

FSJ

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

APRIL 1976

60 CENTS

TOKYO 1941

by John K. Emmerson

VIEW FROM INDIANTOWN GAP

by Alan Carter

WHY FRANKLIN FAILED

by John Bovey



00000

DEPT OF STATE
S/P ROOM 7330
LANS HYDL#
005532 0976

Attractiveness begins with white teeth and fresh breath.



And Close-up
toothpaste
helps give you both.

Its unique gel has gentle
whiteners and a powerful
mouthwash. Together they
work to give you the whitest
teeth and fresh breath. Those
are basic, like clean hair and
healthy skin.

That peasant blouse may
turn his head. But don't forget
to put your money where your
mouth is. He'll love you for it.

Put your money
where your mouth is.
Buy Close-up.



Regular or Mint

FSJ

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

APRIL 1976: Volume 53, No. 4

Why Franklin Failed 4
JOHN BOVEY

Tokyo, 1941 10
JOHN K. EMMERSON

The Indo-Chinese Refugee Program 15
ALAN CARTER

USIS During the Occupation of Germany 17
EDMUND SCHECHTER

Communication re: The Missiles of October 22
EDWIN M. MARTIN

DEPARTMENTS

AFSA Editorial 2

The Bookshelf 21

Letters to the Editor 30

AFSA News 32

American Foreign Service Association

Officers and Members of the Governing Board

JOHN D. HEMENWAY, *President*

LARS HYDLE, *Vice President*

JOHN PATTERSON, *Second Vice President*

FRANK CUMMINS, *Secretary*

JOANN M. JENKINS, *Treasurer*

CHARLOTTE CROMER &

ROY A. HARRELL, JR., *AID Representatives*

ALFORD W. COOLEY, SAMUEL F. HART,

KENNETH N. ROGERS & PATRICIA WOODRING, *State Representatives*

WILLIS J. SUTTER, *USIA Representative*

OLCOTT DEMING & GLENN G. WOLFE, *Retired Representatives*

Journal Editorial Board

RALPH STUART SMITH, *Chairman*

G. RICHARD MONSEN, *Vice Chairman*

JOEL M. WOLDMAN

SANDRA L. VOGELGESANG

JAMES F. O'CONNOR

HARRIET P. CULLEY

WESLEY N. PEDERSEN

ARNOLD P. SCHIFFERDECKER

GEORGE F. SHERMAN, JR.

ARTHUR M. HANDLY

Staff

ALLEN B. MORELAND, *Executive Director*

CATHERINE WAELDER, *Counselor*

CECIL B. SANNER, *Membership and Circulation*

CHRISTINA MARY LANTZ, *Executive Secretary*

Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center

CLARKE SLADE, *Counselor*

Journal

SHIRLEY R. NEWHALL, *Editor*

NANCY JACKSON, *Editorial Assistant*

McIVER ART & PUBLICATIONS, INC., *Art Direction*

Advertising Representatives

JAMES C. SASMOR ASSOCIATES, 521 Fifth Ave., Suite 1700, New York, N.Y. 10017 (212) 683-3421

ALBERT D. SHONK CO., 681 Market St., San Francisco, Calif.

94105 (415) 392-7144

JOSHUA B. POWERS, LTD., 46 Keyes House, Dolphin Sq.,

London SW1 01-834-8023/9. International Representatives.



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.

While the Editorial Board of the JOURNAL is responsible for its general content, statements concerning the policy and administration of AFSA as employee representative under Executive Order 11636 on the editorial page and in the AFSA News, and all communications relating to these, are the responsibility of the AFSA Governing Board.

Membership in the American Foreign Service Association is open to the professionals in foreign affairs overseas or in Washington, as well as to persons having an active interest in, or close association with foreign affairs.

Membership dues are: Active Members—Dues range from \$13 to \$52 annually depending upon income. Retired Active Members—Dues are \$30 annually for members with incomes over \$15,000; \$15 annually for less than \$15,000. Associate Members—Dues are \$20 annually.

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.

©American Foreign Service Association, 1976. The Foreign Service Journal is published twelve times a year by the American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington D.C. 20037. Telephone (202) 338-4045

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

COVER: "Impasse de l'Avenir," by Robert Sivard, from a private collection, courtesy Mid-town Galleries

THE BOARD OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE—NO IMPARTIALITY

Once again Foreign Service people's rights have been jeopardized. Under our Executive Order 11636, the Board of the Foreign Service is required to resolve disputes arising during negotiations ("consultation"). In theory this sounds like a sensible means of resolving disputes; in practice the Board is woefully biased towards management. A simple but important case will serve to demonstrate this.

In 1973 our Association, acting in its role as exclusive representative of AID employees, proposed to AID management that the prohibition on paid ship travel of AID employees between posts be rescinded. At the time the Association made the proposal, AID management representatives bluntly told the Association that we would never win this one. "We'll fight you clear to the top on this and every other issue on which we don't agree. We'll contest your appellate rights under the Order and face you down. If we must, we'll go to the AID Administrator. You'll lose because we have friends on the Board of the Foreign Service."

They then proceeded to carry out that threat. AID, initially refusing to negotiate with the Association on ship travel, was later compelled to do so, and it became obvious that they had no spirit of compromise. In fact, management representatives told our Association that they had many trump cards to play. The Association appealed the lack of results during the consultation proceedings to the Board of the Foreign Service. The Disputes Panel, a committee of the Board of the Foreign Service, ruled in the Association's favor: AID employees would be entitled to up to ten working days' travel by ship.

The Board of the Foreign Service then accepted these recommendations (on April 18, 1974). Refusing to accept such a humiliating defeat, AID requested the Board to reconsider the entire question. AID also knew that the composition of the Board of the Foreign Service would be constituted in its favor; but particularly given the attitude of the OMB representative, and after obtaining one USIA vote through a bit of log-rolling was able, through unprecedented procedural quibbling and legalistic obfuscation, to have the decision reversed. During this entire seamy exercise, the Association was kept totally in the dark, and given absolutely no right to reply to any of the procedural or substantive changes. At a meeting on June 14, 1974, the Board again reconsidered the question and voted to deny AID employees ship travel.

The Association then asked the Board that either the case be reopened or that the original decision of April 18 be considered binding on the Board. The Board refused to reconsider. AID management officials told the Association that "Management just has to be given preferential treatment and rights in all cases coming before the Board of the Foreign Service."

Despite many efforts, AFSA has never been able to get the Board to assure that all its decisions be final. Rather, the Board says that decisions will be final *unless the Board reverses itself!* The Board by its actions has established a precedent that only decisions *in AFSA's favor* may be reopened, but that decisions for Management are immutable. The Board *says* that there is no policy or rule regarding resubmission. However, management representatives have told the Association that the Board has assured them that *they* can resubmit questions on which they have received unfavorable rulings.

This case demonstrates the heavy bias of the Board of the Foreign Service towards management's point of view, so much so as to vitiate procedural rights generally governing hearings, trials, etc. There is little reason for management ever to agree with the Association on anything, because they have stacked the deck, with a strong chance of winning any appeal. Furthermore, on the merits the Board is unconcerned with the inequitable and unequal treatment accorded the Foreign Service by AID, since the Department of State and USIA both permit

some ship travel by their employees.

The real problem, of course, goes far deeper than the shoddy treatment that AFSA and our AID brethren have suffered at the hands of the Board of the Foreign Service in the matter of ship travel. E.O. 11636 makes a serious error in having the Board of the Foreign Service as a court of last resort to decide disputes between AFSA and the Agencies, and in establishing the Employee-Management Relations Commission (EMRC) to oversee unfair labor practice charges and "consultability" cases.

We don't mean to suggest that the integrity of the people on the Board of the Foreign Service and the EMRC is lacking. Except for some sleazy, below-the-table vote-trading between USIA and AID on USIA promotion safeguards and AID ship travel, we can't really think of any cases involving corruption or even malice. Rather, these two bodies act precisely as one might expect.

The Board of the Foreign Service consists of four groups:

- (1) Political appointees by State, AID, and USIA.
- (2) State, AID, and USIA career Foreign Service personnel, at the Assistant Secretary level or above, who are generally good-willed, knowledgeable, over-worked and, thus, mostly absent from the Board's deliberations.
- (3) Representatives from Labor and Commerce, who, while friendly towards the Foreign Service in the abstract, are pro-management in their actual votes.
- (4) Representatives of OMB and the Civil Service Commission who embody the long-standing and monumental antipathy of their two agencies to the Foreign Service.

With this composition, it isn't necessary for the members to be evil or vicious. Indeed, most members undoubtedly consider themselves to be fair and impartial. But given their backgrounds, they can hardly be expected to be other than what they are—implacably management-oriented.

The situation with the Employee-Management Relations Commission (EMRC) is worse in one respect, better in another. The three-man EMRC has one person each from OMB, CSC, and the Department of Labor. The good news is that the CSC, and especially Labor Representatives have real labor-relations expertise to offer. The bad news is that the EMRC members wouldn't know the Foreign Service from the Forest Service. Worst of all, of course, these three agencies *are* management. Between them they decide national policy towards labor relations in the Federal sector. They are management, they think like management, and know that decisions against management could set dangerous precedents for all the other agencies. *Yet*, their representatives are asked to be impartial judges on matters affecting the Foreign Service.

Note that our Executive Order situation is not unique. The other Executive Order (11949), employee relations for the Civil Service is even worse.

As long as the game is rigged, we shouldn't expect very much from it. That is why AFSA and every other Federal employee organization favors legislation (though differing on what it should contain) which would take the adjudicatory functions for the Federal Government out of the hands of those like OMB and CSC who have the strongest interest in assuring that the appeals system doesn't work.

For the Foreign Service, these decision-making bodies should be like the Grievance Board, or the Disputes Panel, a mixture of Foreign Service people and outsiders expert in labor relations, but not tied to the interests of any particular agency. Obviously, any such people would have to be mutually acceptable to both AFSA and the Agencies.

AFSA is working hard for legislation to assure a genuinely fair employee-relations system for the Foreign Service. Until that day comes, look out . . . the present system is probably going to continue to be one-sided.



GLENDALE YEAROUND

Flinton, Pa. 16640

Phone: (814) 687-2575

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.

Well, we are now past the "predevelopment" stage. Our water and sewer systems are operational and approaching completion; our private road network now exceeds ten miles; our ski slope and lodge are completed; our swimming pool complex is expected to be open in the summer of 1976. Numerous homes have now been erected. We invite you to visit us this summer while you take your home leave -- or write to us for further information. Wooded homesite lots begin at \$6,400. We can offer a completely erected three-bedroom modular house on a lot ready for occupancy beginning at \$18,900. It is an ideal setting for a vacation and/or retirement home and is particularly suited to your home leave needs. Financing is available.

We are located in Pennsylvania's beautiful Allegheny mountains at almost 2000 feet elevation adjoining Prince Gallitzin State Park with its 1640 acre lake, just 3½ hours by car from Washington D.C.

Sincerely yours,

Ludwig Rudel

Ludwig Rudel



Sailing at
Prince Gallitzin Park

Obtain HUD property report from developer and read it before signing anything. HUD neither approves the merits of the offering nor the value of the property as an investment, if any.



GLENDALE YEAROUND
Flinton, Penna. 16640
(814) 687-2575

Please send me information on Glendale Yearound.

Name _____

Address _____

Home leave address _____

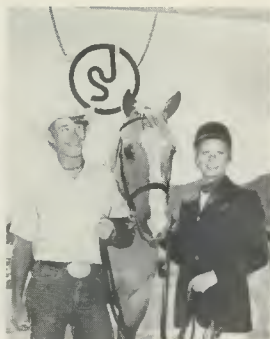
Home leave tele. No. _____

Home leave dates _____

JUDSON SCHOOL

SCOTTSDALE
ARIZONA U.S.A.

Founded in 1928



Western and English Riding

COED RANCH SCHOOL
BOARDING & DAY
STUDENTS
BOARDING 1-12 GRADES
FULLY ACCREDITED
COLLEGE PREPARATORY
GENERAL COURSES
DEVELOPMENTAL READING
ART, MUSIC, DRAMA
CERAMICS, SHOP, BUSINESS
REMEDIAL ENGLISH & MATH
SPECIAL PROGRAM
ENGLISH AS A
2nd LANGUAGE

SMALL CLASSES, TUTORIAL, EXCELLENT FACULTY,
ALL SPORTS INCLUDING RIDING, SWIMMING, TENNIS, SOCCER
INTERNATIONAL STUDENT BODY

Students from 40 U.S. states and Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Indonesia, Iran,
Lebanon, Jordan, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Tanzania, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Europe,
Mexico, Peru and Colombia

Headmaster, Hugh F. Slattery, M.A. Harvard University
Interviewing applicants for September 1976 admission. Please
telephone hotel for appointment.

Tokyo, Japan: 7-8 April, Imperial Hotel
Kyoto, Japan: 11 April, Mt. Hiei Hotel
Hong Kong: 13-14 April, Peninsula Hotel
Thailand, Bangkok: 17-18 April, Erawan Hotel

June interviews for September 1976 applicants in North Africa, Middle East and Europe.
For June itinerary and School Brochure write:
Hugh F. Slattery, Judson School, Box 1569, Scottsdale, Arizona 85252.

BEGG, INC. Realtors

SALES • RENTALS • MANAGEMENT
INSURANCE

WASHINGTON • MARYLAND • VIRGINIA



Specializing in the
Finest in
Residential Properties
and Assisting
Foreign Service
Personnel
for the Past 24 Years

Capitol Hill
509 C Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
544-7404
1340 Old Chain Bridge Road
McLean, Virginia 22101
893-2300
10249 Old Georgetown Road
Bethesda, Maryland 20014
530-9400

Cable—BEGG WASH Telex 440036

1714 CONN. AVE. N.W., WASH. D.C. 20009 - DU 7-2480

"The speeding up of communications has certainly done much
to alter the old methods of negotiation."

—Harold Nicolson, The Evolution of Diplomatic Method

Why Franklin Failed

JOHN BOVEY

TELEGRAM 23 FROM AMEMBASSY PARIS, DEC 10, 1777

Vergennes says he has submitted text Treaty of Alliance to KING. Latter has authorized him to tell me that His Christian Majesty (HCM) and nearly all Ministers (notable exception is Finance) desire sign soonest. French fleet now preparing sail for West Indies, and Admiral d'Estaing (protect) told Deane at Mme. Helvetius' reception in my honor that he most anxious to receive QUOTE *feu vert* UNQUOTE. Presume Department will therefore urgently approve texts which I sent last September and send me full powers for signature while situation favorable.

FRANKLIN

DEPARTMENT TELEGRAM 47 TO PARIS, DEC 15, 1777

Department has carefully examined texts so-called Treaty of Alliance. You and Deane have shown commendable initiative but Department must remind you that Committee of Correspondence Circular 89-B forbids negotiations this type without prior clearance from Continental Congress. Moreover, Department prefers you not repeat not submit further texts to HCM GOVT without express authorization from signatories so-called Declaration of Independence, signed July 4, 1776 at 0100 G.M.T. We currently searching files for this document and will send copy soonest by airgram. Meantime you may assure Vergennes that Treaty under active study.

In your discretion, you may remind Vergennes that HCM has not approved Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation which, as you know, was negotiated at French insistence.

JEFFERSON

AMEMBASSY TEL 24, DEC 18, 1777

DEPT. PASS VALLEY FORGE

I conveyed substance Deptel 47 to FONMIN. Vergennes expressed surprise at our delay and differed sharply with Department view of Friendship Treaty. He reminded me that Beaumarchais has already channeled considerable aid through Hortalez and Company at urgent behest of Continental Congress. Vergennes also recalled that after Saratoga, HCM had offered 18 million livres in economic aid plus Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) with headquarters in Philadelphia or York or other capital, subject to current and frequent QUOTE relocations UNQUOTE of US Armed Forces and Government. Ver-

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

You need someone to count on, too!



If you're like most people, your family depends on your regular income for their everyday living needs — and maybe some of the other extras that life has to offer.

But, if a serious disability strikes, you could face this cold, hard fact — your regular income could be cut off.

When this happens, you can count on Mutual of Omaha's Disability Income Protection Plan available to you as a member of the American Foreign Service Association.

Your plan provides monthly disability income benefits when you're unable to work because of a covered illness or injury. Your monthly benefit depends on the plan you choose and qualify for. The disability income

benefits are paid directly to you to use as you see fit — for food, your home, car payments — even to help pay extra hospital and doctor bills that can accompany a serious disability.

The American Foreign Service Association's Disability Income Protection Plan can cover you on or off the job, in or out of the hospital. The wide selection of benefit amounts lets you tailor your plan to fit both your budget and your insurance needs.

Hurry! Get all of the details on your American Foreign Service Association Disability Income Protection Plan. Just fill out the information request below and mail today. There is no obligation.



Life Insurance Affiliate: United of Omaha

MUTUAL OF OMAHA INSURANCE COMPANY
HOME OFFICE: OMAHA, NEBRASKA

— INFORMATION REQUEST —

Mutual of Omaha Insurance Company
1666 Connecticut Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20009

Please rush full details on the Disability Income Protection Plan available to me as a member of the American Foreign Service Association.

Name _____

Street or Route _____

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

gennes has already alerted Count Rochambeau and cannot understand our failure to reply.

For Your Information (FYI): Department may be unaware that I am one of signatories of so-called Declaration of Independence. No copy needed here.

FRANKLIN

DEPARTMENT TELEGRAM 48 TO PARIS, DEC 19, 1777

Department grateful French offer of MAAG. However, we found it necessary to remind Lafayette and de Kalb who called at Department today that their status is purely informal and that regulations would prohibit full accreditation in capital for Rochambeau or his Mission. We prefer French attach him directly to Washington at Valley Forge. Lafayette registered no repeat no opposition and in fact seemed amused by this suggestion. Please clarify with Rochambeau earliest.

JEFFERSON

AMEMBASSY TELEGRAM 25 DEC 20, 1777

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Deane carried out instructions your 48 with Count rpt Count Rochambeau. Latter expressed surprise and inquired where and what was QUOTE Valley Forge UNQUOTE. (It seems clear Lafayette has not been reporting regularly to Defense Department here.) Deane seemed somewhat unnerved by his interview: he told me that while he hesitated so to report, he had strong impression Count R. had never heard of General Washington repeat Washington either. Above is strictly FYI only.

FRANKLIN

DEPARTMENT TELEGRAM 49 TO PARIS, DEC 23, 1777

Have completed examination text of Alliance Treaty and desire make certain suggestions:

(1) Department disturbed by overt reference to QUOTE war between US and England UNQUOTE in Article Two and by mention of QUOTE forces UNQUOTE of Allies. These terms may undermine our legal position with Congress: as you well aware, US is in no way responsible for present hostilities. Outbreaks in Concord and Lexington were entirely due British provocations. Therefore change Article Two to read QUOTE aid each other mutually with their good offices, their counsels and other activities UNQUOTE and substitute QUOTE present defense efforts UNQUOTE for War.

(2) Article Three should omit reference to QUOTE common enemy UNQUOTE which is not in keeping American ideals and would cause unfavorable comment in local press and in particular your own SATURDAY EVENING POST, which, for reasons unclear in York, has been authorized to appear again in occupied Philadelphia and is taking anti-French line, including violent attacks on Lafayette's private life.

Reference your 23, neither you nor Deane is plenipotentiary and no such status contemplated.

Trust above will prove helpful in expediting conclusion of Treaty. Advise soonest.

JEFFERSON

AMEMBASSY TELEGRAM 26, DEC 25, 1777. IMMEDIATE

Your 49 arrived too late. After considerable effort, I reached Vergennes at Versailles on Christmas Eve. He

Did you know that?

- Prior to 1960, when FSO's enjoyed a freedom of choice of contractor, Security and the Federal Storage Company (which merged in 1963) performed 80% of all packing and storage of household effects for State, AID and USIA?
- Since 1964, Security has not submitted a proposal in response to the Department's Invitation to Bid on a contract for such work?
- Security's packing and storage volume is greater than it was fifteen years ago? Our Cadillac-type service is deservedly popular.



