# FSJ

## FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

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# FSJ

# FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

MAY 1976: Volume 53, No. 5

**The British Are Coming . . . Without Travel Vouchers** 2
GEORGE G. WYNNE

**Tokyo: 1941** 5
JOHN K. EMMERSON

**The Diplomacy of Interdependence** 10
HARLAN CLEVELAND

**Cancer and the Foreign Service—A Personal View** 12
LOUIS E. KAHN

**Down the Road with El Perfecto** 16
SEAN KELLY

DEPARTMENTS

**The Bookshelf** 19

**Letters to the Editor** 27

**AFSA News** 29

COVER: Lusitania—Men in Power, collage by David Waters

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"Britons never will be slaves," and the
tyranny of vouchers,
schedules and per diem rates
has ended for the Foreign Office.

# THE BRITISH ARE COMING
## -without travel vouchers!

**GEORGE G. WYNNE**

Color them green. Who? Officials of the United States government who still have to keep painstaking records of itineraries and expenses on business trips. Also their secretaries, who have to fill out the complicated voucher forms, hunt for misplaced schedules and ticket stubs and divide days into quarters to figure out per diem rates.

Why green? With envy, because the British are doing away with most travel vouchers in their Foreign Service!

Starting February 1, UK Foreign Service personnel traveling on home leave, transfer or duty travel to or from foreign posts by the direct route were given their tickets and paid a lump sum covering incidental expenses (porterage, taxis, airport bus fares, airport tax where appropriate) and overnight rest stops for flights of more than 20 hours. No accounting need be made by the traveler for the expenditure of these funds at the completion of his journey. For duty trips, per diem at locally applicable rates is drawn by the traveler for the number of days he expects to be away from his post on official

*George Wynne is a frequent contributor to the* JOURNAL *on widely diversified subjects. He is now an inspector for USIA, and the* JOURNAL *anticipates additions to his previous articles on word derivations and language adaptations.*


# Security follows up. Even to China.

Regular readers of the Journal will recall that, in 1973, three of our steel liftvans followed German Ambassador Pauls from Washington to the new Diplomatic Mission in Peking.

Readers might also be interested to know that, in April, 1975, our past President, Mr. Gore, followed up with a visit to the People's Republic of China. With other members of the Mayor's Committee for International Visitors, he was briefed, in the absence of Mr. Bush, by his Deputy, Mr. Holdridge. And in addition, the General Services Officer, Mr. Morin displayed the two remaining liftvans to Security's representative. (One of the vans already had been used outbound by the Administrative Officer, Mr. Blackburn.)




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business. He promises to account for this advance on a simplified form and turn back any funds to which he is not entitled, for instance if the trip is shortened for any reason. Where an officer travels by other than the direct route his actual expenditure on fares and subsistence, within the cost of approved route travel, will be paid to him at the start of his journey.

Administrative Counselor Geoffrey Scullard of the British Embassy in Washington, who told me that he personally has always been in favor of the simplification of the formerly cumbersome "Account of Travelling Expenses" as the UK travel vouchers are known, was kind enough to explain the text of the new regulations.

In effect these abolish the old voucher system. Individuals are encouraged whenever possible to make their own travel arrangements and so reduce the pressure on the administrative departments in London and at posts abroad. This means that FSOs can and should get their own airplane tickets with the travel funds provided, as long as they stick to British carriers where possible and don't expect the government to make up more than the cost of the "approved routes" from London or to allow more than the stipulated transit times. The current UK transit subsistence allowance is fixed at £19 a night for flights of more than 20 hours.

Provided that permitted costs and traveling time on transfer are within the ceiling of the appropriate route, no other restrictions are being imposed.

Thus the FCO neatly disposes of mountains of paperwork, ends time-consuming unproductive squabbles and frees a number of voucher examination clerks in headquarters and major posts for more essential administrative tasks. The positive new regulations were agreed on between the Foreign Office and the Civil Service Department and put into effect under the authority of the FCO without requiring legislative action.

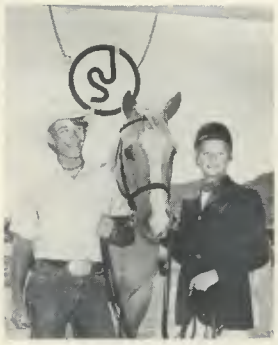
Best of all from the standpoint of service morale, the new regulations treat public officials as responsible adults instead of prospective petty embezzlers who have to be kept under constant observation.

Our own Foreign Service is still a giant step behind the British in this respect and a reform is long overdue. A mini-survey conducted by this writer among the foreign affairs agencies discloses that 25 people earning an average about $11,000 each are processing between 30 and 40,000 travel vouchers a year. The annual salary cost of the voucher clerks alone is in the neighborhood of $300,000. Conservatively estimated a comparable amount of officer and secretarial time is spent completing the vouchers, probably even more, as it presumably takes longer to figure out and fill in a claim than to examine one. Also the salaries of the claimants are generally higher than those of the examiners. But let's say only an equivalent of $300,000 worth of salaried time a year is spent in voucher submission in the three foreign affairs agencies, State, AID, and USIA. This runs the processing costs to around $600,000 to uncover a fraction, perhaps $100,000 in erroneous or illegal claims. The agencies don't keep records on unauthorized expenditures of public funds recovered through the voucher examination process. But haphazard statistics are kept by

*Continued on page 23*


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## PART II

# Tokyo 1941

JOHN K. EMMERSON

*In Part I, April* JOURNAL, *John Emmerson described life in the Embassy in early 1941—the social life, code-breaking attempts by both sides, communications with Washington and the peace-making efforts of those in both governments and outside. Part I ends with the Peruvian Ambassador's report of a rumor that the Japanese planned to attack Pearl Harbor in case of "trouble" between Japan and the US.*

Matsuoka was busy with Axis diplomacy. He agreed with Grew in January that Japanese-American relations "couldn't be worse," and by April was off on his triumphal tour to Moscow, Berlin, Rome, and back to Moscow. The then as now hyper-active Japanese press reported his every move and his every word (including the moxa treatments he received during the train journeys), and Japanese citizens shared pride in the receptions accorded their representative by Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin. The dramatic and sudden signature in Moscow of a neutrality pact took everyone by surprise, including, by his own admission, Matsuoka himself. Ambassador Grew in February had seen "no probability" that Japan and the Soviet Union would join in a non-aggression pact or any other kind of agreement. Actually, the treaty was apparently a sudden, unpremeditated, last minute inspiration by Stalin. The Japanese public was treated to all the details of the dramatic send-off at Kazan station by Stalin himself, who delayed the train's departure by an hour. In the alcoholic glow produced by some kind of "red drink" which Matsuoka zestfully described when he returned home, Stalin bear-hugged the Japanese minister and, remembering his Georgian heritage, exclaimed with feeling: "We understand each other. We are Asiatics."

