouch room, pending possible Board authorization of the sending.

By Monday, February 2, AFSA members in the Washington area reported receiving the mail-out, printed on AFSA letterhead, signed "President, AFSA," and sent in AFSA-franked envelopes. At the same time the AFSA President cancelled the weekly Board meeting to be held on February 3. On the third, all the other available Board members gathered informally to discuss the situation. Having no assurance that the President would not cancel the next Board meeting they asked that a "special meeting" of the Board be called on February 10 to consider the mail-out, among other matters of business. As in the past, the AFSA President refused to call such a meeting. Members met informally once again.

At the Board meeting on February 11, the President was censured (8-1), for misrepresenting his private mail-out as being an official AFSA initiative and for misappropriating AFSA funds (500 odd dollars) for it.

Despite the censure on the method used, the Board is proceeding to organize the referenda which we hope to put before the membership shortly.

MR. HEMENWAY ATTEMPTS UNFAIR LABOR SUIT

On February 9, Mr. John Hemenway charged State Department management with six unfair labor practices for corrupting and subverting AFSA and undermining AFSA efforts to maintain democratic procedures and practices. Since it and its 12 "Tabs" amount to some 87 pages of print and our press date is February 10, our analysis of it must needs be brief.

First to procedure: Although on AFSA letterhead, and in AFSA's name, it was totally unknown to the AFSA Board, without whose approval it cannot stand. (Except if an individual State F.S. employee were to raise it in his/her own right.) Prospects of Board approval as we go to press appear nil.

The "Tabs" are: 1. John Harter's Unfair Labor Practice charge (December FSJ, pp. 31-2); 2. Hemenway request to management to allow a State officer to work for AFSA between assignments; 3.

Hemenway statement to Congress of February 5 opposing promotion of five FSOs (see elsewhere in this FSJ); 4. Hemenway letter to management of February 4 asking them to cease selection out, pending a referendum's return; 5 and 6. Draft Resolutions of AFSA, also 5(b.3) Gored Ox of December 1, article, 6(b.3) charging collusion in blocking Hemenway's mail-out; 7. Eagleburger letter to Hemenway about recommending that "The Secretary not meet personally with AFSA."; 8. February 10 Hemenway press release "State Department Accused of Interference in AFSA Internal Affairs"; 9. Cynthia Thomas Unfair Labor Practice; 10. Hemenway Statement of November 19 on Selection Out Precepts; 11. Hemenway letter of February 5 to Senator Clark re Lars Hydle; 12. Letter from 10 Board members to Senator Sparkman of February 4, denying Hemenway was speaking for AFSA.

While parts of this "unfair" charge are old, others are brand new. Its disposition must await a future issue of AFSA News.

SEN. PELL'S ADDRESS AT AFSA LUNCHEON

On January 21, 1976, Senator Claiborne Pell (D.-R.I.), an ex-FSO of seven years service, spoke to some 120 AFSA members at the Foreign Service Club, initiating the 1976 professional luncheon series. An abridged version of his address follows. For the full text write to AFSA at Room 3644, N.S.

Executive-Legislative Interaction

I am honored that you have invited me to kick off this new series of professional luncheons. It is always a pleasure to renew my ties with the Foreign Service which I continue to admire greatly. . . .

The first session of the 94th Congress, which ended last December 19, was marked by conflict and deadlock in many areas. In no other field did the Congress in 1975 differ so markedly with and exert so much pressure on the Executive as it did in foreign affairs and national security policy. Here, the early predictions of a return to Congressional government were closest to the mark.

Causes of the Impasse

Why have we come to the present impasse over foreign policy and what can be done about it?

One often hears that Watergate is the root of the problem. While I do not deny that the events leading up to Mr. Nixon's resignation as President—including the excessive invocation of "national security" to keep in-

formation from the Congress and the public—severely undermined Congressional-Executive relations in foreign affairs, I believe that the fundamental reasons underlying current Congressional attitudes and actions are to be found elsewhere. And I would begin by examining the Vietnam experience.