- While Security does not solicit the export packing of FSO's household effects, many still come for that and, just as important, storage of their left-behind treasures in one of five beautiful depositories? They feel that peace of mind is worth the extra cost.

• Telephone 234-5600, Roland Showalter or Peter Williams, and find out. It may be less than you think!

- In packing and storage, as always, the best is the cheapest!

• In addition, hundreds of your colleagues are using our insurance department through its Annual Government Service Floater, and have been doing so for decades.

Security Storage Company of Washington

MAIN OFFICE: 1701 Florida Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009 • PHONE: (202) 234-5600
MARYLAND: Bethesda-Chevy Chase, Marlow Heights, White Oak/VIRGINIA: Alexandria, McLean
PHILIP LARNER GORE, President



Diplomacy: the art of getting the most for the least; a Ford diplomatic discount.

Before you buy any car, check out the special diplomatic discount savings you can get on one of our fine new Ford-built cars. Delivery will be arranged for you, either stateside or overseas. And you can have the car built to Export* or Domestic specifications. So place your order now for diplomatic savings on the cars for diplomats. For more information, contact Ford's Diplomatic Sales Office.

- Thunderbird • Elite • LTD • Granada • Torino
- Maverick • Mustang II • Pinto
- Continental • Mark IV • Marquis • Monarch
- Montego • Comet • Bobcat • Cougar

Please send me full information on using my diplomatic discount to purchase a new _____

WRITE TO:

DIPLOMATIC SALES: FORD MOTOR COMPANY
815 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006/Tel: (202)785-6047

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE/COUNTRY _____ ZIP _____

*Cannot be driven in the U.S.



told me with some impatience that he would not be available until after New Year QUOTE *Reveillon* UNQUOTE. However he seemed pleased by our efforts to reduce bellicose aspects of French commitments and suggested we shorten Article Three even further. He agreed see me Two January.

I have therefore given week's leave to Deane, who seems jumpy and depressed and keeps speaking of Department's QUOTE total incomprehension UNQUOTE. Unless Department perceives objection, I plan be absent several days myself. Madame Helvetius has invited me to stay with family and I badly need rest. I have developed acute gout in thumb and first two fingers of right repeat right hand.

I have decided to put my SATEVE POST holdings in trust for duration my diplomatic assignment. I feel it my duty, however, to inform Department that Condorcet is trying to arrange meeting with Voltaire: in addition symbolic effect, he believes that QUOTE Sage of Ferney UNQUOTE wants to purchase patent rights on my lightning rod for France.

FRANKLIN

DEPARTMENT TELEGRAM 50 TO PARIS, JAN 7, 1778

We entirely agree Vergennes' suggestion yourtel 26. You may modify Article Three accordingly. De Kalb, who called on Madison today also seemed pleased by what he calls QUOTE mutual de-escalation of commitments UNQUOTE. You should therefore encourage Deane to concentrate on fund-raising activities and leave texts to you.

While we of course have complete confidence your judgment, we do not repeat not see how your meeting with Voltaire could improve US image at Versailles where final authority re French aid resides. Suggest you ask Condorcet to put Voltaire off for time being, citing pressure official business but making clear that US admiration his work in no way diminished.

JEFFERSON

AMEMBASSY TELEGRAM 27, JAN 10, 1778 PRIORITY

On basis careful collation of all Department instructions to date, we find that Article Three now reads in its entirety: QUOTE Each of the two contracting parties shall on its own part make all efforts in its power UNQUOTE

While I do not question Department's wishes, I am somewhat perplexed as to precise benefits US might expect to realize under this Article.

Deane is even more perplexed. He has asked that Embassy send him home on next packet for consultation.

FRANKLIN

DEPARTMENT TELEGRAM 51, JAN 12 PRIORITY

Your understanding re Department thinking on Article Three correct. However, I shall verify with Jefferson when he returns from foreign policy lecture at Charlottesville.

Deane hereby recalled for consultation and extended repeat extended home leave.

MADISON (Acting)

AMEMBASSY TELEGRAM 28, JAN 20, 1778

Finally ran Vergennes to earth and conveyed texts as

Does your wine list include one of the finest names from home?

The Christian Brothers, with headquarters in the prestigious Napa Valley, are among the oldest vintners of California wines.

Their reputation for fine varietal wines is established throughout the world. Gamay Noir and Zinfandel were acclaimed two "of the best California reds" by French gastronomes Henri Gault and Christian Millau, in a recent article in *Newsweek*. These and other fine wines from The Christian Brothers cellars can be served with pride, and the confidence that you are offering your country's choicest.

If you buy for Embassies or other American delegations, you will want a copy of our "Export Guide" to The Christian Brothers Premium California Wines. We offer complete service anywhere in the world.

The Christian Brothers
Vintners of The Napa Valley, California



WRITE: CHARLES J. CANDIANO, DEPT. F.S., FROMM AND SICHEL, INC., 655 BEACH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94109
Worldwide Distributors: Fromm and Sichel, Inc. San Francisco, California.

modified by Department. He examined them at length and remarked several times that US was certainly QUOTE most reasonable UNQUOTE. When I asked if he could obtain approval of texts from other Ministers and HCM, he replied QUOTE *Croyez-vous que cela vaut la peine?* UNQUOTE. Trust meaning clear to Department.

FRANKLIN

DEPARTMENT TELEGRAM 52, JAN 25 IMMEDIATE
PERSONAL FROM SECSTATE

I am deeply disturbed by tone of Vergennes' remarks yourtel 28. You should immediately remind him of our long efforts to reach understanding with HCM GOVT and of limitations imposed by US policies and procedures. You may add that US and Congress unanimous in hope that military assistance and financial aid will be forthcoming urgently.

In latter connection, Hamilton, who has assumed role as Washington's financial czar, asks whether Necker will agree to use local counterpart funds in Continental dollars for construction at Valley Forge. He claims Lafayette shows no interest in ecological problems at Valley Forge nor in inflationary effects French troop spending. I hesitate to bother you but Hamilton is as usual most insistent.

JEFFERSON

AMEMBASSY TELEGRAM 29, JAN 30, 1778 FOR SECSTATE
EYES ONLY

Conveyed your views to Vergennes while he was taking off for royal hunt at Marly. He seemed somewhat irritable.

Re financial assistance, he promised to check with Necker. He called me later in day to say that Necker QUOTE does not give one Continental what you do with counterpart funds UNQUOTE. I interpret this as criticism of US monetary policy and hope you will bring it forcefully to Hamilton's attention.

Condorcet has cancelled my appointment with Voltaire. He said that QUOTE *Le Vieux* UNQUOTE was somewhat annoyed and is planning new pamphlet linking QUOTE savages of the West UNQUOTE with Rousseau.

FRANKLIN

DEPARTMENT TELEGRAM 54 TO PARIS, FEB 6 PRIORITY

You now authorized to sign Alliance Treaty. Jefferson is again absent at Monticello, but after lengthy consultation here with Deane, who is strongly supported by Valley Forge, we find it advisable to reinsert phrase QUOTE against their common enemy UNQUOTE in Article Three. Inform Department urgently when French have accepted.

Home leave has been beneficial to Deane who sends best wishes. Suggest you coordinate more closely with him after his return.

MADISON (Acting)

AMEMBASSY TELEGRAM 31, FEB 8, 1778 IMMEDIATE

I communicated substance yourtel 54 last night to Syndic Gérard who is assisting Vergennes. I stressed return to original language Article Three and Gérard foresaw no difficulty. But when I arrived at the Hotel de Lautrec this morning in full regalia (FYI I wore same Manchester figured velvet I used to wear at Whitehall END FYI), I found no one repeat no one present for signing.

Continued on page 22

KEEPING • SHIPPING LOSSES OF ALL KINDS • PET LIABILITY • LIGHTNING DAMAGE • TRANSIT/WAR RISKS • SPORTS LIABILITY

Keep It Simple!



Plan to set-up housekeeping abroad for awhile? With all of the other details associated with your move—why add to the confusion by selecting a complicated insurance program.

Think TRAVEL-PAK! One policy covers your household and personal effects—enroute—while living abroad—enroute home and, if you request, while in storage! Travel-Pak also includes Personal Liability protection for you and your family.

You need only one—TRAVEL-PAK—for complete insurance protection on your household and personal effects while you're moving around.

You get a lot of coverage with TRAVEL-PAK—but the cost is surprisingly reasonable!

Write or call us for your copy of the TRAVEL-PAK brochure—application. Then you'll know for sure why Travel-Pak is first choice among people who are on the move!

travel-pak

WHEN YOU'RE GOING TO LIVE ABROAD!

James W. Barrett Company, Inc.

A Division of Underwriters Service, Inc.
Insurance Brokers
1140 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036
Telephone: 202-296-6440

STOLEN LUGGAGE • FIRE DAMAGE • BODILY INJURY LIABILITY • BREAKING AND ENTERING • LOSSES BY AIR • RAIL • MARINE • PILFERAGE • WIND

Gentlemen: 4-B
Tell me all about Travel-Pak.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

"I think some of those more intelligent statesmen in Japan realized that they were on the brink of an abyss and it was my belief that they tried their best to reverse the engine." — Joseph C. Grew

TOKYO 1941

JOHN K. EMMERSON

The American Embassy in Tokyo during 1941 was a bachelor establishment. Most of the wives and children had sailed for the United States by the first part of the year and from June until after Pearl Harbor only Mrs. Grew and the wife of the naval attache remained. There were 99 of us when we posed for a formal photograph in the Embassy courtyard in April. This number included Foreign Service officers, clerks, secretaries, and Japanese employees.

Eugene Dooman was counselor, second in command, and the Ambassador's principal advisor. He was swarthy, pudgy, a BIJ (born in Japan), and by that time one of the most senior Japanese specialists in the Service. He spoke fluent Japanese and was positive and sure in his opinions. Mr. Grew had great confidence in him and in his judgments. Dooman drafted many

of the Embassy's telegrams and the Ambassador invariably consulted him before despatching any messages or making any recommendations to Washington. Fancying himself a gourmet, he took pride in the cuisine prepared in his household and knew the best and most out-of-the-way restaurants in Tokyo and the extraordinary dishes which they could serve. He had a recently imported and expensive Capehart phonograph, at that time the acme in instruments for recorded music, and exulted in treating his after-dinner guests to selections from his rich classical record collection. Like Grew, he respected both the Latin and English languages. He corrected sentences—the words "reportedly" and "contact" (as a noun) were his pet hates—and liked to remind junior officers that the clarity and accuracy of their drafting should be a source of pride, since someday their handiwork would be displayed before posterity in published State Departments documents.

Among the senior officers were Edward S. (Ned) Crocker and Charles E. (Chip) Bohlen. Neither was a Japanese language officer but both had come to the Embassy with

sound reputations from their previous posts. Ned Crocker was buoyant, a man of *recherché* tastes, and with a great zest for living life. After the families had gone, Ned would stop in for a nightcap at any hour on his way home from the late night parties which by that time had become epidemic in Tokyo. He was the one who always managed to import odd and palate-titillating delicacies from the best sources in Europe in a time of serious scarcity and regimented austerity. His exuberance carried him often to the golf course, on one of the earliest trans-Pacific flights of the Panam Clippers—just for the ride—and on a round-trip boat trip to and from San Francisco when his wife left Japan, to spend a total of only six days in the United States.

Chip had come directly from Moscow and was making his first encounter with the Orient. To our amazement, he found the freedoms and comforts of a wartime Japan, harassed as life often was by the amateurish obstructionism of self-important minions of the law, refreshing and exciting in contrast to the grimly closed Soviet society he had left. Since I had a large house and no family with me, I invited him to move in. For ten months we

John K. Emmerson, now Senior Research Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford, is in the process of writing a book based on his personal experiences in the Foreign Service. He entered the Service in 1935 and served at Tokyo, Osaka, Tokyo again, Lima, Chungking, Moscow, Karachi, Beirut, Paris, Lagos, Salisbury and yet again in Tokyo, as counselor with personal rank of minister.

shared the big house at *Hiro-cho Go-banchi* which otherwise would have given me only space, silence, and too many imagined echoes of infants' voices. Chip was ebullient, curious about Japan, and always willing to share his inexhaustible fund of uproarious stories and, at a party, his inimitable Russian songs. In addition, I luckily and incidentally received from him an unparalleled course in the enigma-wrapped mystery of the Soviet system.

I was the most junior of the third secretaries, ranking after several experienced and competent Japanese language officers. My job was to watch the press which, in spite of rigid censorship and control, revealed nuances in opinion and trends in official policy discernible in no other way. There was a newspaper for almost every household, although the total country-wide circulation of 11 million would roughly equal that of only one of Tokyo's leading metropolitan dailies today. The repetitious jargon of journalistic writing in 1941 was numbing: the exhortations to patriotic fervor, the encomiums to the "holy war," the self-righteous pride in the New Order, the Coprosperity Sphere, and the Eight Corners of the Universe under One Roof. Somehow all of these phrases, including those used to depict the ever-bogging war in China: "direction-shift" to mean retreat and "breaking jewel" to mean battle death, seemed to a foreigner more fanciful, more solemnly and pathetically ludicrous when expressed in the stylized lines of the Chinese ideographs. Sophisticated Japanese readers, one knew, pushed away the detritus of official verbiage and were able to perceive some of the realities underneath. One had to try to do likewise, but being of a different culture and having to communicate to a skeptical Washington bureaucracy did not ease the task. Many years later, when I tried to read *Pravda* and *Izvestia* in Moscow, I experienced a similar feeling. Kremlinologists became geniuses at this kind of cryptanalysis.

By this time most of our Japanese relationships, except with officials in the Foreign Office, had been cut. Even our oldest friend, Countess Watanabe, who, in a courageous gesture of friendship, had come to the house to say good-

bye to Dorothy, did not get in touch with us now. Nor did we embarrass her by communication. The Embassy tended to become an ingrown society. We saw each other at work and we saw each other outside of work. We stayed late in the office: my telegrams were usually ready to show to Mr. Grew by 6 or 6:30 in the evening, but late developments would extend the hours. And with no waiting wives and children at home, we made our own social life at each other's houses and apartments. Fortunately, most of us had placed generous orders for food and drink with supply houses in San Francisco and Copenhagen so that when shipping stopped, as it did in the summer, we had ample stores to draw on. All of this meant a very frantic, impulsive, convivial life. I

"The United States had
come a long way
from Secretary of
State Stimson's
indignant dictum of
1930: 'Gentlemen do
not read each
other's mail.' "

once wrote my wife: "You must yawn at this long recital of social events in Tokyo. They sound inconsequential, especially in view of all that is important which has been going on. But of course I can't write about that . . . Funny part is that none of us feel any danger or think much about it, except that the hilarity may be a little too hilarious."

We discovered that the word *bever* in Webster's "Unabridged Dictionary" meant "a light repast between meals." This was inspiration enough for the Bever Club, which met promptly at 11 o'clock every morning in Ned Crocker's office. He always had special cheeses from Holland or Denmark, sausages or salami, crackers or pumpernickel, and Danish beer. Officers and secretaries, very

casually, very impromptu, would happen to drop in and be urged to sample the *bever*. Mr. Grew may never have discovered the Bever Club, it being one of those little things an ambassador would prefer not to know, like the fact that almost everyone in the Embassy bought yen at favorable rates in China and somehow managed to get them into Japan.

Most of the Embassy officers, except me, played golf. Grew loved the game but was not very good at it. He was amused and pleased when his golf became a political barometer. A day on the course even at a most critical moment demonstrated calm in the face of storm. When everyone played golf, I found myself in charge of the Embassy. One day Houstoun-Boswall, the British chargé d'affaires, panted breathlessly up the stairs of the Chancery to discuss with the Ambassador a most urgent matter. Grew was out, playing golf. Might he then see the counselor? He was out, playing golf. What about a first secretary? All out, playing golf. To his harumphing dismay, Houstoun-Boswall had to bluster his business to me, who earnestly promised to do the necessary and to bring his representation to the highest Embassy authority as soon as the golfers returned. Stanley Hornbeck managed to restrain his enthusiasm for the Ambassador's golfing propensities. When he read Grew's happy description of the long Memorial Day weekend at Kawana on the Izu peninsula: "We played golf daily . . . for four days," he penciled icily alongside his heavy red underlines: "We worked."

Embassy officers were slaves to the pouch, our only link with the Department, except for telegrams. Normally weekly intervals lengthened as American ship sailings became more irregular. Grew complained to his diary on March 20 that 21 pouches had just arrived after a lapse of 29 days, "probably a record." Pouch day, when it came, produced a paroxysm of activity, to finish in time despatches, letters, enclosures. The day after was the letdown: golf, the beach, sleep.

The problem was one not only of time but of security. Governments needed to protect their confidential communications. The United

States had come a long way from Secretary of State Stimson's indignant and immortal dictum of 1930: "Gentlemen do not read each other's mail." The Embassy was never told that, through the system known as MAGIC, top officials in Washington were reading daily Japan's diplomatic and military messages. MAGIC's most spectacular success was the shooting down in April 1943 of the Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Japanese Fleet, Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku, whose airplane's location was pinpointed by an intercepted message for a certain day and hour.

Japanese efforts to break American codes have been less publicized than has MAGIC. On August 6 I had dinner at the home of Herbert Norman, a Canadian Foreign Service officer whom I had met because of our mutual interests in Japanese history and politics. Norman had been born in Japan of missionary parents and was a known scholar of things Japanese. He had published an excellent book which had already earned him a sound reputation: "Japan's Emergence as a Modern State." One of the guests that evening was Ushiba Tomohiko, then private secretary to the prime minister, Prince Konoye. After dinner we sat in the garden, drinking coffee and liqueurs, conversing in the warm semi-darkness. Ushiba became very serious and talked to me with surprising candor. He believed, he said, that the last hope for adjusting the Japanese-American relations rested with Prince Konoye, who would like to talk oftener with Ambassador Grew but feared leakages and publicity. Then Ushiba dropped his bombshell. Embassy reports sent to Washington were being read by Japanese authorities. We did, he understood, have "one confidential code."

Mr. Grew had earlier expressed concern about the safety of our communications. When he once heard that a Japanese had credited him with inside knowledge of behind-the-scenes events, he wondered whether the source of such judgment came from reading our telegrams. He was confident that our top secret codes were secure and was somewhat reassured by Ushiba's remark that at least one was unreadable. I remember the Ambassador remarking, after read-

ing my telegram, "Salman's hair will stand on end when he sees this." David A. Salman was in charge of the Department's Code Room.

In fact, the Japanese Army, Navy, and Foreign Office each maintained code-breaking organizations. Neither the Army nor Navy was particularly successful in reading American military messages, but the *Ango Kenkyu-han* (Code Research Section) in the Foreign Office had for some time been able to decipher the less sophisticated State Department cryptographic systems. The Gray Code was used largely to save telegraphic expense since we assumed it was unsafe. Numerous frequently-used phrases and sentences could be expressed in one word. President Roosevelt sent his last

"I am appalled at the
wasted words,
the talking past each
other, and the
helpless yielding of
decision to fate."

minute message to the Emperor on December 6 in Gray Code: "saves time—I don't mind if it gets picked up." The Brown Code was more recent and more respected but still a mere dictionary. All of our names were in it and I can remember the secret pleasure in discovering the name "Emmerson" with two m's, the code word for which I cannot now for the life of me recall.

Due partially to inhibitions over message security, the State Department limited its communications with the Tokyo Embassy. Not only were we ignorant of MAGIC, but Washington seldom bothered to inform us of policy positions—if there indeed were any—or even of conversations with representatives of other governments on matters pertaining directly to Japan. Grew was humiliated to learn from the British Ambassador, Sir Robert Craigie,

of conversations by American officials in London and Washington: "how *infra dignitatem* it is to receive such information from a foreign colleague concerning the intimate affairs of my own government." In a cable to Sumner Welles, "strictly confidential to the Acting Secretary," Grew related with injured pride that Craigie had shown him "most secret" British messages reporting what Welles had told the British Ambassador and what the Director of US Naval Intelligence had said to the British Naval Attache. He asked that Welles explain to the President "the great discouragement and handicap with which I as his Ambassador am confronted. Unless a motor is hitting on all cylinders it cannot function effectively." This feeling of blind groping in the dark, without guidance or even comment on his telegrams, persisted through Grew's assignment to Japan. Reflecting, in 1951, he recalled the Embassy's isolation of ten years before: "Our telegrams, save when specific instructions were asked, seldom brought response; they were rarely even referred to, and reporting to our Government was like throwing pebbles into a lake at night; we were not permitted to see even the ripples."