Matsuoka seldom faced the issues or weighed coldly the risks or the consequences of war with the United States. While in Moscow, he met by prearranged "chance" at a performance at the Moscow Art Theater, the British Ambassador, Sir Stafford Cripps. During an intermission Cripps managed to hand him a communication from Winston Churchill, posing eight extremely pertinent questions relating to such matters as the prospects for German conquest of Britain, the transformation of British and American industry to a war footing, the effect on the United States of the Axis Alliance, the naval superiority of the two English-speaking nations vis-a-vis Japan, and the inadequacy of Japan's seven million tons of steel production contrasted with an expected British-American total of 90 million tons in 1941. Churchill ended his message with a plea: "From the answers to these questions may spring the avoidance by Japan of a serious catastrophe and a marked improvement in relations between Japan and Great Britain, the great sea power in the West." Matsuoka ignored the questions and replied with astonishing nonchalance that Japan was determined to fulfill the lofty concept of *hakko ichiu* by bringing about universal peace. This policy would be carried out, according to Matsuoka, "resolutely but with complete circumspection, having in mind every detail of changing circumstances." Grew noted wryly in his diary: "Altered circumstances! That is the loophole which Japan always leaves herself."

The Japanese-American conversations of 1941 were so confidential that no one in the Embassy was supposed to know about them except Grew and Dooman. For months Grew referred cryptically in his diary to messages too secret to record. But in the Embassy the circle of the "witty," to use a recently CIA-coined word, inevitably widened and I read most of the telegrams being exchanged with Washington. On May 27, again a "lucky day," the Ambassador composed "perhaps the most important telegram" of his service in Japan. He drafted it "early in the morning after a night of most careful and prayerful thought." The message was Grew's response to the Department's question whether any Japanese government could or would carry out the commitments of an agreement reached with the United States. The Ambassador unhesitatingly answered in the affirmative, stressing that a bilateral undertaking approved by the Cabinet, the Privy Council, and the Emperor, would be executed in good faith. Sanction by the Army and Navy would be assumed; furthermore, Grew believed the military ministers favored a settlement. He saw much for the United States to gain from an agreement with Japan, and judged the alternative to be a "progressive deterioration of American-Japanese relations leading eventually to war." Hornbeck, as can be guessed, held an opposite point of view. Writing about the same time, he analyzed the motives of "these Japanese" who were promoting bilateral conversations intended to lead to agreement. "They" had not had a change of

*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.*

heart but were still bent on imperial expansion, still hoped to control China, and still sought power, prestige, privilege, and a paramount position in the Far East (Hornbeck's alliteration). To contradict Grew's belief in Japanese good faith, Hornbeck recalled Japan's violation of its pledge to support the independence and integrity of China made in the Root-Takahira agreement of 1908 and asked what reason there was to expect Japan to "pay more or better attention to the provisions of a new treaty with us, if concluded now?"

In the Embassy, our next surprise came on June 22 when Germany attacked the Soviet Union. I heard the news in Kyoto at the Miyako Hotel, a stopover on my way to Tsuruga on the Japan Sea to meet Allen Lightner, Jr., who was arriving from Moscow on his way to the United States. The Embassy did not expect this attack, although Washington had apparently received inklings earlier in the year. Most of us were pessimistic about the Russians' chances: speculation ran from a few weeks to two or three months; few thought the Russians could hold out indefinitely. Even Chip Bohlen, our Soviet expert, was not too confident of Stalin's prospects. In a special memorandum prepared for Grew, he wrote somewhat equivocally on June 25, "While most military observers in Moscow, including the German military attaches, have estimated that the campaign against the Soviet Union would require approximately two months for the destruction of the Soviet armed resistance . . . there is, however, the possibility that the German estimate of the time required is too long. The Soviet structure . . . might, although most competent opinions hold the contrary view, disintegrate completely within a few weeks." Grew was elated at the attack, thinking it the best thing that could happen. "Dog eat dog. Let the Nazis and the Communists so weaken each other that the democracies will soon gain the upper hand or at least be released from their dire peril." Matsuoka lost his credibility by this new war and by July was out of office. Konoye formed a new Cabinet with Admiral Toyoda Teijiro as foreign minister.

After MAGIC had revealed that Japanese forces were about to make another southward move, imperial troops occupied southern French Indochina. I wrote Dorothy: "On July 26 things happened. It was Saturday. The announcement of Japanese entry into French Indochina was made at noon and by 2 o'clock we heard that the United States government had frozen Japanese assets in the United States. There was much flurry in the *taishikan* [Embassy] as you can imagine. At 7:30 that night the Ambassador remarked that it was quite unusual to find the whole staff of secretaries in the office at 7:30 on a Saturday night!"

Freezing meant the termination of all financial transactions, the virtual cessation of trade, and the ending of direct Japanese-American steamship service. In Tokyo we knew that this was the beginning of the end. No move by either govenment had so shaken the other. The Japanese recognized that time was not on their side.

Prime Minister Konoye made one more serious effort to find a way toward peace and at the same time to preserve something of the Japanese position in China and the East Asia Coprosperity Sphere. He proposed a personal meeting with President Roosevelt to lay the foundation for an agreement. Father Drought and friends had suggested such a dramatic encounter months before but it now appeared as an official démarche of the Japanese government. FDR was intrigued with the idea. He had met Churchill to produce an Atlantic charter; the drama of a conference in the Pacific appealed to his imagination. To Konoye's suggestion that they meet in Hawaii, the President countered with a battleship off Juneau; his time away from Washington would be 15 days instead of 21. The Japanese agreed and proposed to announce that the two heads of government would meet "somewhere in the Pacific." FDR encouraged the Japanese by telling Nomura that he was "very hopeful," that he would be "keenly interested in having three or four days with Prince Konoye." Grew and Dooman revived their sagging hopes by energetically endorsing the proposed Konoye-Roosevelt conversation. Grew reaffirmed his conviction that an agreement would stick. After all, the Prime Minister had assured him at a secret dinner in his private home, with all the servants sent away, that responsible high ranking officers of the Army and Navy would be with him on the battleship and would sign whatever he signed. As could have been expected, however, when the bureaucratic skeptics, Hornbeck and Hamilton, got their hands on the proposal, they proceeded, with encouragement from Hull, clinically to tear it to pieces bit by bit. Their objections were multitudinous but boiled down to insistence that general agreement must be achieved *before* the risks of a summit could be faced.