Vietnam

I believe it was the Congress which made the very word "peace" respectable and led the country to reverse its Vietnam policy. Having played such an important role in disengaging America from that conflict, a majority of the members of both Houses of Congress are determined to play a major role in shaping this country's post-Vietnam policy. . . .

The Congress, during the early stages of American involvement, clearly did not examine critically enough the interests and purposes associated with the commitments being made. . . . Information vital to the evaluation of American policies was withheld from most members of Congress. Moreover, Congress failed to press hard enough for the necessary information. Because of our timidity, many of us now recognize that the Congress cannot escape sharing in a responsibility for foreign policy decisions if they go unquestioned and unchallenged. In short, we have come to realize that American foreign policy is too important to be left entirely to the Executive. . . .

Citizen Involvement

There is a growing spirit of citizen involvement in public affairs coupled with a declining confidence in government, which no politician can ignore.

A poll sponsored by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations revealed early last year that domestic problems attract far more attention and interest than almost any foreign policy problem and that the highest priorities tend to be assigned to expanding domestic programs and cutting foreign and defense programs. That survey also showed that there is low public support for getting involved in places where war might occur or where United States commitments and interests might be tested. Finally, the survey revealed a strong sentiment for greater public and Congressional influence on the shape and conduct of foreign affairs. . . .

Consequently, the Congress is unlikely to defer to the Executive—regardless of which party is in power—to the extent it has in the past. At the same time, I believe that the average citizen expects the Congress and the Executive to work better together to further American foreign policy objectives.

Toward a Better Relationship

But how is that to be achieved, and what lessons are to be learned from the recent disputes over such issues as Angola, CIA operations abroad, Sinai, and Turkish aid? . . .

First, I agree with the Murphy Commission report that Congressional control over foreign policy is not an appropriate remedy for Executive control and that neither branch can act alone. Clearly, the Congress is not equipped to enter into day-to-day supervision of foreign relations or assume responsibility for crisis management. These roles have been and will continue to be the prerogatives of the Executive. I do believe, however, that the pendulum has swung

farther toward Executive power—without real accountability to the people's legislative representatives—than any nation can afford if it intends to remain a democratic republic. . . .

Accountability of the Executive

Closely related to this issue of the narrow base of decision-making and the need to expand it is the insufficient accountability of the Executive for its foreign policy actions. One of the great defects of our governmental system is that the President and his principal advisers are not formally required to account to anyone for their on-going policies. Once his appointment is confirmed by the Senate, a cabinet officer is accountable only to the President; he cannot be recalled. The President himself is accountable to the voters once every four years. If his policies have varied too greatly from the will of the people they can make known their displeasure by not re-electing him—that is, if he is not already into his second term. But four years in the modern world is a very long time.

Moreover, the problem of accountability is compounded by the frequent invocation of the broad doctrine of Executive privilege. Responsible members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and other bodies of the Congress are frequently denied information not only about current policies but about past policies.

The simple and effective solution to this problem . . . is the formal question hour of the British Parliament. The nearest institution which we possess in this country is the Congressional oversight hearing or the formal press conference, both of which are wholly inadequate. Press conferences are called only at the discretion of the President or his advisors, who can also define arbitrarily the scope of the questioning they will permit. In the past, and this is changing, the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee has got answers about what the Executive branch is doing by reading the newspapers.

I believe that a way should be found to require officers of the Cabinet and other senior officials of the Executive branch to submit themselves periodically to a formal question period before the Congress on a regular and routine basis. . . .

Can the Congress be trusted to act responsibly with the information and frank, full consultations it desires? Certainly, the recent record of leaks and sensational exposés raises the legitimate question of whether the Congress wants to be a partner or a provocateur in foreign affairs. I deplore the fact that so many of my colleagues have violated the rule of confidentiality in their handling of information which the Executive branch provided at the request of the Congress. . . . Immediate revelations based on instantaneous judgments of the national interest are neither conducive to the formulation of sound policy nor to the furtherance of the Congress's case that it deserves a greater role in foreign policy formulation.