My later Foreign Service experience confirmed that of Ambassador Grew. Almost invariably my British colleagues were better informed than I; London faithfully repeated pertinent messages to all interested posts. Often I learned of events in Washington from British diplomats who freely shared their confidential messages with me. As chargé d'affaires of the Embassy in Pakistan, for example, I had a close relationship with the British High Commissioner, and we consulted frequently. On one occasion, when the policies of our respective governments were compatible, we consorted in drafting parallel messages to London and Washington.

During all of 1941 the problem of peace or war between Japan and the United States was ever uppermost in our minds. Looking back over the experience of that year, and reading the voluminous and confusing record of the official and unofficial conversations, telegrams, despatches, memoranda, letters, diaries, and minutes of con-

ferences, I am appalled at the wasted words, the talking past each other, and the helpless yielding of decision to fate. We in the Embassy were convinced—and Ambassador Grew remained so to the end—that a Japanese-American war was unnecessary and that enough common points of national interest existed to make mutual accommodation possible — “constructive conciliation” was his phrase. Yet as observers on the spot, we also watched close-up Japan’s progressive enmeshment in a New Order she could not successfully construct and in frustrations the depth of which the United States was not prepared to understand.

Some theories of history minimize the role of humans who are said to be swept along by the inexorable tides of economics or politics. Perhaps this was the case in 1941, that the developments of the ten previous years led inevitably to war, or, as the War Crimes Tribunal solemnly decided in 1948, that war resulted from a major Japanese conspiracy to dominate all countries bordering on the Pacific and Indian oceans, or that Emperor Hirohito plotted it all for years. We who lived this history may be myopic judges, but I cannot myself accept the “irresistible tide” or “conspiratorial” theories. I think, perhaps too much, of the patriotic, dedicated, but fallible, human beings in both Japan and the United States in whose hands rested much of the responsibility during this period. Perhaps I was influenced by the attitude of Grew, my first boss in the Foreign Service, about whom his biographer, Waldo Heinrichs, has written: “Precisionist that he was, diplomacy was for him essentially a matter of personal relationships, the intercourse of nations being governed best by the code of gentlemanly conduct.” The personal relationships were important in 1941.

On the American side, Franklin D. Roosevelt had set his eyes on Europe and hoped to avoid a clash with Japan, or at least to stave it off as long as possible. The Army and Navy by 1941 supported Plan Dog, an “Atlantic first” outline of military strategy which stipulated that even if forced into war with Japan, no major operations would be conducted in the Pacific until the

British Isles were safe. FDR hoped to keep Japan quiet and he greatly admired and respected his friend Joe Grew, his man in Tokyo.

In the State Department, Cordell Hull, Tennessee lawyer turned Secretary of State, stuck to his moral principles, his outrage against Japan, and his faith and concern in China, and acted out, during the summer and fall of 1941, often with distaste and exasperation, the long series of encounters with Admiral Nomura Kichisa-

“Grew noted how dangerous it was to have in office a foreign minister who ‘by all criteria can only be considered as mentally ill-balanced.’ ”

buro, the Japanese Ambassador. Hull’s chief advisor on Far Eastern affairs, Stanley K. Hornbeck, in turn looked to Maxwell Hamilton, then chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs (FE), and to the principal Japanese expert in the Department, Joseph Ballantine. Hornbeck and Hamilton were both China-oriented. Documents that found their way to Hull had wandered over the desks of Ballantine, Hamilton, and Hornbeck, acquiring deletions, emendations, and rephrasing on the way. For an officer assigned to FE, getting a piece of paper as far as Hornbeck, let alone beyond, was a moment of minor triumph. Fearful of his chief’s eagle eye for error, Max Hamilton would fix on every phrase, every word, every comma to achieve the perfection which could pass the Hornbeckian judgment. He often failed. The two-way paper traffic, up the line for approval, back the line for correction, and up and back and up again, made business a crawl.

Still, with all of Hornbeck’s stern standards and Hamilton’s careful, subservient gravity, both men thought an occasional night on the town would do the staff good. The routine was an annual visit to the Gayety Burlesque in downtown

Washington where the male officers of FE, without wives, would temporarily forget the questions of war and peace in Asia and, like little boys at a peephole show, would stare self-consciously at the bumps and grinds of the Gayety’s tired and shopworn strippers.

On the Japanese side, the leading characters in Tokyo were Prince Konoye, prime minister until General Tojo took over in October, and Matsuoka Yosuke, the American-educated foreign minister who was replaced in July by Admiral Toyoda Teijiro. Grew, in 1940, called Konoye “a man of weak physique, poor health, and weak will.” Born into a prestigious noble family, Konoye toyed with radicalism in his youth, later cultivated relations with intellectuals on the one hand and ultranationalists on the other. It was said of him that he kept “many masks beside him.” He was prime minister when the China Incident began in July 1937, again in 1940 when the New Structure and Imperial Rule Assistance Association came into fruition, and yet again in September 1940 when the tripartite Axis pact was signed. Still Grew was convinced in the summer of 1941 that Konoye represented the best and last chance for a settlement with Japan. The Americans gave him little help, and he himself lacked courage and determination. He seemed impotent before destiny; he weakened before opposition and sought escape from crisis in illness or flight. He was, in the words of a Japanese diplomat, “a shy squirrel sheltered in the deep forests.” Herbert Norman, Canadian scholar-diplomat, called him “congenitally a hypochondriac, a melancholic given to hesitations, indecision, and procrastination.”

If Konoye was a vacillating hypochondriac, Matsuoka was a compulsively loquacious, emotionally disturbed man. Grew was at first pleased to deal with the first Japanese foreign minister with whom he could speak English. When Matsuoka took over the Foreign Office in 1940, Grew described him as “a loose talker but a man who is patently straightforward and sincere according to his lights.” But as acquaintance progressed, judgments changed. Matsuoka talked incessantly, wrote letters and notes to Mr. Grew in

English, and then became incensed when he learned that the Ambassador had reported his remarks, which were intended, he insisted, as comments between friends, to "Mr. Grew," and not to the American Ambassador. Grew noted how dangerous it was to have in office a foreign minister who "by all criteria can only be considered as mentally ill-balanced." We in the Embassy viewing Matsuoka's very un-Japanese antics from a distance, through Grew's and Dooman's reports and in the press, could not help wondering what had happened during that Oregon-spent youth, whether some American quirk, some wounding emotional experience or some insidious inciting influence had warped his Japanese character.

In Washington the Japanese were represented by the Admiral-Ambassador Nomura Kichisaburo, a genial sea dog who had met Franklin Roosevelt in 1915 when FDR was assistant secretary of the Navy and Nomura a naval attache at the Japanese Embassy. Nomura was proud of the letters he had received from Roosevelt in the intervening years, in 1929, 1933, and 1937, and printed them as frontispieces for this memoirs. Hull's first impression of Nomura was of his "solemnity," his "mirthless chuckle," and his bowing. Hull also was often perplexed by what Nomura was trying to tell him in his halting Japanese English. Conversations were often tête-à-tête with no interpreter present. Throughout the succeeding months of informal US-Japanese conversations—they never became "negotiations"—Nomura showed himself as an earnest peace-seeker but inexperienced, bumbling, imprecise, and with amazing lapses of good judgment. He frequently withheld or delayed urgent communications which he was instructed to deliver, altered texts to make them more palatable to Hull, and inaccurately reported conversations with FDR and Hull to Tokyo. Grew in August wrote that he had "too much evidence that the Japanese Embassy in Washington was half the time asleep at the switch either in failing to understand statements made by our government or in failing to report them promptly, accurately, and comprehensively." Ushiba, Konoye's

private secretary, told me on that August evening that the staff of the Japanese Embassy in Washington was "painfully weak." The Foreign Office would have preferred to hold the conversations in Tokyo, removed from the fumbling hands of the good admiral, but the State Department, doubtless wary of giving Ambassador Grew too much initiative or apprehensive that he might be too "understanding" of Japan, insisted that the locus be Washington.

Acting quite outside the official channels of governmental communication—the Foreign Office, the State Department, and the two embassies—were several private citizens, Americans and Japanese, self-seized with the mission of finding a way out of the Japanese-American impasse.

One Japanese was Hasimoto Tetsuma, a former member of the nationalist Black Dragon Society, who had organized the *Shiumso* (Purple Cloud Society) and been known to the Embassy since at least 1939 when in a half page advertisement replying to the Horse's Mouth speech, he had castigated the United States for the conquest of its overseas territories (Hawaii, Panama Canal) and for perpetuating these unscrupulous methods in its recent attitude toward Japan. In 1940 Grew had a chance to tell Hashimoto what he thought of him but Dooman assured the Ambassador that the leader of the Purple Cloud was having a change of heart and was genuinely working for improved Japanese-American relations. In early January 1941 Hashimoto turned up in Washington and presented his plan for peace to Hornbeck, Hamilton, and Ballantine. These gentlemen were not impressed. Ballantine wrote that Hashimoto was visionary and impractical and that his proposals offered no basis for an affirmative response from the United States. He continued to visit the Embassy after most other Japanese friends had feared to call. Dooman respected him and duly reported his "confidential" revelations to Washington. Twenty-one years later Hashimoto and his Purple Cloud were to appear again in my life. But that is another story.

The Americans were Bishop James E. Walsh and Father James M. Drought of the Catholic

Maryknoll Mission who, from the time they were introduced to President Roosevelt by Postmaster General Frank C. Walker on January 23, until the following November, worked with secrecy, gall, and supreme confidence to prevent a war they naively believed their efforts could stop. Their two Japanese associates were Wikawa Tadao, a Christian and an executive of a cooperative bank, and Colonel Iwakuro Hideo, an energetic military man who had conducted political activities in Manchuria and China and, in 1941, was supposed to be influential in the Japanese Army. Wikawa and Iwakuro collaborated with Walsh and Drought, busily carrying messages to and from their highly placed friends in Tokyo and purposefully "handling" the gullible Nomura in Washington. Known as the "John Doe Associates," their backdoor diplomacy, in the words of Robert Butow, author of the definitive history of their efforts, "made an amicable settlement of the Far Eastern crisis harder to obtain." Drought drafted documents out of his head which were then passed off as the positions of Japan, or, as occasion demanded, of the United States. Hull and Hornbeck were skeptical of the priests' activities, but felt no stone should be left unturned to preserve peace. Nomura was completely taken in by Drought and Wikawa and seemed at times unable to distinguish between his government's policies as they were communicated from Tokyo and the persuasive-sounding language of Drought's drafts. Butow concludes: "From start to finish this prolonged search for peace in Washington and all corresponding contacts in Tokyo were consistently under the pernicious influence of the misbegotten actions of the John Doe Associates operating behind the scenes."

The record of the Japanese-American diplomatic conversations of 1941 is long and tortuous. The details have been published in official documents and in the numerous accounts of historians and will not be repeated here. Apart from the issues, which in the end proved impossible to reconcile, one can imagine the difficulties of communication, understanding and

Continued on page 25

"... to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations." — Abraham Lincoln

The Indo-Chinese Refugee Program—A View from a Camp

ALAN CARTER

There was more than just passing irony in my assignment as Senior Civilian Coordinator at the Indo-Chinese Resettlement Center at Fort Indiantown Gap, Pennsylvania. Several weeks before, I had left Saigon on one of the last helicopters, anguished and angered over the failure of the Embassy to extricate the majority of the Vietnamese who worked for us. Now, suddenly, there was an opportunity to participate in the last act of that tragedy, an opportunity to help in the resettlement of over 130,000 Vietnamese who had succeeded in fleeing to the United States. There was, in other words, an opportunity to help end this piece of history on an affirmative note.

It turned out to be the most rewarding and difficult assignment of my career in government. Difficult because none of us who worked for the President's Inter-Agency Task Force, directed by Julia Taft, had

any training or preparation for what was involved. Certainly those of us who directed the resettlement camps had never before faced the range of problems in public administration involved; and none of us, at the outset at least, knew whether it would be possible to close the camps within the seven months that had been established as the deadline.

The assignment had characteristics rare in government. There were two clear-cut objectives and there was a definable time-frame built into them. First we were charged with running the camps, with making them as decent and comfortable as possible for the Indo-Chinese; and secondly, we were to assist in resettlement. But we were on self-destruct; the bureaucratic mechanisms we had to establish were to end within a foreseeable period of time.

On the civilian side, we were asked to coordinate and direct the refugee-related activities and personnel assigned to our staff from a number of federal agencies, including HEW, the Department of Labor, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Center for Disease Control, State, AID, USIA, the Social Security Administration, and others. We had to coordinate with the local community, the Office of the Governor of

the State of Pennsylvania, its Child Welfare Bureau, the Social Services Bureau. We had to work with the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, the YMCA and other private groups. We related directly to the work of the various Voluntary Agencies who had the specific responsibility for refugee resettlement—the Lutheran Immigration Service, Church World Services, the International Rescue Committee, the Catholic Conference and others.

The other side of the staffing coin was the United States military establishment, which served as the support and logistics arms of the operation. The specific responsibilities of the military included housing, messing, security, medical and clothing services to the refugees. But had they held strictly to the terms of their tasks, it would not have been possible to operate Fort Indiantown Gap as well as I like to think we did.

For it was the military that took up the slack that was created by the single important failing of the federal civilian bureaucracy. Even with the intercession of the Office of Management and Budget, it was difficult to get the civilian agencies to staff the Inter-Agency Task Force on other than an intermittent basis. On the day of my arrival at Indiantown Gap, I attended a

Alan Carter is currently on an interim assignment as Assistant to the Director of the United States Information Agency. Prior to his six-month stint as Senior Civil Coordinator at Indiantown Gap, he was Minister-Counselor for Public Affairs at the US Embassy in Vietnam from August 1974 to April 1975. His four previous years were spent as Minister-Counselor for Public Affairs, Tokyo. He has been Assistant Director for USIA for Television and Assistant Director for Near East and South Asia.

farewell party for a considerable number of key personnel and, at that point, the camp had been open only five and one-half weeks. People were assigned to us for 30 days and sometimes 60 days. The caliber of the people varied; that was to be expected. But to hold together an operation as diverse as ours required something more than a revolving door approach to personnel. The problem was compounded by the fact that replacements frequently did not arrive for days and sometimes weeks after the vacancy developed. I am still struck by the inability of the federal establishment, large as it is, to staff a temporary operation with good people for the duration. If nothing else, the egos of a significant number of bureaucrats must have been swollen when they learned how incredibly indispensable they were to the ongoing functions of agencies that numbered their staffs in the thousands.

I would not myself be comfortable operating within the military bureaucracy; but I became envious of the command it exercises. Its officers and men were usually assigned for the duration, even at great personal and professional sacrifice.

It was the military that filled the cracks we developed on the civilian side, responded to every request which took them beyond those tasks assigned them and did it with a sense of commitment and willingness that was altogether remarkable.

So, for that matter, was the sense of commitment of the civilian force, something I will elaborate on later.

Indiantown Gap, of all the camps, had a slight edge in experience, since we were the last to open. The military unit that actually opened the camp had gone through the wringer at Fort Chaffee in Arkansas. Some ten days before the arrival of the first refugees at the Gap, the 46th Support Group, which normally headquarters at Fort Bragg, was shifted from Chaffee to Indiantown Gap and went into that incredible 24-hour-a-day demobbing operation to get things ready. The first cadre of civilians arrived at the same time as the 46th and when, on May 28, the first refugees arrived, basic facilities were in place.

By the end of June, we reached our peak population, almost 17,000 Indo-Chinese. From that point on, we were, in essence, running a city. But a city whose inhabitants were all laboring under various degrees of trauma and fear, a people with a tragic past and an uncertain future. Both past and present weighed heavily on them and entered into all of our deliberations and plans for helping them cope.

There was, throughout, a somewhat unreal air about the camp; walking into the area set aside for the refugees, one saw mostly smiles. But they were the smiles of Asians, meant as much as anything else to shield from public view the inner feelings of pain, homesickness and uncertainty that, as time went along, we found to be endemic.

There were, of course, the counterbalances provided by the extraordinary Indo-Chinese resiliency and resourcefulness. It is impossible to envisage any other aggregate of 17,000 people in that camp which could conduct itself with the pride, self-discipline and (at least outward) calm that were so noticeable. One statistic will suffice as an example; during the entire operation of Indiantown Gap there were only four cases, two of theft and two of assault, that were serious enough to bring into the court system of Pennsylvania. That is four cases in six months amongst the 22,000 people who went through the camp.

Their fear and concern and our problem of dealing with a sudden influx of the refugees all relate directly to how the camps were run.

There was, for example, a white plastic tape that ran around the entire perimeter of the area of the camp which housed the refugees. It was there as an extension of the legal fiction which, in effect, made that area extra-territorial. Not until a refugee was matched with a sponsor could he leave that area since, according to the fiction, he had not yet fulfilled the requirements of immigration and therefore was not legally in the United States. To cross the tape would constitute a violation of the law; and therefore, all of his activities took place behind that tape—his living quarters were there, his mess halls, schools and recreation areas.

But that tape served still another

function, perhaps as important as the legal. It enabled us to provide some sense of privacy by limiting the number of Americans who had access to that area. Media and the inevitable VIPs were allowed in; and, of course, camp officials, but few others. We were determined that the Indo-Chinese were not to be on display; not to be gawked at; and given as much privacy as the facilities would permit.

Privacy, however, was a relatively scarce commodity from the moment a refugee came to the camp. He was, in the first instance, issued an identity card, assigned to his barracks, given sheets and blankets and then moved into the barracks with up to 90 others. The one thing we could provide was a plywood partition for each family unit. But, symbolically, that was the maximum privacy we could afford the refugees.

They were, inevitably, subject to lines at the mess hall, interviews by US officials, discussions with case workers for the Voluntary Agencies, medical examinations and all of the other essential mechanisms of a refugee program—almost all of which impinged on what we normally regard as privacy and all of which were essential.

But along with what we required of the refugees one must note what we offered him in his transition from one society to another.

That transition has special problems unlike those confronted by other large immigrant groups to the United States, problems which will continue to compound the efforts of the refugees to integrate into our culture.

First was the fact that the Indo-Chinese refugees found no large existing ethnic base to which they could attach themselves; and secondly, the program had built into it the inherent necessity of dispersal. There was no way in which the Indo-Chinese could automatically congregate in large communities. That process of congregation has, in the past, served immigrant groups well, permitting a more gradual and less jarring transition.

Thus, our "acculturation" efforts had to address themselves to what we called "survival skills" at the most basic levels. Our adult education courses focused largely on such things as shopping at

Continued on page 28

Military Government believes that free exchange of opinions and ideas is basic to the establishment in Germany of a democratic society . . .

USIS During the Occupation of Germany

EDMUND SCHECHTER

For a contemporary American it would be hard to visualize an environment without newspapers, radio, television, magazines—a total vacuum. But this was exactly the situation when, after the collapse of the last German resistance in the spring of 1945, American Military Government officers entered Germany. They found the country completely destroyed, not only physically but also psychologically and emotionally: the big cities a mass of rubble; the concentration camps and their few survivors just liberated; millions of Germans and displaced persons of a dozen nationalities on the road to old or new abodes; a German population stunned by the sudden transition from Hitler's claims of domination and racial superiority to utter defeat and submission. And in this situation of chaos and confusion all German newspapers and radio stations had ceased to function. They either stopped operating on their own as the allied armies approached or were quickly closed by the occupation authorities.

It proved immediately necessary, however, to fill this gap in

order to acquaint the German population with Military Government instructions and announcements. Military Government decided, therefore, to publish some newspapers of its own. This was a temporary measure only and the papers were discontinued a few months later. Only the *Neue Zeitung*, an overt American paper in the German language, stayed on for many years and served as an example of the best in American journalism.

The regional radio stations were taken over by Military Government as ideal vehicles to give the Germans, accustomed to get news and basic information from the "official" radio, the "do's and don'ts" issued by the occupation authorities.