The Japanese were overwhelmed by the constant reiteration of "principles" by the Americans. For them, the realities were China, raw materials, and military power. For principles they could always bring forth their *hakko ichiu* and their New Order in East Asia. These were as inspirational to them as were Hull's famous four axioms to the United States. But while nations preached principles, they acted on realities. Hull's list seemed vague, moralistic, and irrelevant, and the Japanese were not sure the Americans had always lived up to their own preachments or would fight for them in the future. Still Konoye had accepted the four principles at the secret dinner with Grew, or so Grew and Dooman thought. Konoye's own version was agreement to the principles "in principle," which was a subtle Japanese way of misting the primary colors.

The Japanese had a defensible argument for hesitating to come to specific agreements in advance of an Alaska meeting: decisions would inevitably leak and the die-hard nationalists would act to stop the accommodation. Assassination attempts had already been made on both Konoye and Hiranuma, the latter a former prime minister. Grew urged Washington not to be so insistent on prior understanding. Konoye could make concessions at a meeting with FDR which he could never make at home. Besides the awesome prestige of an imperial rescript sealing the agreement would destroy all opposition. But Hull and Hornbeck stood firm. The United States never rejected the Pacific meeting, but never ap-

proved it. The futile exchange of memoranda continued with the John Doe Associates continuing to the last to contribute to the confusion.

By September the Japanese leadership had agreed that the time for decision had come, that the likelihood of war with the United States had to be faced. An imperial conference convened on September 6 resolved that if Japan's demands were not met by the first ten days of October the government would then make the decision to open hostilities with the United States, Great Britain, and the Netherlands. The reader of the record of this conference, as well as those of later meetings, in October and November, and finally on December 1 and 4, cannot fail to be astounded at the calm, almost trance-like character of the flat, fatalistic statements which seemed to move Japan irresistibly and irrevocably towards the catastrophe all wished to avoid. It was like a slow, agonizingly prolonged playing out of a collective ritual *seppuku*. Only the Emperor hinted at the impending tragedy when he gravely intoned in his thin, jerking voice, his grandfather Emperor Meiji's poetical question, which was left unanswered, "Why, then, do the winds and waves of strife rage so turbulently throughout the world?" Moved by the Emperor's words, the representatives of both the government and the Supreme Command agreed that precedence should be given to diplomatic negotiations over preparations for war.

Due for home leave, at my own expense, I had expected sometime during the summer to join the family in Colorado where they had established temporary residence. I made reservations on the *Hikawa Maru* sailing in August but the freezing order cancelled that. Ambassador Grew talked seriously to me: "I can't imagine your wanting to leave the Embassy now when you have this opportunity of a lifetime to see history made." He and Dooman flattered me that my job was important; after words like these, there could be no question of my taking home leave. But by mid-September gloom was accumulating. The Japanese were pressing for an American reply to the proposal for a Konoye-FDR meeting, and Grew was worrying about what would happen on the first anniversary of the tripartite pact, September 27 (this time an unhappy "27"). He remembered Konoye's urgency on September 6: "Time is of the essence." The ship was ready, the Prime Minister's suite of 20 was chosen, weather off Alaska would worsen if the meeting continued to be put off. The Japanese suggested September 9-20, then September 21-25, then early October, obviously with the deadline set by the secret imperial conference in mind. Meanwhile in Washington Nomura achieved another *gaffe* in the transmission of documents and Hornbeck took two weeks' leave, informing a correspondent that nothing would happen while he was away. The positions of the two governments were as far apart as ever.

"The furrows in the redoubtable Hornbeck's brow deepened, 'Name me one country in history which ever went to war in desperation!' "

Finally Dooman advised me, with the concurrence of the Ambassador, to take my leave. There was little more that could be done at the Embassy. I spent most of the month of October getting to the United States. Chip Bohlen and David (Tommy) Thomasson, another Embassy officer, were due to make the courier run to Shanghai, so the three of us set off together, to Nagasaki by train and to Shanghai by a crowded, bobbing, Japanese shuttle ship. Shanghai was a city of impulsive revelry, taking a last wild fling before the curtains fell. After the deadly slogans and drab discipline of Tokyo, Shanghai was a whirling blur of lights, rikishas, shouts, Russian, Chinese, and Japanese music, crowded nightclubs, restaurants, bars, and starved bodies on the streets. Everything was cheap; everything was frenzy.

I boarded the *S. S. President Coolidge* October 8, on what was to be her last sailing for the United States. I walked down the gangplank in San Francisco 16 days later, on October 24.

After reunion with the family and a brief leave in Colorado, I reported for duty at the State Department in mid-November. By that time the situation looked indeed bleak and no one had much hope for resolution through negotiations of the issue with Japan. I was immediately put to work on routine problems of shipping, injuries to American citizens and their interests, and the vast numbers of problems resulting from the freezing order of July. In due course I paid my respects to Dr. Hornbeck, as was the custom for officers returning from the field. Square-jawed, balding, unsmiling, he fixed me with his penetrating gaze and with some cold condescension in his voice, asked the routine question to which he clearly did not expect a satisfactory answer nor any information which he did not already possess. "What do you people in the Embassy think about war with Japan?" I answered without hesitation: "We think Japan wants to dominate East Asia and hopes to do so without war. But if this looks impossible, Japan will go to war in desperation." The furrows in the redoubtable Hornbeck's brow deepened, and he spoke like a schoolmaster setting his pupil right. "Name me one country in history which ever went to war in desperation!" No apt example came rushing to my mind to save me from my predicament, and, without protesting further, I made my exit from the office as gracefully as possible.