On the other hand, you in the Executive branch should realize that much of what appalls you today is the natural result of an excessively proprietary view of the Executive's prerogatives in foreign policy. If the Congress had been made to feel more of a welcome and essential part of the foreign policy process, I believe that you would have found it to be more responsible.

Moreover, over-classification and the Executive's desire to exercise a monopoly over unofficial releases of information—read leaks—further blur the issue of culpability. As every Foreign Service officer knows, the American ship of state is a vessel that often leaks from the top. . . .

Not only is the Congress likely to continue to be more assertive, but more individual Senators and Congressmen will want to play an active role in foreign affairs. The day is past when Congressional interest in foreign policy could be equated with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee or the House International Relations Committee. This new fact of life means that the Department of State . . . will have to cast its net more widely and expand its activities in the area of Congressional relations. . . .

What Congress Expects

I would like to be a bit more specific as to what, most of all, we in the Congress look to the Executive to share with us. In the aftermath of Vietnam, we must fashion a new foreign policy consensus. But in doing so, we must bear in mind that Vietnam is only the most dramatic evidence that fundamental changes have been occurring in the world and that we must adapt to them. Our outlook can no longer be dominated by the concepts of East versus West and democracy versus communism; nor can military power be relied upon so heavily as it has in the past. . . .

I can think of no better example of the need to take stock of our interests than in the case of Angola. Today, more than 20 years since the initial American involvement in Vietnam, it seems that the foreign policy of the United States is still guided by the philosophy of containment. Yet cold war perceptions of global strategy and "zero-sum" competition with the Soviet Union bear little relevance to a situation dictated mostly by local loyalties defined primarily by region and tribe. Manufactured rationales for the United States involvement in Angola cannot hide the fact that Angola itself is not the issue; rather, it would appear that Angola has been chosen as but the most recent symbol of US determination to act internationally.

I do not mean to suggest by what I have just said that I oppose all covert intelligence activities. I do not. I believe that there are instances in which our vital interests are clearly engaged, such as in Europe, and that covert activities to protect those interests may at times be warranted.

Congress's Different Priorities

Finally, . . . the Executive must realize that Congressional priorities are often likely to diverge from those of the Executive. Much of what I have so far discussed relates to issues which both branches of government agree are critical but where policy prescriptions may differ. What I would like to discuss now are issues which the Congress considers important but which the Executive either ignores or downplays. . . .

An excellent illustration of the insensitivity of the Executive to Congressional initiatives is to be found in the area of oceans policy and law of the sea.

In October 1973, the Department of State, responding to my amendment, established a new Bureau of Oceans and Environmental and Scientific Affairs. Yet the position of Assistant Secretary in that Bureau has been vacant for almost 80 per-

cent of the time since the Bureau's creation. I find that to be a shocking commentary on the Executive's insensitivity to Congressional opinion.

Another example is to be found in the law of the sea negotiations in which there is intense Congressional interest. . . . In my view, the law of the sea conference is the most important multilateral gathering since the San Francisco Conference of 1945 which drew up the United Nations Charter. The President and the Secretary of State must . . . make an effort in the course of their many meetings with heads of state and foreign ministers to resolve the outstanding issues which will be addressed at the next session of the Conference.

In concluding my remarks, I wish to emphasize that we are at a delicate and dangerous point in Executive-Legislative relations. If a sense of goodwill, trust, and responsibility is not restored soon, I fear a situation in which even more Congressional prohibitions on Executive activity are written into law and even more Executive attempts are made to circumvent the will of Congress. There will be no sure winner in such a contest, but there will be one sure loser—the soundness of American foreign policy and the people it serves.

OUTRAGE OF THE MONTH

Consumer Affairs Coordinator Appointment

In early January newspaper readers across the nation were re-galed with the appointment of the wife of political columnist Tom Braden to the newly-created position of State Department "Consumer Affairs Coordinator." Her husband's assertions that neither "Henry" nor "Nelson" knew anything about it and the truly inspired gobbledygook of her job description gave humor columnists and cartoonists a field day.