The basis for all these early actions was a Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) directive issued in April 1945, to General Eisenhower, Commander in Chief of the Occupation forces. Based on decisions taken at the Yalta summit and later amended at Potsdam, it outlined the fundamental provisions governing the treatment of Germany in the initial post-war period. It declared that the principal allied objective should be to "prevent Germany from ever again becoming a threat to the peace of the world." Essential steps in the accomplishment of this objective must be the "elimination of Nazism and militarism in all their forms," as preparation for an "eventual reconstruction of German political life on a democratic basis."

It is important to note that this

last positive aim was included in the otherwise very tough language of the directive at that early stage. It made possible the quick development of subsequent policies by General Lucius Clay, who took over soon thereafter as Supreme Commander and Military Governor.

Filling the News Void

It became obvious very soon that a positive program of democratization required that Military Government as such get out of the news business as quickly as possible.

In the press field the new system introduced was "licensing" of carefully selected Germans as newspaper publishers. In radio, it consisted of the expansion of programs to include news, features and some entertainment. However, in view of the German tradition of radio as the principal distributor of information, stricter American control was maintained and pre-broadcast scrutiny continued.

On July 31, 1945 the first German newspaper was licensed in Frankfurt with the name of *Frankfurter Rundschau*. In the fall of 1945 and early 1946 the licensing process was speeded up, and a German paper was established in each of the bigger cities of the American zone.

Military Government Instruction No. 3 of September 30, 1946 stated rather succinctly the philosophy and purpose of the licensing system. "Military Government believes that free exchange of opinions and ideas is basic to the establishment in Ger-

Edmund Schechter, FSIO I, retired three years ago after 28 years with USIA. His last post was Caracas, Venezuela, where he served as Counselor for Public Affairs. Previous assignments included La Paz, Rome, Washington, Bonn, Munich and Berlin. After his retirement Mr. Schechter served on the staff of the Presidential Commission on International Broadcasting and as Executive Secretary of a Symposium on Venezuelan-United States relations organized by the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. Mr. Schechter continues as Consultant to USIA.

many of a democratic society . . . to this end it is the purpose of Military Government to allow increasing freedom and responsibility to the information services . . . Licenses will ensure that equitable opportunity of expression is given to all important parties and points of view."

The American policy was to issue licenses to individuals and thus to build up an independent press. The British, on the other hand, originally transferred control of newspapers only to political parties authorized by their Military Government. The French used both methods, but in any case had only a few large cities in their zone. The British aim was to strengthen the newly emerging democratic political parties, with less concern for long-term consequences for the independence of the press.

In the Western zones the licensed press was not subject to pre-publication scrutiny as the radio stations were, but an elaborate net of Allied control officers followed closely the trend of the papers.

From the very beginning the press in the Russian zone was as uniform as it used to be in the Hitler days except for its red rather than brown imprint.

Berlin and RIAS

Though Berlin was divided into four sectors, the days after the unconditional surrender of Germany were marked by some degree of camaraderie among personnel of the four occupying powers. Parties and mutual visits, accompanied by the inevitable exchanges of whiskey and vodka toasts, were quite common.

In the information field the arrangement with the Russians stipulated that all four powers would share in the control of Radio Berlin, Germany's dominant station. But typical of the complexities that would characterize the Berlin problem for years to come was the anomalous fact that although Radio Berlin was located in the British sector, the Russians actually controlled the station, since they occupied it first when they entered the city. For weeks and months the Western powers tried to get the Russians to share the use of Radio Berlin—but to no avail.

The American authorities felt

that they had to have a radio outlet to keep the German population in their sector informed. Also, it was thought that the preparation for and—if necessary—the activation of an American-controlled radio station would bring pressure on the Russians to relinquish their exclusive domination of Radio Berlin.

In November 1945 General Clay and General Robert McClure, chief of the Information Control Division, decided upon the actual establishment of an American-controlled radio station in Berlin. The writer of this article was transferred to Berlin from Luxembourg with specific orders to put "some sort" of a station on the air in the shortest possible time. The only feasible approach at that moment was a radio wireless system, called in German *Drahtfunk*, that worked through a hook-up with the telephone.

On February 7, 1946, the first transmission was heard over the *Drahtfunk*. Thus began the story of the Radio in the American Sector—RIAS for short—a station which was destined to play a preponderant role in the life of Berlin for over three decades.

The obvious difficulties of establishing a station in destroyed and divided Berlin were multiplied by the fact that the Russians, through the intermediary of the German Central Post administration, located in their sector and therefore under their complete control, did everything to make our mission fail. This was an ominous sign of things to come since at that period official relations were still marked by professions of friendship and cooperation.

The *Drahtfunk* changed to radio when smaller and later more powerful transmitters became available and the hope of ever wresting a share of control over Radio Berlin from the Russians had to be given up. RIAS developed into an institution of historic merits by maintaining the morale of the Berlin population during the blockade and the many other life-and-death crises of that beleaguered city. It has been a thorn in the Stalinist regime of Eastern Germany, since no amount of jamming would have been able to keep RIAS's "neighborly" voice off the air. And till this very day RIAS functions effectively as a symbol of the

American interest and presence in Berlin.

The Licensing System— American Information Officers and the New German Journalists

To understand fully the development of the licensing system in the critical post-war period, a short review of the status of the media in the Weimar Republic and during the Hitler regime may be useful.

The republic unquestionably held a leading position in the world as far as major newspapers were concerned. This was true in regard to freedom of the press as well as to the number of papers and their geographic distribution and circulation. Some metropolitan papers enjoyed an international reputation.

Radio was a somewhat different story. As in the rest of Europe, it was not privately owned but Government-controlled. Though it more or less maintained its objectivity during the Weimar Republic, it had a much more official character than the printed press.

When Hitler came to power in 1933, the Nazi party machinery was fully geared to take over the media. Hitler, Goebbels and their cohorts understood fully the power of centrally controlled mass media and were determined to use it to the utmost.

Broadcasting facilities were seized from the very beginning. This was easy because of the central character of radio even before Hitler. Thus radio immediately became the official mouthpiece of the regime and remained till the end the strongest element in the Nazi propaganda machine.

The takeover of the press was done step by step, but the steps got larger and larger as Hitler consolidated his hold over the country. As the number of newspapers was steadily reduced, the screws were tightened from day to day by a never-ending stream of directives from the Goebbels propaganda ministry. The old and new Nazi papers, lavishly subsidized, with the *Voelkische Beobachter* in the lead, sliced up for themselves an ever-increasing part of the national and regional circulation.

No professions in the Hitler period were subjected to such intensive supervision as press, radio,

book publishing and film and theatre production. Newspapers and radio stations were staffed with reliable party hacks, and membership in the Nazi guilds became obligatory. Publishers and journalists who were Jews either fled the country or, if they did not do so, were murdered or put into concentration camps. Their non-Jewish colleagues, who were anti-regime or even faintly "neutral," shared the same fate or, in the best of cases, were sent out to pasture in some forlorn place in the countryside.

This background has to be kept in mind to evaluate fully the language of the previously mentioned Policy Instruction No. 3 regarding licensing. It directed each licensee to "select his personnel from among those whose past records show them to be capable of assisting in the building of a sound, democratic society in Germany." It noted that "... under no conditions will any person be employed in a policy-making, editorial or other position, who has been a proved or an avowed believer in Nazism or racial and militaristic creeds. . . ."

There is no doubt that this instruction, outlining the framework for the development of the new German media, stipulated all the right requirements and qualifications; but there is also no question that it vastly underestimated the difficulties of finding such "untainted" creatures in ravaged Germany.

The American officers in the Information Control Division of Military Government, who had the actual task of creating the new German media, were a strange mixture of people. There were officers and enlisted men assigned for one reason or another or for no reason, from other branches of Military Government. Then there were civilians in uniform from the Office of War Information in New York and from its outpost in London. A good contingent was transferred from the Psychological Warfare Division of SHAEF. Many in these latter categories had been outstanding newspapermen in their home towns. In addition there were many German, Austrian and other central European refugees from Hitler, who had joined the United States Army and who in their ear-

lier careers had been professionals of the highest calibre. Others, however, were assigned to information activities just because they knew the language. Later years saw the healthy influx of a crop of bright and able young Foreign Service officers who today can be found in the top echelons of the service.

A more diverse and colorful group could not have been imagined. There were brilliant professionals among them and amateurs who had to learn by trial and error. Many were individualists, true "characters" and often even *prima donnas*. An Irish professional soldier, Colonel Barney MacMahon, presided majestically over the Bavarian Information de-

**"Similarly, a number
of communists
had slipped in,
but most of them had
been eliminated long
before McCarthy,
Cohn and Schine
appeared."**

tachment, and with his irresistible charm coaxed his staff into 18-hour work days. Hans Wallenberg, formerly a prominent German journalist who had returned as an officer in the US Army, produced a newspaper, the *Neue Zeitung*, which, against impossible odds, competed all with the best in European and American journalism. "Mickey" Boerner's German-language commentaries, starting out with his "*Guten Abend*," were eagerly awaited by millions of radio listeners. And at a later stage, McCloy brought Sheppard Stone with him, who directed the whole Public Affairs program and was able to gain the fullest trust and confidence of the newly emerging German political leadership.

To be sure, there were inepts and drunkards who were attracted to the job by easy girls and cheap booze. They caused trouble and embarrassment, but somehow fell quickly by the wayside. Similarly, a number of communists had

slipped in, but most of them had been eliminated long before McCarthy, Cohn and Schine appeared on the scene.

The vast majority of people developed an almost missionary zeal in their work. The successful search for a German editor or the writing of an effective article or radio commentary were feats to be celebrated and discussed with fervor.

General Lucius Clay, John J. McCloy, the first High Commissioner, and James Conant, the first Ambassador to the Federal Republic, were outstanding leaders who believed firmly in the importance of free and independent information media in a viable democracy. They presided between 1945 and 1955 over an Information Control (later Services) Division which in its peak period probably numbered more people than USIA employs today all over the world.

The very first Military Government publications and radio announcements could be handled almost entirely by Americans since—as described earlier—there was a considerable pool of German language talent available. The central problem that arose almost immediately was the recruitment of politically acceptable writers, editors, announcers, producers and a little later of licensees in a country where everyone in these professions had by law to be a Nazi.

Many approaches were used in the search for the "right" people. Individuals and teams tried to track down former employees of newspapers and radio stations who were dismissed by the Nazis and might be living in small places all over Germany. For example, the future *Intendant* (chief of station) of the Bavarian Radio was located in a Bavarian village, where he hoped to be forgotten after having been fired by the Nazis from his job at Radio Munich.

Such older people were supplemented by young men who had no political past and had served in the *Wehrmacht* as simple soldiers or had even spent some time in Western prisoner of war camps. Others drifted back from exile into the ruins of post-war Germany with the desire to participate in the reconstruction of their country.

One of the most effective ways of finding suitable Germans was by

recommendation and leads of proven anti-Nazis. Thus former diplomats and other professionals were recruited, who had been dismissed by Hitler and were eager to return to an "intellectual" profession.

The whole operation functioned in a most unorthodox fashion and was conducted rather by intuition and tenacity than by a manual. Information officers were able to move around freely, associate with Germans even during the "non-fraternization" period, get some extra food for their undernourished "protégés," and even obtain some additional cigarette rations—the ultimate in benevolence at that time.

The US Army deserves high credit for having tolerated this kind of "system" which in its chaotic aspects was certainly contrary to the traditional military penchant for "orderliness."

A number of mistakes were made and some Nazis infiltrated despite all the investigations and clearances. The miracle was that relatively few mistakes were made, and even fewer in the selection of the upper ranks of the new German journalism.

In most cases these diverse personalities in the new German media had only one thing in common: lack of newspaper or radio experience or, at best, lack of experience in the last ten or twelve years. Also, among the younger recruits, the general standard of education was quite low. The Nazi regime had sealed off the country effectively and except for foreign broadcasts, people had little opportunity to learn what was going on in the outside world.

Unavoidably, these deficiencies were reflected in the performance of many young Germans in their new journalistic careers. The task of the American information officers was, therefore, not only the scouting for talent but also supervision, encouragement, general trouble-shooting and above all training. Particular attention had to be paid to the separation of news from comment, a practice which, of course, did not exist in Nazi Germany.

As the days went by, despite the initial distrust of and resentment against Germany and Germans, a genuine cooperative spirit developed among many of the new

German media people and their American counterparts. They found themselves on the same side of the fence, trying to build up a democratic press and radio and to keep out the old Nazis, who slowly reappeared from their hiding places. Lasting and enduring associations developed, which later contributed greatly to the friendship between the United States and the Federal Republic.

There was, at first, a deep-seated scepticism in the German population toward the newly emerging information media. The expectation was that the press and radio would engage in the same lies and distortions as the Nazi organs did—with the opposite emphasis. In favor of the new media, however, was the fact that people were starved for news from the outside world, from which they had been cut off for such a long time. Also acceptance of the media by the German population increased sharply when articles and radio commentaries started to criticize certain policies of the newly formed German regional and local Governments, and thus proved themselves not to be a mouthpiece of "authority."

After the expansion of the licensed press all over the American zone paralleled by similar developments in the British and French zones, Information Officers moved to the next phase and concentrated on the publication of additional papers in major cities like Frankfurt, Munich and Stuttgart. The idea was to establish two papers of different political tendencies, but both independent and not belonging to political parties. In this second round it was much easier to assemble a new crop of licensees and editors since, in large measure, they could be recruited from the lower echelons of those who had been hired earlier and had already proven themselves in actual performance.

Not only did the number of licensed papers increase but the quality of the product also improved steadily. By the end of the licensing period in 1949, newspapers in all three Western zones had already very acceptable standards, both in news coverage and editorial writing.

Here a short observation might be in order on one of the most dramatic events in the history of the

occupation of Germany: Currency Reform. This drastic surgery played an important role in the development of the licensed press.

Prior to June 1948 there was hardly anything that could be bought in German stores except the rationed bare necessities. The black market flourished all over the country. I still remember the reply of an old woman shopkeeper in Berlin, when I asked for a pair of shoe laces. With the dry humor typical of that city she remarked: "we haven't got them, we never had them and we shall never again have them . . ."

She was wrong. A few days after currency reform, as if by miracle, the stores were again stocked with goods . . . and not only with shoe laces. The daring financial operation introduced the D-mark, eliminated the black market, stopped inflation and triggered the whole process of German and European recovery.

However, the fledgling licensed newspapers almost became the victims of the reform. Suddenly their working capital was reduced drastically by a ten-to-one exchange of old against new marks, and their economic prospects seemed very much in doubt. Fortunately, American authorities came to the rescue with a loan of 15 million D-marks out of counterpart funds and thus saved the situation.

End of Licensing— Decontrol of Radio

In the fall of 1948 the decision was taken to end licensing, provided the German *Laender* would come up with legislation guaranteeing freedom of the press. It took many months till appropriate laws were passed since there were strong efforts made by the legislative bodies of the *Laender* to have licensing revert to them. Military Government, however, remained firm and German public opinion showed itself strongly in favor of "freedom of the press" legislation. Finally, and after satisfactory laws were passed, licensing came to an end in 1949.

Parallel to these procedures went the preparations for the transfer of the radio stations from Military Government to German control. This transfer-process had actually, if not formally, made great strides

Continued on page 26

Restraint on Arms

ARMS FOR THE ARABS, by Jon Glassman. Johns Hopkins University Press, \$12.50.

Jon Glassman's monograph on "Arms for the Arabs" weaves together a carefully documented account of the qualitative changes which have occurred in Soviet arms shipments to the Arabs with Soviet policy toward three Middle East wars (the Suez, Six-Day, and Yom Kippur wars). The dilemma which apparently governed Soviet behavior was, to our good fortune, the necessity of balancing the conflicting claims of improved relations with the West and support for the "progressive" movement. Glassman finds that restraint has generally won out—the arms seemed designed for deterrent or defensive purposes, and the Soviets reserved their most threatening behavior during the three wars until after the most dangerous point of each crisis had passed.

The conclusions of this scholarly study flow from Glassman's exhaustive inquiry into the facts, and suggest that there could be a basis for an understanding with the Soviets to exercise restraint in arms shipments.

Glassman took a year's leave of absence from the Foreign Service and wrote this book at Harvard after a three year tour in the Embassy in Moscow. Glassman is now on the Soviet desk in the Department.

—DAVID LINEBAUGH

Understanding the Neighbors

CANADA AND THE AMERICAN PRESENCE: *The US Interest in an Independent Canada*, by Dr. John Sloane Dickey. New York University Press, \$12.

Drawing on his many years of experience as a "Canada watcher," Dr. Dickey has produced a first-class primer on the world's most extensive and intensive (and possibly least understood) bilateral relationship. "Canada and the American Presence" draws generously from history to provide the setting for the current state of the relationship and the origins of the

new Canadian nationalism.

Dr. Dickey exposes the interesting anomalies and paradoxes of Canada and its relationship to the United States. If the old adages of the "undefended border" and "Canadians are just like us" are no longer acceptable, then what are the facts and verities of the present relationship? Why is "continentalism" rejected by Canada and why has the word "partnership" gone out of style? And whatever happened to "the special relationship?" Dickey's book brings perceptive insights on such questions. All facets of Canadian nationalism—economic, cultural, and territorial sovereignty—are well covered.

Perhaps the nub of the Canadian-US quandary is uncovered best by Dickey when he states, "For nearly two hundred years Americans have been able to take independent nationhood for granted. It therefore comes naturally to assume that Canada also takes her independence for granted. The hard fact is, however, that she never has, she does not now, and for the foreseeable future will not be able to take independent nationhood for granted in any sense similar to the United States."

As scholarly as a text, yet as readable as a best-seller, Dickey's book should be required reading for the informed layman as well as the government official dealing with Canada. Given the growing awareness in the US that Canada is changing, it could not have come out at a better time.

—DONALD A. KRUSE

Middle East Policy

THE KISSINGER EXPERIENCE—*American Policy in the Middle East*, by Gil Carl AlRoy. Horizon Press.

On my list of bad books about the Middle East (a fairly long one), this book must rank near the top. It may be summarized in three words: anti-Arab, pro-Zionist, anti-Kissinger.

Among its lesser offenses, the book contains numerous misspellings and instances of bad punctuation. Mr. AlRoy's tortured construction of sentences requires frequent re-reading to try to learn just what he means, and bad punctuation is of no help in this often fruitless endeavor.

It is interesting to note that the jacket blurb is written by Tad Szulc, one of the few journalists AlRoy characterizes as honest and perceptive. It is depressing to read, on the back of the jacket, Eugene Rostow's description of the book as "a fine work of scholarship." I wonder how carefully Mr. Rostow read the book. Any writer who cites TV GUIDE and Jack Anderson as authoritative sources should not be credited with scholarship.

Among other lapses we find his comment that Nasser "chased the UN out of Egypt," his reference to "Arab" oil when he means "OPEC" oil, and his description of Secretary Kissinger "parading Nixon through the streets of Cairo." This is scholarship? Perhaps newspapermen have a broader literary license.

The depth of AlRoy's research may be measured by his reference to Chargé George C. Moore, assassinated in Khartoum, as "Ambassador Moore." He also states without qualification that Arafat supervised the staging of the Khartoum atrocity. AlRoy repeats the tired canard about NEA officials being pro-Arab and anti-Zionist. In attacking Arab officials for making public statements for domestic purposes, he overlooks completely the proclivity of American (and other) public officials to make similar statements.

Lest I sound entirely negative, I applaud the author's proposal for greater cooperation and consultation between the academic world and State Department policy formulators. I regret, for instance, that the American Political Science Association has shown so little interest in including Foreign Service officers on the panels at its annual meetings.

Enough curmudgeonly carping. Read the book as an outstanding example of one-sided analysis. But don't waste your money on it. Maybe your library has a copy.