I had of course only parroted what Grew had been telling Washington for years. He had warned repeatedly of the Japanese "do-or-die spirit," of their willingness to risk national *hara-kiri* rather than to submit to foreign pressure, and of the national psychology of desperation which develops into a determination to risk war. Some weeks before I met Hornbeck on November 3, Grew had cabled that "action by Japan which might render unavoidable an armed conflict with the United States may come with dangerous and dramatic sud-

dcnncss."

Hornbeck had long disparaged the Embassy's view that Japan might act in desperation. In a long "reviewer's review" of Grew's thesis, he wrote in January 1940 that he did not expect Japan "to go insane," that he saw no likelihood that action by another nation or combination of nations would "drive thc Japanese state suddenly to a point of extreme desperation." Hornbeck saw no necd to "baby" Japan, to fcar Japan, or to pay blackmail to Japan. He excused Grcw to some extent for his argumcnts about intransigence and realism bccause he was functioning in the Tokyo environment of strain, uncertainties, apprehension, and tension. The day before Pearl Harbor he reverted to this view of the warped outlook of the Embassy "working in the turbulent and stifling atmosphere of Tokyo and subjected constantly to the impact of messages borne by, and comments offered by, Japanese 'friends' and 'go-betweens' who purvey a product made in Japan, of Japan, by Japan, and for Japan." He was right in that our outlook was restricted and our contacts limited. But perhaps we were better judges of Japanese psychology than was Hornbeck, functioning in his own Chinese-made, bureaucratic straightjacket.

One learncd in the Foreign Service to be wary of predictions. The fear of being wrong usually stayed the hand of the cautious bureaucrat and inspired the well-worn weaseling phrases: "the situation may develop in this way, but *on the other hand* . . ." or "while the outlook is grim, *certain mitigating factors may* . . ." Always leave a way out. Hornbeck must be given credit for the courage to record his convictions. On November 27, ten days before the attack on Pearl Harbor, and a few days after he had spoken with me, he wrote a memorandum which he urgently called to the attention of Secretary Hull in a covering note: "If you have a minute, you might find it worthwhile to look at the marked portion of this memo . . . before or while speaking to the President." The marked portion read:

> In the opinion of the undersigned, the Japanese Government does not desire or intend or expect to have forthwith armed conflict with the United States. The Japancse Government, while launching new offensive operations at some point or points in the Far East, will endeavor to avoid attacking or bcing attacked by the United States . . . . So far as relations directly between thc United States and Japan are concernod there is less reason today than there was a week ago for thc United States to be apprehensive lest Japan make 'war' on this country. Were it a matter of placing bets, the undersigned would give odds of 5 to 1 that the United States will not be at 'war' on or before December 15 . . . . stated briefly, the undersigned does not believe that this country is now on the vergc of 'war' in the Pacific.

Hundreds of thousands of words have been written to explain how and why it all happened. Hull insisted on his four principles and the Japanesc, while accepting the principles "in principle" found it impossible to wipc out four years of national sacrifice and withdraw their troops from China.

Both sides had mistaken images of each other. Many Japanese could not believe that Americans would fight to preserve the integrity of China and the far away countries of Southeast Asia. A lcading Japanese industrialist expressed this opinion in April 1941: "The United States would hesitate to fight in the Pacific." Even the Japanese Navy, although reluctant to make war on the United States, bet, in the surprise, premised knock-out blow at Pearl Harbor, that Americans would not cross the Pacific to fight in Asia. Yet the Japanese never really hated the Americans; in spite of government-inspired propaganda, the virulent press, and zealous anti-foreign insults of the police and *kempeitai,* and even in spite of the American wartime bombings, both conventional and nuclear, good will for the United States was never completely eradicated. We found it, still there, when we returned in the Occupation.

Anti-Japanese feeling was, however, strong in the United States and with it a racist contempt for the weakness, ineptness, and untrustworthiness of the Japanese. J. N. "Ding" Darling, the then famous newspaper cartoonist, put it all in a drawing: a little Japanese soldier on the other side of the Pacific, sweating to blow up a tremendous balloon with painted, scowling piano-keys teeth, horn-rimmed glasses, military cap, and tag "Japanese Bluff." Uncle Sam stands on his own shore, wearing a Navy cap, readying a sling shot behind him and smiling slyly, with satisfaction.

By late November the issues had been largely narrowed to Japan's obligations under the Axis pact, the withdrawal of troops from China and Indo-China, and the principle of equal commercial opportunity. Nomura and Ambassador Kurusu Saburo, who had been sent to assist him, persisted in trying to satisfy Hull on the Axis. Japan was obviously unable to renounce publicly her German ally. Hornbeck commented on the irony of the United States, "the world's foremost advocate of respect for treaties," urging Japan to disregard the Axis pact and make an agreement with us which would prove her faithless to her allies. Still, the Japanese sought diligently to convey to Grew and Hull the assurance that membership in the Axis would not automatically mean war with the United States should German-American hostilities develop. Nomura asked Hull not to insist on language but to "read between the lines." The Japanese agreed to withdraw their troops from China within a period of two years after the restoration of Sino-Japanese peace, except for some forces in certain specified areas. Ambassador Kurusu told Hull on November 18 that about 90 percent of the troops would be pulled out, but he could not specify how long the remaining 10 percent would be retained. The Japanese were also prepared to move all troops from southern to northern Indo-China and to withdraw all forces from Indo-China when the China Incident was settled. Furthermore, the Japanese government was ready to recognize the principle of nondiscrimination in international commercial relations applicable to all Pacific areas, including China, as well as the whole world.

At the last minute, having read through MAGIC that after November 29 "things are automatically going to happen," Hornbeck, Hamilton, and Ballantine, set to work to produce a *modus vivendi* which would provide a breathing spell of three months and thus gain needed time for our Army and Navy. This went far to meet previ-

ous Japanese proposals and accepted the offer to withdraw from southern to northern Indo-China with the proviso that Japanese forces in Indo-China would not exceed 25,000 and no replacements would be made. The United States would in return modify the freezing regulations and permit some trade. While the two parties would mutually refrain from military advance in any part of East Asia or the Pacific, no mention was made of forces in China. Hull insisted on consulting the British, Australians, Dutch, and Chinese before presenting the offer to Japan. Chiang Kai-shek's reaction was explosive and Churchill sent a cable to the President asking whether Chiang Kai-shek would not be "having a very thin diet."