Speaking in defense of professional standards, AFSA has deplored the appointment, and targeted the ridiculous job description and blatant cronyism of the appointment in a letter to Department management. Further, in our labor-union role we regretted the political appointment and pointed out that many FSOs or spouses could perform the "job."

AFSA finally asked, in accordance with its understanding with the Secretary, that the duration of this appointment be limited to that of the position's supervisor and that assignments on the staff be open to F.S. people.

WORKING SPOUSES— SURVEY RESULTS

According to a Women's Action Organization survey of Foreign Service personnel in State, USIA

and AID, in Washington, 50 percent of F.S. spouses are presently gainfully employed and a slightly larger percentage intend to seek employment the next time their families are assigned overseas. Such large percentages suggest that working spouses are no longer the exception in Foreign Service life and that their concerns will play an increasingly important role in Foreign Service people's career decisions.

The WAO Committee on Spouses instituted the survey to document the situation of working spouses and how their status might influence the overseas assignments of their mates. A random survey was made of Foreign Service personnel in the three agencies. 314 replies have been received:

AGENCY: 174 State, 78 AID, 62 USIA

SPOUSE: 295 female, 19 male

WORKING STATUS: 155 unemployed, 151 employed, 8 students

SPOUSE INTENDS TO SEEK EMPLOYMENT OVERSEAS:

179 yes, 78 don't know, 55 no, 1 won't go, 1 N/A

SPOUSE'S WORKING STATUS HAS INFLUENCED ASSIGNMENTS TO DATE:

273* no, 40 yes, 1 N/A (* of these 33 answered "not yet, but will")

For all ranks the percentage of spouses who work was roughly the same (40% - 55%). The spouses are in 42 fields of work with education being the most common field (36%), but the list runs the gamut from chemical research to construction.

How has working status of FS spouses influenced FS people's career assignments? The most frequent response was "a move to and/or an extended stay in Washington." People also mentioned their needing a second income, the spouse's refusing to accept a post where he/she could not work, and the spouse's needing to pursue his/her professional interests or university studies.

There were many expressions of encouragement and thanks, although some AID FSSOs feared that spouses might usurp jobs of career personnel overseas.

Foreign Service couples are being surveyed to determine their problems and concerns in working out assignments together, and the

results will be published soon. An open meeting will be sponsored by WAO, AAFSW and FSI on the current policy, problems, and possible solutions.

For more information write or call Stephanie Smith Kinney (379-1140) or Hope Meyers (965-2285) at WAO, M Message Center, State Department.

NEW EDITORIAL BOARD MEMBER

Arthur M. Handly, Associate Assistant Administrator, AID, is the newest member of the JOURNAL'S Editorial Board. Art received his AB from St. Lawrence University and his Masters in Public Administration from Syracuse. He served with the governments of the states of Oregon and Wisconsin before joining AID in 1962 as Public Administrator Advisor in Ankara.

After a year of post graduate studies in Development Administration at Syracuse University, Art served as Director of the AID Mission in Amman before his return to Washington in September of 1970.



AID AFFAIRS

Personnel negotiations continued to focus on the new PER form and instruction as well as on new RIF procedures. Differences narrowed on the RIF procedures and we were able successfully to complete the new PER forms for FSR and FSS personnel. We are very pleased with the new form in the abstract and hope that our optimism becomes warranted through operational experience.

Among other attributes the form permits greater breadth, depth, and specificity and should provide a much clearer picture of both employees' performance and potential.

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

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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.

**A CURIOSITY—
BOARD MEMBERS'
JOB DESCRIPTIONS SOUGHT**

On January 8, AFSA Board members discovered from their Bureau personnel offices that each of their job descriptions had been requested by and furnished to AFSA President Hemenway. A sharp interrogatory at the next Board meeting concerning for what purpose the information was intended and why Board members themselves had not been asked for it elicited no intelligible response.

**FOREIGN SERVICE DAY
ACTIVITIES**

This year Foreign Service Day will be held on April 2. Announcements and information will be going out shortly.