—JAMES H. BAHTI

"A group is rarely as intelligent as the average of the individuals who compose it, and it is commonly less intelligent in its judgments than the least intelligent of its members." — Louis J. Halle

WHY FRANKLIN FAILED

from page 9

Later I ran into Vergennes at Mme. du Deffand's and asked him point blank how US should interpret this defection. He replied *QUOTE Je m'en fous royalement UNQUOTE*. This expression is unprintable but translates roughly *QUOTE I could not care royally less UNQUOTE*. As it seems clear our negotiations have reached dead end, I saw no point in pursuing matter.

Seriously inclined believe my usefulness in Paris may be at an end.

FRANKLIN

DEPARTMENT TELEGRAM 55 FEB 9, 1778
FOR AMBASSADOR FRANKLIN'S EYES ONLY

Madison has told me of your difficulty. Regret outcome but appreciate your hard work and helpful messages.

In deep background briefing Madison will tell press that while we deplore French attitude, for which US in no way responsible, we sympathize their internal problems with Alliance and will continue work for friendly relations. Off the record, he will also state that I plan shortly to undertake shuttle between Paris and (hopefully) Philadelphia in effort to restore French interest through small steps.

Re last sentence yourtel 31, you have as usual hit nail on head.

Finally, I see no further objection your making contact with Voltaire.

JEFFERSON

COMMUNICATION re:

Missiles of October

Introduction: Professor Bernstein's article "Courage and Commitment: The Missiles of October" in the December JOURNAL raised the following questions: Were the missiles in Cuba an imminent military threat that overturned the military balance of power? If not, why according to Kennedy and his advisers, did the Soviet Union put the 42 medium-range ballistic missiles (MRBMs) in Cuba and presumably plan to add about 24 intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBMs)? If they were not an imminent threat and did not alter the military balance, why did JFK move toward a public confrontation without first trying private negotiations with Russia? What was the role of domestic and of international political considerations in shaping his tactics? Why didn't Kennedy accept the proposal of some advisers for a summit conference during the crisis? And why, on Saturday, the 27th, when the only issue blocking settlement was American withdrawal of our missiles from Turkey, did the administration reject this condition and risk prolonging the crisis and moving toward nuclear war?

Ambassador Martin offers some additional analyses of that crucial period.

I have read with great interest the thoughtful article by B. J. Bernstein on the Cuban missile crisis in the De-

AUTHORIZED EXPORTER

GENERAL  ELECTRIC
-U.S.A.-

Refrigerators • Freezers • Ranges
Washers • Dryers • Air Conditioners
Dishwashers • Radios • Phonos
Small Appliances
Available for All Electric Currents
Local Warehousing for Immediate
Shipment

General Electronics, Inc.

SHOWROOM: 4513 Wisconsin Ave.,
Washington, D. C. 20016 EMerson 2-
8300

WRITE FOR CATALOG. Our catalog is
sent to administrative officers em-
bassies and consulates throughout
the world.

Be Wise Shop Riverside

**Liquor
Discounts**

ATTENTION:
State Department and
Foreign Service Personnel

10% off on estate bottled wines
5% off on our regular low prices
on liquor

**Riverside
Liquors**

2123 E St., N.W. 338-4882

(conveniently located across from the
State Department on E Street, next to
Peoples Drug Store)

Our 40th Year

We loan glasses for parties
NO CHARGE

If you can wade through some extraneous
(but funny) material on post reports, selec-
tion out, assignments and representation
allowances, you will find some valuable
tips on etiquette in



An introduction to foreign service life for
the student contemplating the career, a
chuckle for friends and relatives back home,
this 64-page book is only \$1.00 from:

American Foreign Service Assn.
Dept. L, 2101 E St., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20037

Please send copies of Life and Love
in the Foreign Service at \$1.00 per copy to:

Name

Address

cember 1975 issue of the FSJ. Obviously the release of some of the Kennedy Library materials permits a better analysis of the actions taken than was previously possible. However, as one who participated in all the Executive Committee sessions in the week prior to the President's speech, I suggest that final judgments might better be postponed until all the relevant material reaches the public domain.

From personal recollection alone, I would suggest eight points not fully treated in this article:

1. While it was clear that some launchers were operational, I believe that doubts remained as to whether armed missiles were in place or even if nuclear heads were in Cuba.
2. While the President and Secretary of Defense did not believe the missiles added to the Soviet threat, it was far from clear that public opinion would have accepted their view, especially if not supported by US military authorities. I do not believe that they would have done so. The result might have been overwhelming pressure for a far more risky course of action than that chosen.
3. Moreover, even if not adding to the Soviet threat, one had to wonder about what the Cubans might do. They had the military power to seize the sites. Fear of just such action had apparently persuaded the Soviets not to place any similar missiles in any of their better controlled Eastern European satellites. One could not disregard this possible threat to American citizens.
4. An argument made by the Soviets and Cubans, and occasionally by others but wisely omitted by Bernstein, is that the missiles were purely defensive weapons and hence no threat to US security. Whether a weapon is "defensive" or not can be defined in terms either of its physical capacity to engage in or facilitate offensive action or of the intentions of the possessor. In this instance, there could be no doubt about the ability of the missiles to engage in offensive acts by hitting a substantial area of the US. And in the cold war, arms-race climate of the early '60s, neither the US nor the USSR were disposed to rely on the commitment to peace of the other.
5. The failure to initiate private discussions reflected in my recollection several considerations. One was the time such discussions would give the Soviets to bring themselves to a state of readiness in case the discussions should not achieve US objectives. It might have, for example, permitted the Soviets to arm fully the missiles in Cuba, if that had not been done, and thus make the relatively soft blockade option largely useless. Moreover there was a recognition that the US did not have many cards to play in a private talk. Our best possibility was to mobilize world public opinion against the Soviet initiative, especially that of Latin America. This was done and worked.
6. In connection with the remarkable degree of support received from the Latin American countries, 17 out of 18 votes within 24 hours after the Kennedy speech, I have not seen references to what I consider to have been the most important factor in this success. During the annual visit of the Secretary of State to the opening sessions of the UN General Assembly, Secretary Rusk chose in 1962 to give

NEW NYSE BOOKLET

INCOME LEADERS ON THE BIG BOARD

6%-13% RETURN

PHONE—WRITE OR VISIT

A. G. Edwards & Sons, Inc.

THE INCOME SPECIALISTS

Members New York Stock Exchange, Inc.

Over 100 Branches Throughout The U.S.

Please send me **FREE BOOKLET "INCOME LEADERS ON THE BIG BOARD"** FSJ

Name

Address

City State

Bus. Ph. Res. Ph.

If You Have an Account With Us

Your Broker's Name

Mrs. Ruth G. Adler, V.P.

A. G. Edwards & Sons, Inc., Barlow Bldg. Suite 1050

5454 Wisconsin Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20015 (301) 654-3000

AN-RS-87-EBM-8/31/76

MAIL DELAYS GOT YOU DOWN?



**PAYROLL ALLOTMENT
BEATS THE MAIL!**
*Easy, Convenient, And
Always On Time!*



Your **STATE DEPARTMENT
FEDERAL CREDIT UNION**
Washington, D.C. 20520 (202) 632-3282

Calvert School

The school that comes to your child

Complete home-study course for elementary-level students. Kindergarten through 8th grade. An American education anywhere in the world. Ideal for enrichment. Home is the classroom, you are the teacher with Calvert's approved instruction guide. Start any time, transfer to other schools. Used by over 125,000 students. Non-profit. Write for catalog. Admits students of any race, color, national or ethnic origin.

Established 1904

301-243-6030

Calvert



School

Box F4-6, Tuscany Rd.

Baltimore, Md. 21210

Parent's name

Address

City State Zip

Child's Age Grade



Camp

CHOCONUT

Friendsville, Pennsylvania

Fifty boys, 9 to 14. A summer of constructive fun for the active boy who is not so much interested in organized competitive team sports as he is in his own camp interests. Camping out and trips, map and compass work, cooking and how to survive on the trail. Individual and group work projects teach fundamental skills and cooperation. Carpentry, sports, all camp group games, natural science and tending farm animals all broaden the camper's experience. Full waterfront program, fishing, Susquehanna and Delaware River canoe trips. Bicycling trips for older boys. We help boys become independent and self-assured. Eight hundred acres of camp land surround our private, spring fed, natural lake near the New York border in Pennsylvania's Endless Mountains. High counselor ratio. ACA accredited. Booklet on request. In Washington telephone: 966-4216.

S. Hamill Horne, Director

Box 33S, Gladwyne, Pa. 19035

215-M19-3548



Peoples Drug—One of America's
Largest Drug Chains Provides

PRESCRIPTIONS FOR THE WORLD

Filled and Mailed Immediately

SHOP BY MAIL

- ☐ All prescriptions filled immediately
- ☐ Immediate mail backs
- ☐ Send no money—Pay after receipt
- ☐ Pay Peoples low prices plus postage and packing
- ☐ Nationally famous cosmetics, too
- ☐ Sundries of every description
- ☐ WE MAIL TO EVERY COUNTRY

PEOPLES DRUG
the prescription stores

2125 E St. NW
Washington, D. C. 20007

long appointments to every Latin American Foreign Minister in attendance, and most of them were there. It was a unique gesture of interest and most timely. For in each case a full exchange of views took place on the whole question of Cuba, its activities in the Hemisphere and its military relations with the Soviet Union. The sincerity, frankness and patience which the Secretary showed in these conversations, hour after hour, were most impressive in persuading the Latin American governments to believe President Kennedy when he announced in his TV speech that there were missiles in Cuba and to vote in the OAS for the blockade action when Secretary Rusk presented the US resolution.

7. Berlin played a part in US reluctance to start a game of swapping concessions by offering formally in public or private debate to pull the missiles out of Turkey in exchange for withdrawal of those in Cuba. Might the Soviets add a demand on Berlin if we yielded too quickly on Turkey or seek another initiative which could be traded for Berlin if we showed ourselves in a mood to accept such swaps? Of course, one could raise the question of how much did Berlin matter to us. I have neither the competence nor the space to cover that issue; I am content to take defense of the allied position there as a key given of US post-war policy.
8. No full treatment of the Cuban crisis can avoid, in fact, exploring widely the role in US policy of the concurrent Berlin crisis.¹ In addition to the point just made, it was an even more prominent factor, I believe, in the negotiations which took place over the implementation of the Soviet commitment to ground inspection. For example, public attention was not called by US leaders to the fact that ground inspection, made desirable by known cave formations near some of the missile sites, was a condition of the US commitment not to attack Cuba, a commitment which therefore lapsed when the Soviets could not or did not deliver on it.² If the President had done so, much criticism of his handling of the Cuban affair from the right could perhaps have been at least softened, but doing so might also have strained relations with the Soviets at a delicate stage of the Berlin negotiations, success in which was considered to be of more importance to US interests. While I have not had time to keep up with the literature, I have the impression that, in general, this closing phase of the Cuban drama has not yet received the attention it merits. Perhaps it is the unavailability thus far of the pertinent documents.

In summary, I suggest there were more complexities in the decision-making process of this occasion than Dr. Bernstein has uncovered as yet and perhaps a better justification for what was done.

EDWIN M. MARTIN

¹ It was used as a cover for the meetings on Cuba with the President by having top German experts go into the White House offices ostentatiously while, in fact, the President was dealing only with Cuba. The India-China border conflict was also used that first week in the same way.

² There is reason to believe that it was intended, rightly in my view, that this promise be conditioned on Cuban good behavior toward other countries in the Hemisphere but that in the hurried cutting and pasting and retyping in the White House of various drafts of Saturday's reply to Mr. Khrushchev, the clause was inadvertently omitted.

TOKYO 1941

from page 14

agreement among the diverse players who were acting out the drama: the moralistic Hull, the dogmatic Hornbeck, the cautious Hamilton, the hopeful Grew, the well-meaning, weak Konoye, the irrational Matsuoka (succeeded by the calmer, saner Toyoda), and the eager conspirators for peace, the John Doe Associates. And behind the Americans was Franklin D. Roosevelt, intent on staving off war in the Pacific to concentrate on Europe, subjected to the conflicting pulls of numerous special interests, yet intrigued by the sheer theater of a battleship meeting with Konoye to save Pacific peace. Behind the Japanese was the Emperor, whose inclinations were pro-British and pro-American, whose rescripts would be unchallengeable, whether to join the Axis or to guarantee peace with America but who, beyond reading poems to express his perturbation, could not step outside the bonds of his advisers. And behind all of the diplomatic palaver were the chiefs of the

Armies and Navies of Japan and the United States, concerned with their respective degrees of preparedness and power. Still further behind, yet inseparable from the foreign policies of the two contenders, were the allies of Japan: Hitler and Mussolini, and of the United States: Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek. Small wonder that, lacking a Metternich or a Henry Kissinger, diplomacy failed.

In January 1941 Grew had recovered from his New Year's Eve moment of euphoria and wrote in his diary "the outlook for the future of relations between Japan and the United States has never been darker." He was troubled over Japan's developing stranglehold on Indochina and on the threat to Singapore, which he considered vital to the defense of the British Isles. He was impressed by the views of Hugh Byas, the astute correspondent of the New York TIMES, who saw in Japan "the growing avalanche-like strength of the aggressive forces." At the same time the Ambassador was disheartened to hear from home that Americans

believed that sending the fleet to Asiatic waters would be suicidal and would never support a war to save Singapore. On the 27th of the month (again Grew's special date!) the Peruvian Ambassador, Ricardo Rivera Schreiber, whispered to an Embassy officer that he had picked up a rumor that Japan had planned a surprise mass attack on Pearl Harbor in case of "trouble" between Japan and the United States. This sounded fantastic to all of us but Grew took it seriously enough to telegraph to Washington. We were not particularly perturbed; as the Ambassador recorded in his diary: "I rather guess that the boys in Hawaii are not precisely asleep." When I stopped in Honolulu in October I found that since receipt of our telegram, reconnaissance patrol flights around Oahu had been stepped up. The Pearl Harbor rumor was one of many constantly filtering into the Embassy; usually, however, the targets of predicted Japanese attacks were Singapore, Hongkong, and Netherlands East Indies, or Indochina.

Continued next month

In Kabul or Kinshasa...

(or anywhere else in the world)

YOUR CORNER DRUGSTORE

The Capitol Hill Pharmaceutical Diplomatic Service offers 20% discount on prescriptions, 20% discount on over-the-counter merchandise, further discounts on quantity purchases. Overseas mailing.

MORTON'S PHARMACY

Fine Druggists Since 1969

301 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E.

Washington, D.C. 20003

PHONE 543-4103, 543-9278

Let a former FSO/ExO who understands your unique travel problems handle your Home Leave/Emergency and other travel arrangements.

He knows how to communicate fast to diplomatic and consular posts in over 120 countries.

- * Pre-paid airline tickets sent via TWX worldwide.
- * Tickets by mail.
- * Worldwide hotel/rental car reservations.
- * DisneyWorld arrangements made.
- * U.S. Bicentennial East/West Events.
- * All major credit cards accepted for travel.

More than 30 years of travel experience in over 100 countries is your assurance of professional excellence.

LYON TRAVEL SERVICE, INC.
1028 E. Silver Springs Blvd.,
Ocala, Florida 32670 USA
Area Code: 904 622-4114
Cable: ARTLYON

**Specializing in Country Living and Investment
Properties in the Washington area**
— Virginia West Virginia Maryland —

*personally experienced with
preferences and problems
of foreign service personnel*

WILLIAM D. CAREY
representing

**M/K McDANIEL-KENT
REALTY**

P.O. Box 543
Purcellville, Virginia 22132

Office (703) 338-7611

Home (703) 668-6312

USIS

from page 20

forward in the intervening years. By 1947 German chiefs of stations had been appointed everywhere, and all other top positions were also systematically filled by Germans. The number of American control officers was slowly reduced and though pre-broadcast scrutiny remained in force it was a relaxed affair and mishaps were rare.

Military Government was ready to release the stations, if the *Land* parliaments would enact legislation guaranteeing decentralization and independence of the radio stations from interference by central or regional governments and political parties. The basic issue was to make impossible the future usurpation by a central authority of radio as a major tool of propaganda.

Eventually suitable formulas were devised and regional Public Service Radio Corporations were formed, with supervising boards consisting of representatives of broad cultural, educational, economic and religious groups. Consequently, in January 1949 Radio

Munich passed into German hands and three other stations in the American zone (Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Bremen) followed in the months to come. A similar pattern was developed in the British and French zones with Hamburg, Cologne and Baden-Baden as the main stations.

American control officers remained for another period at the stations, but pre-broadcast scrutiny was discontinued and they acted more as advisors and protectors of the independence of the stations *vis-à-vis* some renascent tendencies of political interference in radio broadcasting.

The new intention of Military Government to end licensing of the press and control of the radio stations at first caused deep anxiety among the new German media. In the American zone 59 newspapers had been licensed by the end of the licensing period and they had benefited from a virtual monopoly. Now they were deadly afraid that with the field left free for all, the owners of the old Nazi papers who had in many cases been "de-Nazified"

would come back with a vengeance and reestablish their hegemony. These fears seemed justified, since the financial situation of the licensed press was still very precarious and in many instances their printing installations belonged to the previous publishers. These preoccupations were also shared by some members of the Military Government and by quite a few of the American correspondents stationed in Germany.

Things turned out quite differently. It is true that the end of licensing gave the old Nazi publishers the opportunity of a major economic and psychological offensive against the licensed press. Licensees and their editors were called "*Handlanger der Besatzungsmaechte*" (stooges of the occupying powers) and described with involuntary humor as "*Quislings*." All this in an attempt to revive nationalistic feelings and thus to lure readers back to traditional papers with their traditional mastheads and formats.

If the pessimists had been right and the old Nazi publishers had re-

**Special
Rates
Low Low
Rates**

In WASHINGTON!

In the rest of the
UNITED STATES!

**ai AMERICAN
INTERNATIONAL
RENT-A-CAR®**

Reservations for all U.S. cities:

2804 Jefferson Davis Hwy.
Arlington, Va. 22202
Tel. (703) 684-4087
TLX 73-0715

In Europe and the
Mediterranean look for



We feature
FORDS and other fine cars.

IR
rent a car

BOSS AND PHELPS, INC.

REALTORS

FOUNDED IN 1907

CAN HELP YOU: BUY—SELL—RENT A HOUSE

NORTHWEST WASHINGTON—BETHESDA—
CHEVY CHASE—POTOMAC

We **MANAGE** your properties when you are overseas.

3830 VEAZEY ST., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20016
3201 PROSPECT ST., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20007

362-9300

337-4800

ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE WOMEN

Box 8068, Washington, D. C. 20024

- Housing Assistance and Orientation
Room 1248, Department of State, Tel. 632-3573
- Educational Counseling Center
- Language and Writer's Groups
- Monthly Meetings ■ Newsletter
- Book Fair ■ Welcome Home
- Scholarships ■ Teenage Activities
- Community Service ■ Career Workshops

Those Foreign Service women eligible for membership are dependents, officers, and staff of all government agencies serving or who have served overseas. The annual dues are \$10 which includes a subscription to the Newsletter. Send dues to Membership Chairman at address above.

Copenhaver

Fine Stationers and Engravers

Members of the Foreign Service of the United States of America can depend on **Copenhaver** for quality, service and correct counseling on questions of protocol for their calling cards, informals and invitations, etc.

Urgent requests filled promptly

ADams 2-1200
Connecticut Avenue
Courtesy Parking

1625 CONNECTICUT AVE.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20009

gained control of the German press, if the independence of radio and thus, a few years later, of television had ceased, the whole social and political development of post-war Germany might have taken a different direction.

Fortunately, HICOG (Office of the United States High Commission in Germany) maintained, though on a reduced scale, its experienced information staff and continued on the very highest level to give the democratic media its strong support. An ingenious financial scheme was devised enabling the licensees to get additional loans from funds collected from license fees dating back to 1945. These loans made it possible for the endangered papers to buy their own equipment and thus to strengthen immeasurably their competitive position.

The most gratifying phenomenon, and ironically most surprising to the Germans themselves, however, was the high degree of acceptance that the licensed press had won in the German public in the three or four years of its existence.

The old Nazi papers did recoup some of their markets in smaller cities, but in the large metropolitan areas their come-back attempts were a complete failure. With very few exceptions the large dailies are till this very day the same that were licensed by the occupation authorities. Most of these papers have by now established their own traditions and are well known and respected all over Europe.