Hornbeck recounts that the decision to scrap the *modus vivendi* was made in the afternoon of November 25, in the light of the "emphatic objections, arguments and pleas of the Chinese" and of Churchill's pointed query. That evening what was to be the final note to the Japanese was prepared and Hull won the President's approval of it early the next morning, November 26.

The *modus vivendi,* even at that late date, had a chance, albeit a small chance, for acceptance. The Japanese had earlier made a similar proposal themselves, and decision of the imperial conferences had clearly provided for calling off the Pearl Harbor operation, even at the last minute, if an agreement were achieved. Whether the Japanese military could indeed have been halted in their tracks is of course a debatable question, but like the Konoye-FDR meeting, it was another missed chance by the American decision-makers at the time. We were paralyzed by China, and for how many years into the future was this paralysis to affect American foreign policy in East Asia!

The *modus vivendi* could never have been characterized as an "ultimatum" as was, with justification, the note delivered to Nomura and Kurusu on November 26. The latter document asked Japan to do the impossible; in addition to enumerating Hull's four principles and five more economic principles, the United States called upon Japan to withdraw forthwith *all* military forces from China and Indo-China, to support *only* the Chinese Nationalist Government against which Japan had been fighting since 1937, and to make a formal commitment which would in effect nullify Japan's adherence to the tripartite pact.

By the time Nomura and Kurusu got in to deliver the Japanese answer to Hull on Sunday afternoon, December 7, 2:20, bombs had been falling on Pearl Harbor for an hour. The tension in the Secretary's State Department office can be imagined. Hull had read the intercepted message which Nomura was about to deliver and had just heard from Roosevelt the unconfirmed report that the Japanese had attacked Pearl Harbor. His first instinct was to refuse to see the Japanese envoys but he changed his mind, let them in, and kept them standing while he pretended to read the note Nomura handed to him. At the end came his famous angry interjection that in all his fifty years of public service he had never seen a document more crowded with "infamous falsehoods and distortions."

"You will either destroy every copy of this report or you and I will fight this issue out in public!"

The Japanese note, intended in effect to be a declaration of war although it did not mention war, was contentious and emotional. It reiterated the well-known justifications for Japan's policies in East Asia but revealed again that the core of the issue was China, against the background of Grew's often posited "principles versus realities." For Japan, the demanded "wholesale evacuation" of troops from China and support of the Chungking government "ignored the actual conditions of China" and shattered the "very basis" of the negotiations. Also for the Japanese, "always holding fast to theories in disregard of realities" was difficult to understand. To force their immediate adoption of such principles seemed "only a utopian ideal." With such total failure of mutual comprehension, war was inevitable.

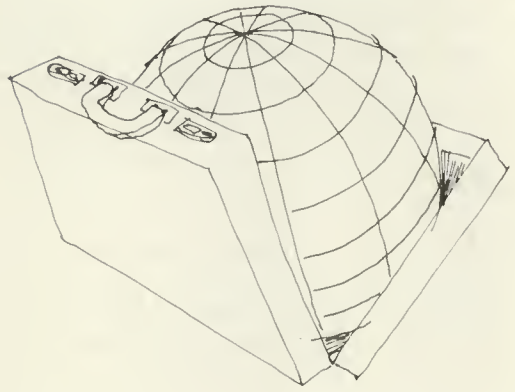
Every American then alive and old enough to understand, remembers precisely the spot and the moment. *Pearl Harbor* in one instant made everything different from everything that came before: a new boundary for history. General George C. Marshall, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, was riding horseback in Rock Creek Park. Dorothy and I were spending the weekend in New York with our old friends from Berlitz days, the Robert Strumpen-Darries. When the news came, we left precipitously, the champagne bottle unopened, and listened to radio reports on the train all the way to Washington. Grew was right. War had indeed come "with dangerous and dramatic suddenness."

In Tokyo, Ambassador Grew and his staff were interned in the Embassy compound. The Grews accommodated the senior officers in their residence on the hill and the rest of the Americans lived in the two apartment buildings and in chancery offices turned into makeshift bedrooms. During the six months of waiting for diplomatic exchange arrangements to be completed, Embassy officers, including the Grews, played continuous poker and bridge games, devised a tiny golf course on the grounds between the buildings and amused themselves the best they could within the strictures of confinement and the whims of the Japanese police bureaucracy. The Ambassador, with the assistance of Dooman, Bohlen, and others, wrote his version of the immediate pre-Pearl Harbor history, as seen by the Embassy. The report eloquently argued the case for a Konoye-FDR meeting and presented a point of view fundamentally opposed to the positions which had been taken by the State Department.

When the day of departure finally arrived, on June 18, 1942, the Embassy employees and a few additional Americans boarded the

*Continued on page 26*

## Foreign Policy has become too big to be stuffed into the State Department



# The Diplomacy of Interdependence

**HARLAN CLEVELAND**

In a creative twist on Philadelphia's Bicentennial celebration, 128 Members of Congress so far have agreed to sign a "Declaration of INTERdependence" drafted by historian Henry Steele Commager. One-quarter of the nation's legislative leaders do not put their names in an election year to a piece of paper that is in serious dispute.

Durable though the nation-state has proved to be, interdependence is more and more contagious. No nation now controls even that central symbol of national independence, the value of its money: inflation and recession are both transnational.

So are most of the other problems we used to regard as primarily "domestic." Energy, pollution, human rights, racial tensions, poverty, education, research, science, technology, business, labor, food, transportation, population, culture, communication, terrorism, revolution, law enforcement, arms, narcotics, religion, ideology—name a category and its international aspects are likely to match or outweigh its "domestic" aspects, now or soon.

In consequence nearly every American institution of any size or significance is already partly international. The communications media operate all over the world. One-seventh of the world's gross product is created by multinational enterprises, more of them based in the United States than anywhere else. Non-profit organizations, foundations, service organizations such as YMCA and Rotary, and church-based missionary movements have all in some degree had to internationalize their operations, some even bringing non-Americans onto their governing boards, and spinning off their overseas functions as indigenous organizations. American education is increasingly awakening to the need to introduce global perspectives into traditional curricula.