AFSA will, of course, be participating in the planning for Foreign Service Day and wishes to announce that, again this year, there will be a post-Foreign Service Day brunch on Saturday, April 3, starting at 10:00 at the Foreign Service Club. A stimulating program is being planned and we look forward again this year to welcoming a capacity audience of retirees and spouses.

On Friday, the Club will welcome retirees who are unable to be accommodated at the luncheon at the State Department for a non-reserved buffet luncheon, between the hours of 12:00 and 3:00. Why not plan to meet with some still active friends at that time?

Foreign Service People

Deaths

Deming. Louise MacPherson Deming, wife of retired Ambassador Olcott H. Deming, died on January 26, in Washington. Mrs. Deming worked for OWI in World War II. She accompanied her husband on assignments to Bangkok, Tokyo, Okinawa and Kampala where he served as Ambassador. Mrs. Deming was a visiting professor of American literature at Chulalongkorn University, a founding member of the Foreign Student Service Council, and a former president of the AAFSW. She had edited the letters of Sophia Peabody Hawthorne, wife of Nathaniel Hawthorne, to be published soon. In addition to her husband of 1510 Dumbarton Rock Ct., N.W., she is survived by two sons, Rust and John, a daughter, Rosamond Larraga of Madrid, a brother and three grandchildren. The family suggests that expressions of

sympathy be in the form of contributions to the Experiment in International Living, Brattleboro, Vt., or to Christ Church Memorial Fund, Georgetown. **Fei.** Edward C. Fei, AID-retired, died on January 14, in Washington. Dr. Fei joined AID in 1961 and served in a variety of positions in Washington and also in Monrovia and Paris. In 1973-74 he headed the special Sahel task force. He had served with the OSS in 1944-45 and as director of UNRRA's Peking office. Dr. Fei received the Distinguished Career Service Award and Superior Honor Award from AID. He is survived by his wife, Anne, 7200 Western Ave., Chevy Chase, a son, Edward T., and two daughters, Rosemary and Jean E.

Flaata. Harald Flaata, FSR-retired, died recently in Oslo. Mr. Flaata entered the Foreign Service in 1948 and served at Stockholm, Oslo, London, New Delhi, Belgrade, Benghazi, Tripoli, Frankfurt and Oslo again before his retirement. He is survived by his wife, Mary, of Oslo, a daughter, a son and a grandchild.

Holloway. Gertrud Harms Holloway, wife of FSO-retired Jerome K. Holloway, Jr., died on January 27, in Washington. Mrs. Holloway was born in Bremen and served three terms in the Bremen state legislature before her marriage. She accompanied her husband to posts in Hong Kong, Tokyo, Stockholm and Osaka-Kobe. Mrs. Holloway had her doctorate in archeology and lectured at schools and universities here and abroad, as well as writing articles for scholarly periodicals and a book. She is survived by her husband and three children, Jerome K., III, Nicholas Harms and Karen Margret, of 6726 Wilson Lane, Bethesda.

Penfield. Anne Boardman Penfield, wife of retired Ambassador James K. Penfield, died on January 24, in Tacoma, Washington. Mrs. Penfield served with the OWI in World War II in London and Belgrade and accompanied her husband to posts in Prague, London, Vienna, Athens and Reykjavik, where he served as Ambassador. She was a former board member of the YWCA and Allied Arts and former president of the AAFSW. In addition to her husband, Box 375, Longbranch, Washington, she is survived by a daughter, Kedzie Penfield of Melrose, Scotland and a sister.

Turnbull. Martha E. Turnbull, FSO-retired, died on January 24, in Youngstown, Ohio. Miss Turnbull entered the Foreign Service in 1947 and served at Istanbul, Stuttgart, Bangkok, Asuncion, Rio de Janeiro, Seoul, San Salvador and Lima, before her retirement in 1971. She is survived by her mother of 4855 Grover Dr., Youngstown, Ohio, a sister, a niece and two nephews.

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