In the part of Germany which was the former British zone, one of the leading dailies is the former British overt press organ, later acquired by a major German publisher. The Americans had decided not to transfer the *Neue Zeitung*, though there was much German interest in buying it or at least in acquiring the right to the name.

In the radio field the stations have successfully maintained their independence and extended it to television. The original regional legislation has been amended here and there, but the foundation remains unchanged from the days of Military Government.

Retrospectively, there can be little doubt that the new German media have over the years contributed greatly to the consolidation of democracy in the Federal Republic. On many occasions they irritated federal and regional authorities, political parties and political and economic leaders. Sometimes they were too sensational and sometimes too mild. But they never ceased their struggle against all totalitarian-communist or neo-Nazi tendencies, and they never lost their basic attachment to the West.

The United States in recent times has been in a very self-critical mood. Watergate and Vietnam triggered a chain reaction of doubts and questions about our institutions at home and our policies in the world. In this negative climate, it is perhaps well to recall those dramatic days, 30 years ago, when a wise and far-seeing American policy, executed with initiative and imagination, produced results which continue to be beneficial to this very day.



NEW from Calvert School! Individual subject courses.

Calvert introduces separate subject courses for 8th grade math, history, English (incl. grammar, vocabulary development, writing), science, reading (skill work, literature). Excellent for make-up, brush-up or enrichment. Start any time. Choose one subject or more. All texts, teacher's manual included. Also complete courses for Kindergarten—8th grade. Classroom tested. Since 1904. Non-profit. Phone 301-243-6030 or write for information. Admits students of any race, color, national or ethnic origin.



Box SCF4-6, Tuscany Road, Baltimore, Md. 21210

DESTINATION WASHINGTON?

Our PICTURE GALLERY OF FINE HOMES and DESTINATION WASHINGTON with complete information on financing, taxes, insurance, schools, etc. plus the do's and don'ts of buying or renting, sent free for the asking. Our 75 full-time associates can provide real service to your family. Offices in Annandale, Arlington, Manassas and McLean.

Crowell
& COMPANY, INC.
REALTORS

2160 N. GLEBE Rd.
Arlington, Va. 22207
Phone (703) 524-3131

RENTAL HOUSES

Chevy Chase-Bethesda

Massachusetts Avenue Extended

A. C. Houghton & Son, Inc.

An Accredited Management Organization

4000 Albemarle St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20016 — 686-0203

6400 Goldsboro Road, Bethesda, Md. 20034 — 229-5750

Washington Real Estate Since 1907

MR. ENVOY IN ROME:

*Mr. Envoy is now living in Rome,
and he's quite happy in his new home,
for all the things he prized
were shipped Containerized*
a reward for using his dome.*



*With District's Custom Containerized method, everything is carefully packed in specially constructed containers and remains untouched until unpacked at final destination—across the nation or around the globe.

DISTRICT MOVING & STORAGE, INC.
3800 Kenilworth Avenue, Bladensburg, Md. 20710 (301) 779-4900

INDO-CHINESE REFUGEE PROGRAM

from page 16

supermarkets, American coinage, how to get a driver's license, American foods, the role of Voluntary Agencies, the legal structure of the United States, vocational orientation (as opposed to vocational training), geography—all designed to give the refugees at least a few cultural footholds into this strange, complex and bewildering culture of ours.

The fact that the refugee population in the camp was so transient in nature (the average refugee would spend six to nine weeks at the camp) made comprehensive training and education impossible.

And so when we established a school system for youngsters six to 16, in conformance with Pennsylvania state law, the curriculum had only three main goals. The first was to teach (the beginnings of) English as a second language, the second was orientation to American school systems, and the third was testing

of skills so that we could send along with each student a transcript, thus enabling his school district to place him in the appropriate grade more easily.

We used the camp bulletin to reinforce the skills and knowledge we were emphasizing; we had a special intensive program (only three hours long) which reached every refugee possible just prior to his departure—we called it Transition America—in the hopes of answering at least a few of the endless questions on his mind; we showed documentary films; we had an Under The Trees Program in the summer months, informal rap sessions with American volunteers. We did as much as possible in the limited time and with limited resources, but none of us fooled ourselves into thinking it was nearly enough. It was a beginning only, and a modest one at that.

We provided as many recreational opportunities as possible, too. There were reading rooms, volleyball courts, art classes, televisions, soccer games, feature films. But in spite of it all, boredom

was an inevitable characteristic of the adult refugees. It was easier for the children whose natural ability to keep themselves busy gave them the chance to work off their energies. But for the adult, classroom attendance could not occupy the major part of his day; and his concerns and worries were elsewhere.

For the adult, as I suggested before, there was a prevalence of loneliness (his inability to find out anything about the family and friends he left behind was a tragic multiplier of his mood); and there was the uncertainty of his future, centered on being matched with a sponsor—and, ultimately, having to leave the camp to go to a sponsor he had never met, in a city about which he knew nothing, and in a country whose ways were still strange and from which he had at times heard the ugly noise of racism. Uncertainty indeed.

Nevertheless, the resettlement effort itself must, at least to this point, be judged a success. Most of the refugees have found their individual or group sponsor to be sup-

Changing Posts?

Let AFSA and the world know . . .

Name: _____

Old Address: _____

New Address: _____

Send to: American Foreign Service Association
2101 E St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

RETURNING TO WASHINGTON? BEING TRANSFERRED ABROAD?

Let me know your requirements and I will send you an up to date realty analysis without obligation. I believe my Departmental and Foreign Service experience in administration has given me unique qualifications to help you with your transition.

SALES—RENTALS—PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

ROBERT E. PECK

representing

 **Routh Robbins
Realtors**

1359 Chain Bridge Road,
McLean, Virginia 22101

Office: 703-356-7000 Home: 703-356-3864

COMING or GOING

You can count on

PERSONALIZED SERVICE

from

W. C. AND A. N. MILLER
DEVELOPMENT CO.

A Complete Real Estate Service Since 1912

NEW HOUSE SALES • BROKERAGE SALES
RENTALS • PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

4701 Sangamore Road, Washington, D. C. 20016

Phone 229-4000

Phone 229-4016

REAL ESTATE

Specialists in

TOWN HOUSES

CAPITOL HILL • GEORGETOWN
FOGGY BOTTOM • MT. PLEASANT

202-546-2676

 **RHEA RADIN, Inc.**

REALTOR
220 SEVENTH ST., S.E.

portive in the many ways required.

There have been failures, of course. Perhaps the greatest number of the inevitable refugee-sponsor breakdowns occurred within the individual sponsorships, that is, a single American family volunteering sponsorship of a refugee family as opposed to group sponsorships undertaken by congregations, parishes and other groups, in which responsibilities can be shared. There will be more breakdowns but the evidence to date is that the resettlement program is working well.

Credit must go, of course, to the American tradition of voluntary efforts to help people in need; but much must be said for the Indo-Chinese, whose inner resources, all of the resilience honed over decades of learning to survive, deeply impressed the American community in camp and then across the country.

There was a by-product of our experience in camp that is worth noting because it speaks to attitudes that will go far, on both sides, in determining the final suc-

cess of resettlement and integration.

When the camp first opened, there was a considerable degree of local community opposition, reflecting in part some of the widespread criticism of the sudden influx of refugees and in part some of the local conservatism that characterizes that area of Pennsylvania. We were, therefore, uncertain about the response to our need for volunteers. We need not have been. The response was tremendous and the local opposition not only subsided but turned into support, sympathy and understanding. Perhaps even more impressive, and this was the unexpected result, was the degree to which the staff, volunteers and paid alike, felt a unique sense of commitment, and importantly, a unique sense of reward.

From volunteers and paid staff alike, the refugees received scores of letters, of which the following is a fair example: "Dear Refugees, I should like to thank you for one of the most rewarding experiences of my life. Working with you this summer has been invaluable. I

have learned so much and come to appreciate the courage with which you face your new life. I shall never forget you; and I know that when you leave the camp you will find large segments of the American community eager to welcome and help you."

Just the beginning of, but an insight into, the attitudes which bode well for the refugee program.

I have touched only surfaces, however important, of the range of problems and issues, the generosity of Americans, the deep commitment which characterized life at Fort Indiantown Gap.

There were innumerable bureaucratic hassles and breakdowns, disappointments and failures. Yet, in the final analysis it was the human spirit at its best, in both Indo-Chinese and Americans, which brought the resettlement effort to its present stage. Ahead of the Indo-Chinese there lies a multitude of concerns and a need to cope of significant magnitude. But if our experience at Indiantown Gap was any measure, the human spirit will again prevail. 

STUART & MAURY, Inc.

REALTORS

Sales • Rentals • Insurance

Specializing in Residential Properties

Northwest Washington

Montgomery County, Maryland

Member: Multiple Listing Service

5010 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.

Washington, D. C. 20016

Telephone: (202) 244-1000

Let Us Know You Saw Our Ad In The Journal

SHOP IN AN AMERICAN DRUG STORE BY MAIL!

An ice cream soda is one of the few items we cannot mail. Drugs, cosmetics, sundries mailed to every country in the world. We maintain permanent family prescription records. SEND NO MONEY—pay only after satisfactory receipt of order.



Western Pharmacy, Inc.

t/a Morgan Pharmacy

3001 P Street, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20007

FREE Relocation Kit

from Washington, D.C.'s largest Realtor.
Offices throughout the metropolitan area.

Write: Diplomatic Transfer Department
SHANNON & LUCHS
Honeywell Center, Suite 808
McLean, Virginia 22101

SHANNON & LUCHS

REALTORS • ESTABLISHED 1906

Assignment Washington?

PANORAMA

REAL ESTATE



The largest complete real estate organization
in the Greater Washington Area.

For free brochures and advance information

Write or call:

2095 Chain Bridge Road, Vienna, Virginia 22180

703/821-3800



Confession of Bankruptcy

■ To me, the AFSA President's January 28th Communication on referenda is a confession of bankruptcy, the final demonstration that our elected representatives do not have the wisdom or maturity to work together in the best interests of the organization, a denial of the standards and abilities which are the cornerstones of our profession. It is certainly time for a referendum—one proposing the holding of a new election. Here is one AFSA member who would wholeheartedly support such a proposal and vote for a slate pledged to conduct the affairs of the Association on a harmoniously collegial rather than a confrontation basis.

JAMES K. PENFIELD
Longbranch, Wash.

AFSA's Direction

■ Good Lord! I haven't seen such a fight since the beagle truck overturned at the cat show.

Anyone for a Recall Procedure or a Special Election? AFSA sure isn't going anywhere but backwards, the way it stands at present.

Is this, perhaps, the logical result of the factionalization of AFSA's elections through the contending-slate system? I reckon it is, even though the situation is magnified by the nature of the key personality involved.

WILLIAM E. KNIGHT
FSO-retired
Bethesda

Bylaw Amendment?

■ AFSA Bylaws require a payment out of membership dues of "at least \$5.00 for a subscription to the FSJ" (Art. VII-i). Therefore, it was with pleasure that I signed my name to support a referendum for its modernization. The March JOURNAL editorial and AFSA News is totally distorted and libelous. Under its present direction the FSJ is not worth the time it takes to read it. If I could cancel my subscription without terminating my AFSA membership, I would. This

is one "robbery" an amendment to the Bylaws will solve.

I will not even bother to refute the characterization of my own testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee referred to on page 34 juxtaposed on the same page (legislative box score) with the new Grievance Legislation recorded as an "enormous gain!" The regrettable and ironic provisions of the legislation are a matter of public record and can be requested from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee free.

The JOURNAL's attitude, reflecting as it does a callous disrespect toward persons who have devoted years of effort to the welfare of their profession, can only be regarded as an affront to all.

CYNTHIA THOMAS
Washington

JOURNAL Operations

■ As an AFSA member since 1947, a regular contributor to the Foreign Service JOURNAL since 1951, and twice a member of the FSJ Editorial Board (most recently as vice chairman), I feel not only competent, but compelled, to comment upon those passages relating to the FSJ contained in the 28 January 1976 communication of the incumbent AFSA president to the membership.

Much of what the AFSA president has to say about the FSJ relates to money. Not all would agree that this should (except in extreme circumstances) be a consideration where a professional journal published by a non-profit professional organization for the benefit of its members is concerned. Those who may feel that the money aspect is important should, however, take the following into account:

- While AFSA charges the FSJ for supplies, space, etc., AFSA does not reimburse (even in the form of bookkeeping adjustments) the FSJ for its (AFSA's) use of eight pages each month. (As a former editorial board member, I can remember the reluctance with which we first acquiesced to AFSA's inclusion of a mere insert with each month's edition. We knew the whole camel would sooner or later be in the tent.)

- Despite the foregoing, and despite the serious drop in AFSA

membership, the total amount "lost" by the FSJ last year came to only a thousand dollars.

- The salary paid the FSJ editor is not, as stated in the AFSA president's communication, \$20,000 per annum. That figure represents some fifteen per cent more than the incumbent editor is paid (after fourteen years service with the FSJ).

The AFSA president proposes replacing the paid editor with a quasi-volunteer editor, the latter to receive no salary but, instead, \$5,000 per annum expense money. Assuming that the IRS would stand still for this (unlikely), \$5,000 tax-free represents considerably more in terms of real income—hardly the hallmark of a volunteer. He also states that "several [volunteer] co-editors" and an added business manager (also on an expense account!) would "allow broader representation of views than the present set-up [and] raise the professional level of the FSJ."

- The idea that this system would "raise the professional level of the FSJ" cannot be viewed as other than a gratuitous insult to the editor and present and past Editorial Board members.

- How a covey (pride?) of volunteer co-editors would allow broader representation than achieved by the State/AID/USIA composition of the editorial board is, at best, difficult to perceive. At anything less than best, it simply does not make sense.

The President's communication does not indicate what would be expected of any individual or committee replacing the FSJ editor. Like her predecessors, the incumbent editor is expected to work with authors, solicit articles and book reviews, edit material to be published, proofread galleys, oversee the printing and distribution processes, manage the business and advertising details, and take care of the other diverse daily demands and problems which "go with the territory." Eliminating the position might save the difference between the editor's salary and the combined expense accounts of the new "volunteer" editor and business manager, but the cost to the association might well be the demise of the FSJ and would certainly be a decline in the FSJ's appearances on schedule, content

quality, and, contrary to what the AFSA president alleges, professional level.

Unless prompted by considerations and intent other than stated by the AFSA president, the proposals regarding the FSJ just do not seem rational. I propose that the matter be dropped.

S. I. NADLER
FSIO (Retired)

Washington, D.C.

AFSA's Goals

■ Recent events reported in the Washington STAR imply that the AFSA board meetings have turned into a circus. Fist fights, purloined letters, and personal differences have become issues which have turned our elected leaders away from the primary goal of AFSA. That goal is advancing the welfare of AFSA members.

Maybe it is time to separate the "professional organization" from the bargaining agent function. Personal conflicts cannot be tolerated where the welfare of members is concerned. Can these same board members effectively unite on issues when dealing with management? I doubt it.

ROBERT A. SAROFEEEN
*Basic Foreign Service Officer
Class 123*

Arlington

SFRC Testimony

■ The March issue of the JOURNAL represented a shocking low. Its report on the February 5 Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing on the promotion list was so inaccurate that it helped persuade the Committee to publish the hearing record, which will be available about the time the April issue of the JOURNAL goes to press. AFSA members who wish to know what actually happened that day may write the Committee for a copy.

Meanwhile, to supplement the JOURNAL's promised apology, I would like to emphasize that my own testimony before the Committee did not "attack" anyone, as Mr. Cooley falsely asserted in the March AFSA NEWS, nor did his summary bear any visible relationship to what I said.

Instead, my statement to the Committee brought out the following points—

• The Committee should ask the Department to re-examine its reasons for denying promotion to a

number of officers deemed promotable by the Selection Boards,

• The "cone system" does not accomplish the purposes for which it was designed, and it greatly compounds the inequities of the Foreign Service promotion system, especially in the middle grades,

• Mr. Eagleburger's testimony before a House Subcommittee on December 10 (reported in the January NEWSLETTER) noted the career disadvantages suffered by Foreign Service officers in the consular cone,

• Recent years have witnessed a pattern of discriminatory promotions and assignments that rewarded those who have dominated AFSA affairs,

• The Murphy Commission—which made more than seventy specific recommendations in the personnel area—stressed the need for active Congressional interest in Foreign Service personnel reform, and

• Most officers on the 1976 promotion list are distinguished by intelligence, dedication, and resourcefulness.

JOHN J. HARTER

Reston

On the President's Message

■ I am writing you to protest the accusations leveled against me on page 21 of the March issue of the FSJ. On that page is a "Message from the Association President" during the course of which he alleges that I was involved—together with Messrs. Lars Hyde and John Patterson—in the alleged disappearance of an unauthorized mail-out sent by him to overseas members. The message continues: "AFSA President's legal counsel advises that the Hyde-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 . . ." Speaking personally, I want to state emphatically that I have never maligned nor slandered Mr. Hemenway. Obviously this courtesy has not been extended to me.

One of the Washington news-sheets recently spoke of the lost art

of civility. Nowhere is this assertion more apparent than in Mr. Hemenway's virulent attacks on me and other members of the AFSA Governing Board who have, in good conscience and with no malice disagreed with him in the past. The membership of AFSA is entitled to know that any Board member who ever opposes Mr. Hemenway may be subjecting himself to character assassination, harassment and intimidation.

Permit me to take the liberty of pointing out to Mr. Hemenway and the FSJ readership that our forefathers fought and died to guard against the exercise of arbitrary arrest. The Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution specifically prohibits arrest except for probable cause. Through the years, the American system of justice has not considered any person guilty until proven innocent. Mr. Hemenway apparently feels that simply by making an accusation against me, I am *de facto* convicted. Not only did Mr. Hemenway presume my guilt based on hearsay evidence, but he also announced at the February 23 Board meeting (at which I was also absent) that he proposed to initiate a civil suit against me and Messrs. Hyde and Patterson. At the hearing on March 5, Mr. Hemenway was given the opportunity to drop the charges he made against me. This he refused to do.

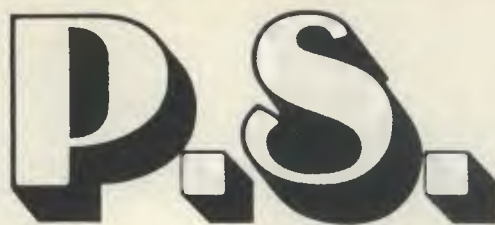
It has been my observation that Mr. Hemenway does not hesitate to heap abuse on *any* Board member who disagrees with him. Mr. Hemenway always assumes the worst about any of his oft-labeled "enemies" be these members of the Governing Board or opponents from years past. I would assert that only when Mr. Hemenway and his supporters recognize that there are issues on which reasonable people can and often do disagree will the open warfare between him and the rest of the Governing Board cease and thus permit AFSA to pursue the interests of the foreign service.

Mr. Hemenway's willingness to retract the remarks made in his Message should indicate to the membership of the Association just how diligently and sincerely he does "work for your interests . . ."

ROY A. HARRELL, JR.

Washington

THERE'S AN IMPORTANT



**AVAILABLE
THROUGH YOUR MEMBERSHIP
IN THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE
PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION.**

Putting it down in black and white is a big help in finding out where you stand in terms of financial security. Take a few minutes to think about your own P. S.—your Protection/Security ratio—then consider this Protection Supplement.

Group Life Insurance
basic \$17,500 amount
increasing as determined by dividends

**PLUS
\$17,500**

Accidental Death & Dismemberment Insurance

**PLUS
Group Life Insurance for Dependents**

\$3,000 for spouse with amounts for unmarried children ranging from \$300 to \$3,000 depending on age.

PLUS
the option of enrolling for up to \$20,000 Additional Group Life and up to \$20,000 Additional Accidental Death & Dismemberment insurance for small additional premium.

For information on eligibility and costs, write:

**THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE
PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION**

Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520

or

1750 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Suite 1305, Washington, D.C. 20006

or

Telephone: 298-7570

AFSA NEWS

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.