At the government level, every agency has its own international relations. Actions of the United States Department of Agriculture are among the most important decisions made about the world food balance. The Federal Aviation Agency maintains a web of transnational relationships to make global air travel possible. The efforts of federal energy agencies to conserve fuel and encourage alternatives to imported oil determine what the United States and its industrialized allies can accomplish in negotiating with the OPEC cartel. The Environmental Protection Agency finds many forms of pollution require international cooperation to monitor and control. Each new technological breakthrough—fast computers, weather modification, remote sensing of crops and geological formations from orbiting satellites, discoveries in disease prevention, new ways to fish and drill and mine and build in marine environments—brings with it a new

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tangle of international claims and conflicts.

In the so-called "old-line" Departments, the interdependence functions are also of growing importance—Justice's immigration controls, Treasury's Coast Guard and debt-management operations, Commerce's weather service, and Interior's Pacific islands are only a few of a hundred examples. Even the quasi-judicial bodies have foreign policies of their own. The Federal Reserve Board has a dominant voice in determining the growth rate of the world's largest stock of international money, the US dollar. And the independent Nuclear Regulatory Commission has the power, which it hasn't yet figured out how to use, to veto a White House decision to export nuclear materials or equipment.

Despite these well-known facts, it is almost literally true that only one person in the Executive Branch is hired to work on *both* domestic and international policy. His title is President of the United States.

One of the most elementary doctrines about the management of large-scale systems is that a supervisory office should not be organized in the same way as its subordinate offices—that, indeed, it should be deliberately organized to cut across the vertical divisions below, in order to throw new light on their interrelationships and inconsistencies before issues come to the top executive for "decision" (which can mean resolution of differences or confirmation of a consensus already reached among subordinates). Each of the Cabinet Departments was established essentially to deal either with national security/foreign policy matters, or with "domestic" policy. Yet the White House has for three decades been organized the same way, coordinating State and Defense and the Intelligence community through a National Security Council (NSC), and gathering the rest of the government into a "Domestic Council," the lineal successor of a function performed by staff officers under a variety of names ever since the Truman Administration.

Since the system does not fit the function, dissonance between foreign and domestic policies is normal. Lift the veil from the price of oil, the law of the sea, the sale of arms, the export of nuclear equipment, and you will find examples of international ramifications unpredicted, ignored, or suppressed.

"Since the system does not fit the function, dissonance between foreign and domestic policies is normal."

North America is the centerpiece of a world food system which is not yet delivering enough food to keep large numbers of people from malnutrition. Yet most federal farm legislation, and the US Department of Agriculture, still tilt toward restricting food production. The idea is to maximize the return to the producers, and there is nothing wrong with that. But the United States Government has hardly even started to change the system so that producing to meet world *needs* (not merely "effective demand" of the affluent hungry such as the Russians) is made profitable for the American farmer.

What to do? One option, the most probable this election year, is to let things drift. President Ford may already have selected this option, by vetoing a bill to seat the Secretary of the Treasury on the National Security Council. (Congress had thought that a logical move to reflect the economic elements in decisions about defense and diplomacy.)

Another option is to roll back interdependence. The AFL-CIO, despite the misgivings of some of its leaders, is still playing King Canute to the waves of interdependence. Bring the multinational corporations home, says the aging official leadership of labor, and repeal the economics of comparative advantage.

A third option is to give the State Department, and the Secretary of State as the Cabinet's senior member, a clear track to coordinate the foreign policy aspects of all government decisions. But these decisions reach so deep into American politics (the oil crisis is displayed at the filling station, Soviet purchases of wheat affect the price of bread at the local supermarket, decisions about the global money supply are felt in the consumer's pocketbook) that the Secretary of State can't become fully responsible for them without being elected President—and that hasn't happened since John Quincy Adams.

A fourth option is to view foreign policy "not as a subject matter for government decision-making; it is rather an aspect of every important government decision." That is the summary conclusion of Professor Adam Yarmolinsky, in a just-published paper written for the Aspen Institute's National Commission on Coping with Interdependence.

The implications are far-reaching. The White House "Domestic Council" would become an "Interdependence Council," and would include the Cabinet officers responsible for foreign relations and defense management. Below the White House level, Cabinet and subcabinet officers in each Department would be recruited to play personal roles on a world stage, explaining US policy and absorbing international flak directly, not filtered through the State Department.

Sooner or later, Option No. 4 may be the only viable one. The diplomacy of interdependence—comprising food, population, energy, raw materials, industrial geography, the movement of people, the management of ocean resources, the global environment, development aid, trade, investment, multinational business, monetary arrangements, arms control, international peacekeeping, and collective security—has grown far beyond what can be stuffed into one Cabinet Department. In the United States Government of the future, the director of multilateral diplomacy would not be one of thirteen Assistant Secretaries of State: he would be the President of the United States.

The President's chief deputy for

*Continued on page 25*

The Department cannot again consider cancer as someone else's problem. It is our common problem, the Department's problem.

# Cancer and Foreign Service- A Personal View

**LOUIS E. KAHN**

The World Health Organization estimates that approximately 80 per cent of all cancers in humans are related to our environment ("directly or indirectly caused by exogenous stimuli"). We are all familiar with at least some of these. For example, the high risk of cancer among workers in dozens of asbestos factories and hundreds of asbestos-related trades in the United States is well known. One in five of these persons can be expected to develop cancer of the lung. Other examples of occupation-related cancers are those resulting from exposure to inorganic arsenic (1,500,000 workers in the United States are estimated to be inhaling this substance) and, a more recent discovery, exposure to vinyl chloride, a petrochemical gas used as an ingredient in the manufacture of many plastics and a potent cancer-producing agent of the liver.

Less well known is the fact that occupation-related cancer exists in Foreign Service too. I refer to cancer activated by peculiar but identifiable environmental factors which we encounter abroad in direct consequence of foreign service. It is time to demand more—and much more accurate—information concerning these environmental hazards and how to deal with them. My reason for raising this issue and emphasizing its importance is that my wife, Beverly Kahn, recently died from cancer which developed during our tour of duty in Dakar, Senegal, from 1970 to 1973. She was 35 years old. Most of this article concerns the circumstances surrounding her illness and their implications for all of us.

It may be argued by some that only professionally trained medical personnel are qualified to write about cancer. I reject this argument. First, in any consideration of cancer and its effects in the broadest sense the feelings and impressions of patient and family are fully as important as the treatment itself. Professional personnel have no special qualification to write about this aspect of cancer. Second, doctors do not generally admit mistakes, much less write about them. It therefore remains to others—including the surviving family—to expose the errors in judgment and treatment which characterized a particular illness, in order to warn others. Third, professional personnel can tell you what kind of treatment you might receive *in theory* if cancer strikes your family. But the better guide is the kind of treatment a Foreign Service family *actually did* receive. Finally, it cannot be expected that medical personnel would relate an illness such as this one to the broader questions of scientific inquiry with a view to informing a larger audience. Because the cancer from which my wife died is a kind that more of us may experience if the problem of ozone depletion in the stratosphere is not successfully resolved, her illness, from this point of view as well, merits discussion for the benefit of the Foreign Service community.

Beverly Kahn's illness illustrates a backward approach to cancer in the following ways: inadequate warning and knowledge concerning cancer hazards at a Foreign Service post; an inadequate physical examination on return from that post, which failed to detect a dangerous malignancy, although it was right on the skin; a less-than-honest description of her disease once it was discovered and identified; an incident of brutal insensitivity in a local hospital, wherein she and I watched, as if staged before our eyes, the death of a terminal cancer patient; and the withdrawal from her case by the doctor in charge once it became known that cancer was spreading rapidly, in effect leaving no one in charge at the moment of greatest danger.

### A New Post An Unsuspected Danger

In the summer of 1970 we were assigned to Dakar, Senegal, for a three-year tour. We both looked

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*Louis Kahn entered the Foreign Service in 1958, after service in the Army. He served at Ankara and Izmir before the assignment in Dakar dealt with in this article. Mr. Kahn received the Merit honor award in 1972. He is presently assigned to the Bureau of International Organization Affairs.*

forward to this assignment (our first foreign assignment together since our marriage less than three years earlier) with eager anticipation. In fact, the assignment met our most enthusiastic expectations, in all respects save one. What we did not know was that she had the type of skin which is most susceptible to skin cancer, and environmental conditions in Dakar were, to a dangerous degree, conducive to this kind of disease.

She had fair skin, red hair, and freckles. She was of Northern European origin. In the sun she burned easily, never tanned. Once in Dakar, she encountered intense bright sunlight throughout the year with virtually no cloud cover. The city is surrounded by some of the world's finest beaches and located just north of the equator. At this latitude—since ultraviolet radiation from the sun increases at lower latitudes and is highest at the equator—one must suppose she was exposed to the near-highest levels of ultraviolet radiation possible and therefore to maximum danger of skin cancer.

Dr. Thomas Fitzpatrick, Chairman, Department of Dermatology, Harvard University, has written: "Sun induced skin damage comprises a number of skin effects ranging in severity from *sunburn*, which is a temporary nuisance. . . to *malignant melanoma*, which is a medical tragedy (40 percent five-year survival rate) and affecting people in their productive years from ages 20-60." Although malignant melanoma skin cancer is not known definitely to be related to sunlight exposure, "more and more evidence points to a direct relation between melanoma and sunlight exposure": (1) there is a clear relation between latitude and melanoma incidence and death rate; (2) the incidence and death rate of malignant melanoma are rapidly rising in all countries, significantly at those body sites which are moderately exposed to sunlight—for example, on the legs of females, where there has been a "striking increase" in the last three decades. The incidence of all types of skin cancer is greater among those who always burn, never tan (Type I), or who usually burn, but tan lighter than average (Type II). "These are often persons with red hair who freckle easily, and are of Celtic origin." Of course, we were aware of none of this in Dakar, nor that sunscreens were available as a precautionary measure against skin cancer.*

### An Inadequate Examination

In the summer of 1973 we returned from Dakar (now a family of three, with a daughter not quite two years old). My wife's medical examination, as she later described it to me, was routine and superficial. There was no rapport or mutual confidence established. In fact, she found the examining physician entirely unsympathetic. In this essentially negative atmosphere she did not raise the matter of a small black spot on her left thigh, which she had noticed earlier in Dakar. It was a tragic and surely a fatal mistake, but she had no reason to suppose she had anything more than another harmless spot on the skin. The examination was concluded with little effort to relate it to the particular health dangers and known incidence of disease in Dakar at that time. She might as well have returned from Iceland.

At Embassy Dakar the known incidence of disease at that time included two cases of skin cancer (non-melanoma), both fully documented and then under treatment. In a more ideal situation someone might have concluded that if there were already two known cases of cancer from this small embassy—surely a curious and more than chance occurrence of disease—there might well be a third or more. By a process of deduction based on skin type, it might have been possible to identify Beverly Kahn as a potential victim. But no one appears to have devoted any thinking to the matter, much less deduction along these lines, or to have urged the importance of precautionary measures. Indifference was the prevailing attitude. (There was at least one other dangerous cancer hazard in Dakar: aflatoxin, a peanut mold which has been shown to produce cancer of the liver, about which, typically at that time, no information was forthcoming from official medical sources.)

### Discovery and Partial Concealment

One night in late December 1973 she was sitting up in bed and appeared to be studying some object to her left. She turned to me, rolling over slightly, and said, "What do you think of this?" I saw a black spot on her left thigh. It was soft to the touch and not more than one cm. in width. "It looks bad to me," I said. We did not know it, but what we were looking at was a malignancy of the type known as melanoma, one of the most dangerous, devastating, and fastest-spreading of all cancers. (Neither she nor I had ever heard of melanoma.) I suggested that she



*Dr. Fitzpatrick's full statement, entitled "Medical Problems of Enhanced Ultraviolet Radiation," is available in "Stratospheric Ozone Depletion"—Hearings Before the Subcommittee on the Upper Atmosphere of the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, United States Senate, 94th Congress, September 8-17, 1975, pp. 455-482. See also preceding statement (pp. 441-455) by Richard Setlow, Biology Department, Brookhaven National Laboratory.*

call our physician immediately, and in due course (a few weeks later) the tumor was removed by a plastic surgeon.