Alford W. Cooley, Editor

CONTENTS



President's Column	34
Minutes Offered	34
Promotion List	35
Referenda Matters	35
Referenda and Legal Action	36
Radiation Dangers	36
AID Promotions	37
Grievance Regs	38
Committee Members	38
Vietnam Evacuees	38
New State Rep	39
AAFSW Bookfair	39
F.S. People	40

NOMINATIONS NEEDED

Nominations are open for the Herter, Harriman and Rivkin Awards established in 1968 to recognize members of the Foreign Service who display outstanding intellectual originality, courage and forthrightness.

The awards are sponsored each year by the families of three distinguished modern statesmen: the late Secretary of State Christian A. Herter, retired Ambassador W. Averell Harriman and the late Ambassador William R. Rivkin. At the 1975 Awards luncheon, Ambassador Harriman praised AFSA's administration of his award and said, "I established it hoping that it would not only stimulate courageous, unorthodox thinking among our Junior Foreign Service officers but also jar the Department into the recognition of originality as a virtue . . ."

AFSA hopes that a number of original thinkers will be nominated for all three of the awards before the June 15, 1976 deadline. While

Keymen have a special responsibility, anyone with knowledge of a Foreign Service colleague's accomplishments can nominate for these awards. Foreign Service employees of all ranks and grades in all three agencies are eligible.

The Herter Award honors FSO 1-2 and equivalents; the Rivkin Award goes to FSO 3-4 and equivalents; the Harriman Award is for FSO 5-8 and equivalents.

NOMINATION PROCEDURES.

Nominations should be sent to:

AFSA Awards Committee

2101 E Street, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20037 in time to be received by June 15, 1976. Please send two copies of each nomination, unbound on regular size paper, marking each page with the name of the nominee. The format for nomination should be as follows:

PART I—Biographic Data: Name, Birth date, Grade, Agency

PART II—Association with the Candidate (Strictly limited to 250 words)

PART III—Justification for Nomination (500-750 words) Summary of specific reasons for nominations. The narrative should discuss qualities of mind and spirit which qualify the nominee for the award AND specific examples of the candidate's accomplishments, particularly evidence of outstanding initiative, integrity and intellectual courage.

SIX NAMES ADDED TO MEMORIAL PLAQUE

On February 11, the Governing Board voted to inscribe on the AFSA Memorial Plaque the names of six American USG employees who had lost their lives overseas, under "circumstances of a clearly inspirational or heroic character."

They were: Sergeant James C. Marshall, USMC, Vietnam, 1968 (Tet offensive, Saigon); Steven A. Haukness, Vietnam, 1968 (Tet offensive, Hué); Staff Sergeant Charles W. Tuberville, USMC, Cambodia, 1971 (terrorist attack); John Patrick Egan, Argentina, 1975 (consular agent-terrorists); Corporal Charles McMahon, USMC, Vietnam, 1975 (evacuation, Saigon, artillery fire); Lance Corporal Darwin L. Judge, USMC, Vietnam, 1975 (evacuation, Saigon, artillery fire). The four members of

the Marine Corps were assigned as Marine Guards at the Embassies.

The Board also considered whether the "inspirational or heroic character" requirement should be changed so that the plaque might impress on the beholder "the magnitude of the human sacrifice of American diplomats and consuls over the two centuries of our country's history in venturing forth on the national business in the face of difficult and dangerous circumstances and with little promise of significant recognition or reward."

The Board agreed with the recommendations of the Committee on Awards and Memorials, chaired by Ambassador Ben Hill Brown, that the present requirement does serve a purpose in limiting the inscription to those special cases where there is more involved than death overseas, tragic though it may be, and excluding those cases such as accidents and illnesses that might have happened in the United States.

EDITORIAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR AFSA NEWS

Since FSJ Editor Shirley Newhall has recently been castigated for editorial comments that were not hers and AFSA President Hemenway has recently alleged some form of "censorship" to be occurring in the FSJ the following few lines appear necessary and proper.

State Representative Alf Cooley acknowledges full editorial responsibility as delegated by the Governing Board for all materials published in AFSA News, starting with the November issue. The genesis of this arrangement is reported in the December FSJ at page 36. The responsibility also extends to Letters to the Editor which concern employee-management issues, conditions of employment, and policy and administration of AFSA. The generous assistance and support of Mrs. Newhall is also gratefully acknowledged.

THE COMING REFERENDA
AFSA Voting Patterns: 10-1 against referenda (AFSA Board)
1000-10 favoring referenda (AFSA Membership)

Literally thousands of signatures have been received by the Association President during the past month favoring the holding of seven different referenda. About 1 reply in 100 received indicated disapproval of the proposed referenda.

Much material pertinent to the referenda controversy was contained in the March issue of the FSJ. Every AFSA member and every one of the 12,000 men and women of the Foreign Service concerned with his professional future should study that issue carefully. It publishes several primitive analyses attempting to describe subtle matters vitally affecting the Association and the careers of its members into some kind of a "Board" vs. "Association President" prize fight. The real issues addressed by the referenda are more complex and concern the issue of whether membership views are to be respected by both the Board and the President and whether reasonable efforts are made to discover these views. The referenda are expressly designed for this purpose.

Against the expressed wishes of the Board, the President went to the membership to win endorsement on the referenda issues. The membership has overwhelmingly decided to authorize the seven referenda. Among reasonable men this should end the acrimony and discussion; the time has come to vote. Yet the recriminations continue, and, as this FSJ goes to press, a recall petition is being circulated by persons not willing to abide by democratic processes.

The purpose of our seven upcoming referenda is to receive direction from the membership. The duty of the Board of Governors and the Association President is to follow the will of the membership in pursuit of the purposes and objectives of the Association stated in Article I of the AFSA Bylaws: "to further the interests and well being of the members of the Association."

There is a great deal of constructive work to do in our Association for willing hands! Bread and butter issues which have general agree-

ment from all those who are most concerned must nevertheless be looked after with care and intelligent effort. Some members have identified long neglected professional problems which certain Board members have neglected. Dissension and fratricide is a luxury which AFSA should not encourage.

As is the case with all referenda votes of importance, the various points of view will be presented and the ballot will be secret. Mr. Kenneth Rogers is chairman of the committee for the referenda arrangements. On this occasion the Association President has been invited to serve as a committee member. Legal requirements must be met. Mr. Rogers is an attorney who will understand what fairness and equity demand. The Association President, who requested the referenda, expects Mr. Rogers to perform these duties in an exemplary fashion.

The referenda will have no "losers." Every member of the Association will gain. For the first time in recent memory the President and the Board will receive a clear expression of the wishes of the membership on specific issues. On the merits of the referenda, the Association President must guard the interests of all of the membership at all ranks and levels both on active duty and retired—from all agencies. If the President does not do this, who will?

For those who may not have received the initial mailing concerning the referenda questions, write directly to the AFSA President for this background information, which you may find useful. Ballots and formally presented discussion of the various sides of the issues will be sent automatically to the membership without asking when it is prepared. The issues are summarized below in two categories:

1. Referenda on Professional Interests:

1. Ratification or denial of ratification of the 1975/6 "Selection Out" Precepts.

2. Selection of a range of options concerning the foreign service promotion system.

3. Approval or disapproval of the foreign service grievance Board composition and regulations and other matters authorized by legislation.

4. Formal approval by the membership of a monthly AFSA President's report in the FSJ, of which, by AFSA Board approval, this is the first.

II. Referenda on Association Interests:

5. AFSA financial requirements and procedures concerning check writing, overdrafts, loans and scholarship funds.

6. Modernization of the Foreign Service JOURNAL to permit it to meet higher professional standards.

7. Formal arrangements to guarantee openness in the AFSA internal structure so that every member knows how he can participate in AFSA affairs, regardless of rank, position, or agency status, or any other qualification.

Before the next issue of the FSJ appears, the entire membership should receive ballots and accompanying literature, based on the requisite membership approval of the referenda issues above.

Colleagues and friends! You are the masters of this Association if you make your will known in the referenda!

JOHN HEMENWAY
Association President

MINUTES OFFERED

Members may request the Bylaws or the minutes of meetings of the Governing Board, giving the date(s) or subject(s) by writing AFSA at Room 3644, N.S.

Meetings were scheduled for Mon., Feb. 23 (Treasurer's Report, Financial responsibility for the mailout, Appointment of replacement State Rep. Sam Hart, Establishment of the Referendum Committee.)

Mon., March 1 (Radiation Hazard at Amembassy Moscow, three more referenda items approved, Resolution regarding payment of legal fees, Resolution regarding payment for mailouts); Mar. 8 (originally Mar. 9) (Minor changes in State Efficiency Report instruction sheet, Censure of President for unauthorized Hill testimony against Foreign Service promotees, Disclaimer of responsibility in three unfair labor practice charges.)

AN EXAMINATION OF REFERENDA MATTERS

The AFSA Governing Board needs the opinions, suggestions and guidance of the membership on many matters. The Board has a good record over the years of asking for guidance from the membership and is clearly responsive to it. In any formal referendum on an issue within the actual scope of the Board's authority, the Board will be pleased to be controlled by the wishes of the membership.

Popular participation in the affairs of one's organization is as unassailable as motherhood: When one moves beyond the ritual incantations to the application of popular participation in our association's affairs, one must transcend "primitive analyses" and view the issues clearly.

In most countries, or organizations, voters' signatures on petitions indicate that they favor the "proposition" on which they seek referenda. But the Hemenway mail-out says only, "In the nature

of this 'referendum on referenda' of course the attached form commits you to no position on the issues . . ." so the signatories' stand on the specifics is unknown. Known is only that they would like to vote on these issues.

Normal referenda are on specific propositions which, if supported by a majority, become part of law or policy and provide guidance.

These propositions are very vague:

On some of the referenda issues the *Governing Board had already acted*. Since we believed that we were acting in the best interests of the Association, we did not initiate referenda on these matters. But the statement that Mr. Hemenway went to the membership for referenda "against the express wishes of the Board" is FALSE.

Article XII quoted above permits referenda on "any matter within the Board's authority." Is it within the Board's authority to

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON MR. HEMENWAY'S "THE COMING REFERENDA"

- **"10-1 against referenda."**

This is false if only because there never have been eleven Board members at any meeting since his mailout on AFSA's stationery of the referenda. The only discernible relevant votes have been 8-1 on Mr. Hemenway's misrepresenting his mailout as being an official AFSA initiative and for misappropriation of AFSA funds, and 7-1 (Hemenway also opposed!) for setting up a Referendum Committee under Mr. Rogers.

- **"1000-10 favoring referenda."**

There are countries where such 99 percent results are possible, but, as there, this figure is unverified. Mr. Hemenway continues to hold unto himself all the signatures despite having announced an "overwhelming response" to the press on February 9.

- **"Prize fight/end the acrimony/Dissension and fratricide is a luxury."** Mr. Hemenway sued three fellow Board members in this matter, two other Board members are appearing in court, see story, page 36, this issue.

- **"The time has come to vote."**

Mr. Hemenway has not yet given the 1000 signatures (1000 ÷ 7 referenda issues = 143 people?) to the Referendum Committee so it can start its work.

- **"Clear expression of the views of the membership on specific issues."** The exact reverse of this in the way the referendum questions were framed is a problem Ken Rogers's Referendum Committee will have to overcome when it starts work. Some of the issues are amorphous 2, 5, 6, 7; or might require the abrogation of AFSA's agreements openly negotiated and reported to you in these pages in past months 1, 2, 3; or ones in which the membership's opinion has been asked and received already 1; while yet others have either never been proposed to the Governing Board 2, 7; or have been adopted by the Board already 4.

The Governing Board supports Mr. Rogers and his committee in their approach to their task and expresses its confidence in the fairness and integrity with which they will address these problems.

abort or renege on agreements approved last year and reported to the membership or to withhold agreement on grievance regulations and Grievance Board appointments which new legislation requires be completed by March 29?

While waiting for the referenda, the Governing Board must continue to carry out its responsibilities. We are trying our best to inform the Membership and to seek your advice before taking positions on behalf of the Association, and if we fall short we must, of course, be held responsible. However, we cannot accept Mr. Hemenway's thesis that no Board action he opposes can stand until a referendum is held, for that would paralyze the Association. We would swiftly become unable to meet our responsibilities to our members and to the Foreign Service people whom we represent as exclusive employee representative, and we would be decertified. Is this what Mr. Hemenway intends?

The Governing Board wants to hold the referenda on the positions promptly and abide by the results. Let us hope that Mr. Hemenway will do the same.

Why does Mr. Hemenway tout his referenda as a way of involving the Membership in the direction of the Association's affairs, but attack those circulating a recall petition as "not willing to abide by democratic processes." If Mr. Hemenway doesn't believe in all the methods provided by the Bylaws for the expression of the democratic will of the Membership, then perhaps he is no democrat at all.

PROMOTION LIST CLEARS HURDLE IN SENATE

On February 18, the Senate approved the 1976 Promotion List, it having cleared the Foreign Relations Committee one day before. The listing's approval was delayed two weeks due to questions raised about the promotions of a few officers by AFSA President Hemenway and others (March FSJ, p. 34).

By the time these questions had been laid to rest by the AFSA Board, 544 FSOs had lost about \$57,000 in new, higher pay.

The March FSJ (pp. 21, 36-37) reported on the substance of the four referenda points in AFSA President Hemenway's mailout of January 28 to the membership and the subsequent censure by the Governing Board for the method used. The past month has seen many fascinating developments in the affair. First, on February 6, Vice Presidents Lars Hydle and John Patterson received the overseas portion of the mailout, after requesting it in their capacities as heads of the AFSA State and AID Standing committees and sequestered it, pending instruction from the Governing Board.

On February 17, Mr. Hemenway sent another referendum call to a limited group charging the two (and AID Rep. Roy Harrell) with wrongdoing in sequestering the material and proposing three new referenda. These are:

1. AFSA finance requirements concerning check-writing, assignment of scholarship funds, overdrafts, loan authority, and other fiscal matters.
2. FSJ Modernization: AFSA President's plan for FSJ reorganization to membership for consideration.
3. Openness in AFSA: AFSA Committee structure and principles governing access to these committees proposed by the AFSA President for membership decision by referenda.

He has asked for signatures to be sent directly to him and has announced the receipt of sufficient signatures to start these three referenda also.

Referendum Committee

On February 11 the Governing Board proposed names for a referendum committee to receive and verify the signatures held by Mr. Hemenway, to frame the referenda questions, and to supervise their distribution and tallying. Mr. Hemenway had the measure deferred until February 17, but cancelled that board meeting so he might press criminal charges against Mr. Hydle at the US Attorney's office. At the February 23 Board meeting a referendum committee with State Representative Kenneth Rogers in the chair and Board members Charlotte Cromer (AID), John Hemenway (ret.), and

Will Sutter (USIA) was approved.

On that day Mr. Hemenway first agreed to pay for the costs of his mailout. Consequently the materials were turned over to the Committee chairman and he had them placed into the distribution system the following day.

Legal Action

The postal inspector Mr. Hemenway asked to the February 11 Board meeting later decided that the overseas portion of the January 28 mailout whose overseas distribution the Governing Board had deferred was not technically "US Mail" since it was to be sent without postage stamps entirely within the Foreign Affairs agencies' pouch system. Mr. Hemenway asked the US Attorney's office to consider criminal prosecution against officers of the Association for the action. After an informal hearing on February 17 prosecution was declined on February 20. The day after Mr. Hemenway brought a civil suit in Small Claims Court claiming that the mailout on AFSA letterhead was his own "personal property" which had been "stolen" at a damage to him of \$1,500 of which he was claiming \$750. These damages were sought from Vice Presidents Lars Hydle (State) and John Patterson (AID) and AID Representative Roy Harrell, who were represented in court by State Representative Alf Cooley. Mr. Hemenway also subpoenaed as witnesses State Representative Ken Rogers, Employee-management chief Nick Veliotis, and Pouch Expert Jack Whitridge. Preliminary arguments were on March 5, and as we go to press the case has been continued. This is the third lawsuit over the years with Mr. Hemenway appearing against the Association or its officers.

What Next?

While the legal moves continue, the mailout has by now been received by all AFSA members. The Referendum Committee is awaiting Mr. Hemenway's turning over the signatures (of those interested in having referenda) to it before proceeding to organize the referenda to put before the membership.

COMMITTEE EXAMINES RADIATION DANGERS

Immediately upon press reports of possible dangers to Foreign Service employees and dependents from microwave radiation in Moscow, the AFSA Board on February 11th requested its Committee on Extraordinary Dangers to pursue the matter. Committee Chairman Harry C. Blaney and other AFSA representatives met that afternoon with Deputy Under Secretary for Management Eagleburger and other Department officials to inform them of our concern. At this preliminary meeting, Mr. Eagleburger indicated that the health of employees was uppermost in minds of management, and that the Committee would be kept informed of the situation.

The Committee continues to pursue the matter with management, giving special emphasis to developing better knowledge about the medical aspects, and ensuring that action is taken as soon as possible to determine the extent, if any, of danger to present and past Moscow employees and families.

We can report some progress already in obtaining a more forthcoming management approach. More information has been made available to those immediately concerned, and efforts have been made to ensure that any possible health problems are dealt with, including examinations when appropriate.

Any member interested in assisting in this matter should contact Harry C. Blaney, S/P, Room 7316, 632-1964.

MANAGUA BITES DOG

On February 25 AFSA Washington received a cable from the Managua Chapter informing it that the chapter had censured the Board and had petitioned the Board "to resign en masse with elections for a new board to be held soon." The censure was based on "the present highly-publicized internal dispute within the AFSA Board" which "prohibits the coordination necessary for adequate management of AFSA." The chapter said it was "appalled at recent events that discredit our organization and deprive us of the representation we so badly need" and asked that its views be publicized.

The March 3 Redtop on the "The Promotion Fiasco" highlighted AFSA's disappointment that the aggregate number of 60 promotions overall was so low. It also manifested our anger that even the authorized 60 could not be realized because AID management unilaterally refined the negotiated agreement in such a way as to substantively alter the method of rank-ordering.

As of this writing (March 10) we are still pressing to increase not only the aggregate number of promotions above 60, but to effect promotions in the deficient areas between 52 and 60. For example, we would find it unpardonable for the Agency to hire new Development Loan Officers at the R-4 level or to convert GSs to that level or above, when R-5s have been deprived and when RL-4s and 5s face new competition without consideration for conversion.

As we wrote Administrator Parker on March 4,

The problem, exacerbated by the prospect of no promotions for a majority of the Foreign Service for a third year and the disincentive for all, has now reached crisis proportions. The restrictive policy is intolerable at all levels, but it is especially galling for Foreign Service Staff employees who have been dealt an especially harsh blow. The policy is unacceptable, particularly at a time when promotions continue at all levels of the Civil Service, AD positions increase, Foreign Service positions are filled by the conversion of GS employees to FS, and outside recruitment goes on when FS employees are available at lower levels but are not allowed to compete because of the promotion freeze. This situation undermines AID's Foreign Service and the important rank-in-person principle at the heart of all three Foreign Affairs Agencies.

On the specific issue of the promotion process not working as we agreed it should, it *could* be that the Agency management was really doing what it thought was proper and in good faith. But AID should have learned by now that *all* changes in personnel policies and procedures are negotiable under Executive Order 11636 and that assumptions on refinements of negotiated policies can result in major differences in substance. At any rate, this will be resolved in our

unfair labor practice, or before, if management is forthcoming.

The above notwithstanding, during the last eight months or so, negotiations on substantive issues have gone rather well. But this may be, in light of the recent promotion debacle, more a salve than a cure. For on most of the substantive matters regarding the Agency's Foreign Service, we continue to play second fiddle to Civil Service regulation of a so-called Foreign Affairs Agency.

Let us look at a few overall examples:

(1) The arbitrariness of the promotion freeze is magnified by its singular application to AID Foreign Service employees, while Civil Service promotions at all levels proceed. This constitutes an unconscionable discrimination against Foreign Service personnel and relegates us to second-class status, in spite of apparent Foreign Service leadership of Agency management.

(2) The limited freeze and RIF are anti-EEO and doubly affect women and minority personnel by contradicting the stated EEO goals in the 1973 Affirmative Action Plan, i.e.:

- Assure that qualified women and minority employees and applicants are considered for supergrade positions:

- Increase the percentages of women and minorities in midlevel positions.

(3) The whole restrictive promotion policy approach is unnecessary because there are better, less simplistic, more humane means of dealing with the problem. A slowdown in promotions in those occupational categories and at those ranks currently in oversupply, if spread over several years and combined with a careful analysis of position requirements, would have solved the problem without unduly affecting morale, employee rights, or the professionalism of AID's Foreign Service.

Specifically, AID management is also:

- Unnecessarily torpedoing Foreign Service morale;

- Encouraging AID's best personnel, who are also most reem-

ployable elsewhere, to leave AID and thereby undermine the professionalism of the Corps and the efficiency of the US Foreign Assistance Program:

- Polarizing the Foreign Service employees against its management and against our Civil Service colleagues;

- Contributing to an environment of adversary confrontation with AFSA and its Foreign Service employees.

So now you are asking what AFSA is doing about the situation.

To use the term "in the aggregate," we are again taking *all* actions against Agency management to break the Civil Service stranglehold on what is assumed to be a Foreign Affairs Agency. Since winning the consultability appeal on Foreign Service Assignment Precepts, we are now out to change the priorities for filling AID/W vacancies (Handbook 25, Chapter 11). Currently, we rank in the fourth and fifth priorities in a total of six, the sixth being outside recruitment. The opening of Washington positions on a priority basis when Foreign Service employees are either surplus and/or otherwise face the prospect of RIF, would mean that future RIFs would be highly unlikely.

What you may not suspect, however, is that this issue is not really new. We just discovered that ICA Policy Directive Number 7 of May 9, 1957, recognizing that "the Agency is conducting a foreign rather than a domestic program," established the principle of identifying 700 of the Washington positions at GS-9 and above "to be filled preferably by persons in the overseas personnel system." Although GS employees were not to be displaced, FSR and FSS employees were to be "given first preference" when such positions became vacant. Unfortunately, this principle fell by the wayside. But it is now, albeit belatedly, being resurrected by us as a priority issue. For purposes of career development and as a safeguard against abrupt changes in overseas programs (e.g., Indochina), adequate access to AID/W positions is mandatory if we are going to have reasonable job security and if the Agency is going to have a positive-minded and well-motivated AID Foreign Service.

GRIEVANCE REGULATIONS

As we go to press, negotiations are almost complete between the AFSA Grievance Committee and representatives of State, USIA, and AID on regulations implementing the grievance legislation passed at the end of November. Since the legislation is extremely detailed in dealing with the establishment and composition of an impartial Foreign Service Grievance Board and the due process it must follow in considering and resolving grievances, little creative effort has been required in that area. The focus of our Grievance Committee has been on extending to the agency procedures—a period of 90 days during which grievances are considered, and hopefully resolved, within the foreign affairs agencies, before being filed with the Grievance Board—some of the same procedural protections for grievants that they have once their cases come before the Grievance Board.

The Grievance Committee held an open meeting on March 11 at which the draft regulations were discussed. Meanwhile, agreement has been reached on a Grievance Board Chairman—Mr. Alexander Porter, Deputy Chairman of the previous Interim Grievance Board,

and distinguished arbitrator—and most of the anticipated 14 Grievance Board Members, including six retired Foreign Service people. The Grievance Board will hear and resolve cases in panels of three, unless the parties agree that only one Member is necessary, but in any case all the Members act as impartial individuals in resolving the grievance.

The legislation imposes a deadline of 120 days within which the Secretary of State must promulgate implementing regulations and appoint the Grievance Board Members, in agreement with AFSA. That deadline expires March 29.

The legislation permits revision of the regulations after further reflection and experience, and one-half of the Grievance Board Members' terms will expire at the end of the first year. The Grievance Board's own internal regulations will cover in detail the "due process" aspects of hearings. The Grievance Board will submit these regulations in draft to AFSA and management for consideration, and then publish them in the Federal Register for comment by any interested person, before they go into effect.

SANTIAGO AFSA CHAPTER'S YEAR-END REPORT

Outgoing Chapter President John Tipton's following has sent AFSA a summary of their 1975 accomplishments. First the Chapter, feeling that neither the Embassy nor the Department were adequately defending the representation of the US consul under attack after the Allende government's overthrow, voluntarily presented to GAO investigators testimony in support of the officer's performance. Home/Office/Home transportation at cost was established for all unit American employees. The Chapter won an increase in the "gold quota" for non-diplomatic personnel and the authorization of duty-free sales of departing officers' automobiles. It obtained the rescission of a Department-ordered ban on travel to Argentina. It threw a reciprocal national-day party for Embassy FSLs. And it monitored: medical situation, commissary, and dependent schools in Santiago, fire emergency plan, use of pouch

facilities, air travel regulations, reporting to Foreign Service Inspectors on the latter three.

In 1976 the Chapter expects to work on: use of courier pouch for personal insurance premiums, mortgage payments, tax returns, also tax exemption on petroleum products, second car permission for diplomats, duty-free sales of cars by non-diplomats, and auto fleet liability insurance for Embassy personnel.

MONTHLY COLUMN VOTED FOR AFSA PRESIDENT

For the first time in recent memory the Governing Board has allotted its President a regular monthly column. This happened while the referendum call was pending. When the referendum on the subject eventually arrives at post, members will be voting on whether they want to ratify this vote and keep the column.

EVACUEES FROM VIETNAM: NOTE

From various sources the Association has been informed that many employees caught in the rush to leave Vietnam in April 1975 were denied the right to request packing for household effects, and denied the right to utilize APO facilities for outward shipments. Even some employees who had received transfer orders were forbidden the right to pack and ship household effects. The result was that thousands of pounds of household effects had to be left behind. From various sources, the Association has learned that some employees were threatened with reprisals if they in fact requested packing materials or threatened to file claims pursuant to the terms of Public Law 93-455 (The Civilian Claims Act) as amended. The Association has brought the various complaints on this which have come to its knowledge to the attention of management personnel.

Management personnel have stated that the complaints concerning reprisals against employees are ill-founded. Ambassador Martin has also dismissed all such complaints as being totally lacking in foundation. However, management personnel have suggested that employees may wish to peruse their personnel files to assure that no adverse materials connected with the evacuation of Vietnam have been inserted. The Association stands ready to assist employees in Vietnam in seeing that such adverse material, if any, is completely expunged.

NEW APPOINTMENTS

John Krizay (of OASIS), contributor of letters to FSJ on insurance, has recently been appointed head of the Insurance Committee and Board Member (ret.) Glenn Wolfe (also an FSJ-letter writer on the subject) has also been appointed. Christine Hugerth of AID and USIA Rep. Will Sutter have been appointed to the FSJ Liaison Committee. To the Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center Board have been appointed Alan Gise of SCS in State, Lee Metcalfe, State (retired) and Will Sutter. Second Vice President John Patterson was appointed head of the Counsellor Search Committee.

The State Representative seat left vacant on January 2 by a resignation was filled on February 23 by the Governing Board's appointing Sam Hart, 8-1. This restored Board membership to its full fourteen.

State Keymen had met previously to hear the remarks of three candidates and to cast votes for them. While not binding on the Board, the informally-expressed views of the Keymen were persuasive.

Sam Hart entered the Foreign Service in 1958. He was sub-



sequently posted in Uruguay, Indonesia, Malaysia, Washington, Costa Rica and Chile in a variety of political, economic and consular jobs. An FSO-2, he has been assigned since mid-1975 as Deputy Director of the Office of Economic Research and Analysis in INR. In 1971 Sam received the Rivkin Award for constructive dissent.

Sam has been an AFSA member since 1958. He was the AFSA keyperson in Costa Rica and president of the very active and militant AFSA chapter in Chile. He has served on the State Standing Committee since late 1975 and is an occasional contributor to the FSJ. In terms of AFSA priorities, Sam places special emphasis on due process and the rights of the individual. In style, he tries to be a pragmatist. He believes that AFSA can frequently achieve its goals by demonstrating that its proposals are beneficial both to foreign affairs personnel and to managerial efficiency.

When overseas Sam is an avid golfer and skier. Since returning to Washington he claims that most of his spare time is absorbed by household chores, shared with his teen-agers, Rebecca and David.

BOOKFAIR '76 is taking shape. The flow of donations is swelling, and the process of sorting becomes more demanding. Those involved in this happy task think that when Francis Bacon made his oft-quoted observation that "some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested," he might well have added, "but no books are to be discarded or destroyed." Each year, the AAFSW Bookfair demonstrates again that the book in which one person has lost interest is the book somebody else has desperately been seeking, the book which takes up too much space in one person's home has a spot waiting for it in someone else's home, and the book which has come to bore one reader can truly excite another.

Still in its infancy, BOOKFAIR '76 has already stored away such items as an excellent collection of books on India and its history, an 11th edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica and other selections. This year's BOOKFAIR site, the 23rd Street two-level foyer, lends itself to a more open and more easily accessible display of books, stamps, objets d'art, and other items to be offered for sale. Planned are separate sections, for example, for: *Women: Fact and Fiction; Ships and the Seas: in History and in Imagination; Wars: Real and Otherwise; and Americana: Nostalgia and Futuristics.*

As has become traditional, the sole beneficiary of the BOOKFAIR is the Scholarship and Educational Fund of the Association of American Foreign Service Women. The Fund's major effort is support of AFSA's Scholarship Fund for children of State, AID, USIA, and Peace Corps personnel, as well as the Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center. To a more modest extent, some educational assistance is given within the D.C. area to selected organizations, such as Mental Health and the Boys' Club.

Donations to BOOKFAIR are, of course, tax deductible. And springtime is a good time to weed out the books, picture frames, prints, ceramics, records, tapes, old sheet music, campaign buttons, and similar items which you no

longer want but which, as you will observe when BOOKFAIR '76 gets under way, somebody else assuredly does! For pick-up (and signed receipt), please telephone: Lois Heginbotham (598-5946) or Ruthanne Nadler (363-1831).

If you are overseas, kindly send donated items to Chairman, BOOKFAIR '76, Room 8326, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

ASSISTANCE IN GUATEMALA

We have received the following cable from the US Embassy in Guatemala:

"US Mission Guatemala has received a number of inquiries from Missions world-wide concerning possible emergency relief for its Guatemalan employees who suffered from the recent disastrous earthquake. US Mission wishes to thank those posts and individuals who already have generously given for this purpose. Mission initially concentrated its own resources and those received from others on providing food, water, clothing, tents and other types of immediate emergency assistance to needy Guatemalan employees. However, the immediate crisis has now been met and our resources are insufficient to the far more costly task of assisting in providing permanent shelter for the Guatemalan employees who lost their homes. Swift action is necessary because the rainy season will start in about two and one-half months. Mission establishing an account to provide for loans and grants for reconstruction of Guatemalan employees' housing, particularly those on the lower pay scales who have little or no access to other financial assistance and who with their families will suffer the most when the heavy rains arrive. An estimated 18 percent of Mission and ROCAP Guatemalan personnel had their houses completely demolished; another 35 percent had their houses severely damaged by the earthquake. The Mission realizes it cannot reconstruct every house but we hope to be able to provide assistance in putting roofs over the heads of the neediest before the rainy season."

Mark J. Platt, ARA/CEN

DEMISE OF HEMENWAY'S UNFAIR LABOR SUIT

As promised in the last issue (March FSJ, p. 37) there follows the disposition of Mr. Hemenway's unfair labor practice charges against State Department management filed on February 9, in his "capacity as President of AFSA." On March 8 the Governing Board noted Mr. Hemenway's personal lack of standing to charge unfair labor practices since he is not in the Foreign Service and does not work for the US Government. It also noted that he did not have the needed authorization—of the Governing Board. The Board disclaimed Association responsibility for the charges. It also disassociated AFSA from the complaints of John Harter and Cynthia Thomas, candidates in last spring's elections, which Mr. Hemenway had "certified" for AFSA. The substance of Mr. Harter's unfair labor charge appears in his letter to the editor in the December FSJ pp. 31-32.

FSJ SPECIAL SERVICES

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

SERVICES

HOUSE-SITTING MANAGEMENT—AU employee available May 8-August 16, 1976, or part thereof. No fee. Two-plus years experience. 244-7012 or 686-1312 nights.

SHOPPING SERVICE

SELECTIVE ORDER SHOPPING. Can't locate a favorite product? Gifts to send? Send for our brochure. S.O.S., 826 East St., #13, Ludlow, Mass. 01056.

DINING OUT

FOREIGN SERVICE CLUB at 2101 E St., N.W., welcomes members of AFSA and their guests every weekday. On consultation or home leave, for office get-togethers, or reunions with old friends. Special arrangements for receptions and cocktail parties. Private rooms for meetings. Please phone for rates and reservations, 338-5048.

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.

Foreign Service People

Births

Butcher. A daughter, Sally Glencairn, born to FSO and Mrs. W. Scott Butcher on November 4, in Kuala Lumpur.

O'Neill. A daughter, Elizabeth Ann, born to FSO Joseph P. O'Neill and Josephine Gamon on January 22, in Calcutta.

Deaths

Barnett. Clare Elizabeth Barnett, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Robert W. Barnett, died as the result of an automobile accident, on March 8, in Washington. Miss Barnett had studied the Chinese language in Hong Kong and the University of Hawaii and was a student and secretary at George Washington University. Her father is director of The Washington Center of the Asia Society, Inc. and former deputy assistant secretary of state for East Asia. She is survived by her parents of 5205 Abingdon Road, N.W., two brothers and a sister. The family suggests that expressions of sympathy be in the form of contributions to AFSA's Scholarship Fund.

Briggs. Ellis O. Briggs, retired Ambassador, died on February 21, in Gainesville, Florida. Ambassador Briggs entered the Foreign Service in 1925 and served at Lima, Habana, Santiago, and Chungking, and as Ambassador to the Dominican Republic, Uruguay, Czechoslovakia, Korea, Peru, Brazil and Greece before his retirement in 1962. He had been appointed Ambassador to Spain when he retired for health reasons. Ambassador Briggs was appointed Career Ambassador in 1960. He authored three books about the Foreign Service and was working on a fourth. He is survived by his wife, Lucy B. Briggs, 3 Pleasant St., Hanover, N.H., a son, Everett E., serving as DCM in Paraguay, and a daughter Lucy, who is doing graduate work at the University of Florida.

Galbraith. Willard Galbraith, FSO-retired, died on December 5, 1975, in Los Angeles. He joined the Foreign Service in 1929 and served at Panama, Sao Paulo, Santos, Victoria, Tegucigalpa, Mexico City, Batavia, Barcelona, Valencia, San Sebastian, La Paz and Managua before his retirement. He is survived by his wife, Gladys Galbraith, 12262 Sky Lane, Los Angeles, California 90049.

Johnson. Mrs. Ellen G. Johnson, FSO-retired, died on February 26, in Jefferson City, Missouri. Mrs. Johnson joined the Foreign Service in 1945 and served at Athens, Ankara, Wellington, Belgrade, Montevideo, Vienna, Frank-

furt and Geneva before her retirement in 1965. She is survived by a niece, Mrs. Philip T. O'Neill, 4906 Casimir St., Annandale, Virginia. Memorial contributions may be made to the American Cancer Society.

Leddy. Raymond G. Leddy, FSO-retired, died on March 4, in Punta Gorda, Florida. Mr. Leddy entered the Foreign Service in 1948 and served at Caracas, Buenos Aires, Mexico City and Panama where he held the personal rank of minister, before his retirement in the late '60s. He received the superior honor award in 1965 and the outstanding Civil Service award in 1967. He is survived by his wife, Alice, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, four sons and a daughter.

Maillefert. William B. Maillefert, FSR-retired, died on October 20, in Westport, New York. Mr. Maillefert joined USIA in 1962, after many years of experience in broadcasting and served at Dacca, Khorramshahr and Calcutta before his retirement. He received USIA's Superior Honor Award in 1971. He is survived by a son, Christopher, a sister and two grandchildren.

McNeill. Allen Pemberton McNeill, Jr., FSO-retired, died on January 15, in Mount Hope, West Virginia. Mr. McNeill entered the Foreign Service in 1948 and served at New Delhi, Santos, Ciudad Juarez, Benghazi, La Paz, Capetown and Mazatlan, prior to his retirement in 1971. His wife, Mary Stuart Malone McNeill, died on May 20, 1975. They are survived by Alison P. McNeill, Kevin Michael McNeill and James William McNeill, all of 8619 Cushman Pl., Alexandria, Virginia.

Morefield. Richard H. Morefield, Jr., son of FSO and Mrs. Richard H. Morefield, was killed March 6 in a robbery at the Roy Rogers Restaurant where he was working. He had accompanied his parents on assignments to Barranquilla, Oslo and Montevideo. He is survived by his parents of 8609 Canterbury Dr., Annandale, Va., a sister, Betsy, and four brothers, Daniel J., William D., Steven Q. and Kenneth, and by his grandmother, Maria T. Morefield of San Diego.

Stelle. Jane Kellogg Stelle, widow of Charles C. Stelle, died on March 3, in Washington. Mrs. Stelle accompanied her husband on assignments to Tehran and Geneva. At the time of his death in 1964 he was a member of the US delegation to the UN, with the personal rank of ambassador. Mrs. Stelle served as Executive Secretary of the American Foreign Service Association for some years. She is survived by a son, Kellogg Sheffield Stelle, 3206 Reservoir Road, N.W., Washington, D.C. and three sisters.

Going overseas without going overboard on insurance.



When you're getting ready to pull up roots and move, you have plenty on your mind.

That's why Chubb, officially sponsored by your *American Foreign Service Association*, has made it easy and economical to take care of your insurance needs.

We've developed an exclusive AFSA Package Insurance Program that combines insurance for valuable articles with insurance for your household furniture and personal effects. Specifically designed for AFSA members stationed abroad, this package gives you significant

savings, made possible through the Association's mass buying power. The package also offers members personal liability insurance on a world-wide basis for themselves and their families.

The basic property insurance rate is \$.75 per \$100.00.

To get more information, send the coupon or contact your American Foreign Service Association agent, The Hirshorn Company, 8333 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa. 19118. Telephone: (215) CH 2-8200.

Property Insurance at only 75¢ per \$100.

FREE Send for our brochure that answers all your questions — in plain English — about overseas insurance. It has its own built-in application form. And it helps you determine how much insurance you need and how much it will cost.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Mail this coupon to:
The Hirshorn Company
8333 Germantown Avenue
Philadelphia, Pa. 19118

APR-1



Chubb/Pacific Indemnity Group

Federal Insurance Company
100 William Street, New York, N. Y. 10038



Chrysler Export announces the Bicentennial Year Diplomatic Sales Program.

**The exact car you want.
At a discount price
that helps you afford it.**

The 1976 cars from Chrysler are something special. From the smallest through the most luxurious, they rank among the best-engineered automobiles available at any price.

What's more, sizable discounts are available to members of the Diplomatic Community. Provided you qualify, you should be pleasantly surprised at how easy

it is to afford a new Chrysler-built vehicle.

You can order any model, including a practical Sportsman Wagon. You'll get it with the exact equipment and options you specify. Just say when and where you want it delivered.

We will, of course, check back to make sure everything about the delivery was satisfactory.

Indicate which cars interest you on the coupon.

We'll send you the whole story by return mail:

Chrysler Export
Diplomatic Sales
560 Sylvan Avenue
Englewood Cliffs,
New Jersey 07632
(212) 279-7350

Or: Chrysler Export
Diplomatic Sales
1100 Connecticut Ave.
N.W., Washington,
D. C. 20036
(202) 296-3188

Send information on your Diplomatic Sales Program
and these Chrysler products:

DODGE

- ☐ Dart
- ☐ Aspen
- ☐ Coronet/Charger
- ☐ Monaco
- ☐ Charger SE
- ☐ Sportsman Wagon

PLYMOUTH

- ☐ Valiant
- ☐ Volare
- ☐ Fury
- ☐ Gran/Fury
- ☐ CHRYSLER Cordoba
- ☐ CHRYSLER

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

EXPORT DIVISION



CHRYSLER CORPORATION

© C Corp 1975