In "Cancer Ward," Solzhenitsyn's novel based on his own experience as a patient in a cancer ward in the mid-1950s, the author observes again and again that, in the view of Soviet doctors, to "hide the truth" from cancer patients is "more humane." He describes how these doctors spoke in front of the patients: "Everything was discussed in euphemisms and half-allusions (sometimes even in substitutes), or else in a way that was in direct antithesis to the truth." Of the doctor in charge, Solzhenitsyn observes that "never once did he turn his head abruptly, never once did he look alarmed, his benevolent, bored expression indicating to patients how simple their diseases were. They were all well-known disorders, and not a single one was serious." Our experience with American doctors under similar circumstances indicates that they too prefer to conceal the truth.

We were told, accurately, by our doctors that her disease was melanoma. We were told that the tumor, although malignant, was "superficial" (correct, but misleading since it seems to, but does not, imply that the disease is unlikely to spread). We were told that there was a statistical probability of 80 percent against recurrence (an invented statistic having no basis in fact). We were *not* told that the median life expectancy, once melanoma has been discovered, is only seven years; that there is no cure for melanoma or even any treatment except removal of the tumor and the tissue around it; and that the malignant tumor was in a particularly dangerous location and had existed there for perhaps a year prior to removal (implying that spread through the blood stream—metastatic disease—had probably begun already). In brief, we were given a little accurate information and some misinformation, with much more left concealed and unsaid.

### "It's Eight Months and You've Had It"

She suspected that she was not being told the whole truth. Among other sources she read "Cancer Ward," which not only develops the theme of deception of cancer patients as noted above but also contains an explicit description of a melanoma patient. Solzhenitsyn's melanoma patient is Vadim, a brilliant young scientist, whose case, the reader is given to understand, is the only hopeless one in the ward. Calling his tumor "a real merciless bastard," Vadim estimates: "As a rule, it's eight months and you've had it." She was not fooled—but I was. I believed the optimistic assessments of our doctors. In consequence, to my lasting regret, I was less helpful than I should have been while she was, in fact, dying of an incurable disease.

Two months after the removal of the tumor our doctors decided to remove an additional section of tissue. For this purpose, surgery was performed at Georgetown University Hospital in late March 1974, and while my wife was recovering, she was placed in a hospital room with another patient who had been in the hospital for an extended period with cancer of the cervix. One day while I was present, and the other patient appeared to be resting quietly, a nurse came in to take her pulse—and could feel none. There followed a scene of frantic activity: a platoon of hospital personnel appeared; an emergency cart was wheeled up; various devices attached to the wall; attempts to pull the curtain between the beds; contradictory instructions to us. As soon as we could, my wife supported on my shoulders, we left the hospital room, glancing briefly at the other patient: aged beyond her years, shrunken to about 80 pounds, lifeless, and the entire platoon unable to revive her. From that moment to the end of her life my wife was haunted by this experience and drew the obvious inference: that she had been placed in this hospital room because of the similar nature of her illness and that hers would end in the same way.

In the early summer of 1974 we arranged a consultation in the Department to obtain an independent, fresh, critical evaluation of my wife's illness and treatment—in other words, a true second opinion. The consultation turned out to be a good deal less than that. It appears to have been not much more than an exercise in soothing reassurance. In any case, it was hardly a fresh, critical look at her disease. We were merely told: "there is nothing else that needs to be done." No suggestions at all emerged from this consultation.

### Pregnancy and Cancer

From June 1974 onward she was pregnant. The relationship between pregnancy and cancer is not fully understood.

However, there is one view which holds that changes in body chemistry as a result of pregnancy may encourage the spread of cancer. (We, of course, were told nothing of this view.) It is impossible to say whether or not pregnancy hastened the final phase of her disease and thus her end. What is certain is that pregnancy concealed the signs of spreading (metastatic) disease. By October 1974, in the fourth month of pregnancy, she was feeling generally very fatigued and began to complain of occasional headaches. Her appetite was not good, and she often did not feel like finishing dinner. She seemed to be sleeping longer, including long afternoon naps, and at night would usually go to bed right after dinner. But these were not necessarily alarming signs in the context of a pregnancy.

Early in November a second tumor appeared, this time on her upper right arm and obviously not on the skin but well inside and adjacent to a blood vessel. It was removed on November 8 and most of the following week we waited for the medical reports, which seemed unbearably slow in coming back. On November 13, once again before bed, we talked about it. We both wanted to believe that it was a separate matter, anything at all, but not the spread of the original disease. She told me then that she was having headaches almost constantly now and got only partial relief from aspirin. In a moment of awful realization the unthinkable thought crossed my mind, and I said, "I hope they don't mean what they might mean."

It was late, too late for anything. By now she had multiple secondary tumors in the brain, which took full effect in the next several days, as she rapidly sank into a coma from which she did not recover. She had a large secondary tumor on the

liver and dozens more throughout her body. She was riddled with melanoma—and all having originated from that tiny spot on her left thigh. Our surgeon (the plastic surgeon) had withdrawn from the case when the spread of cancer was confirmed, and no one was in charge. My wife's sister and I thrashed around desperately trying to find something to do, anything to do. The best medical advice we could receive was that her disease was now a matter of "metastatic melanoma carcinoma," a bit of medical jargon which was no help at all. No one said the obvious: that there was nothing to do now but make her as comfortable as possible and assemble the family. And thus it ended, much as it had begun for us two years earlier in Dakar, in ignorance and inadequate understanding of this disease. She died on November 22, 1974.

To state the obvious, in retrospect, we should have acted earlier: by the time we did act, it was probably too late already, by whatever means, to arrest this dreadful disease. I also believe that our doctors could have acted with greater speed and decisiveness (two weeks delay between initial observation and removal of the tumor, for example), and our principal doctor should probably have been a cancer specialist (oncologist), not a plastic surgeon. Finally, in my view, the Department could and should have been much more alert to the possibility of this kind of disease and far less indifferent and unhelpful once the disease was discovered.

### Recommendations

There is no substitute for an ounce of prevention, especially when there is no pound of cure nor in fact any cure at all. Beverly Kahn should have gone to Dakar only after explicit warning concerning the danger of skin cancer, strict advice concerning precautions to take, and information that would have enabled her to recognize immediately the onset of disease. The traditional view of medicine—i.e., that one consults a doctor when there is something visibly or painfully wrong—did not work. It should be supplemented in diseases like this by a different concept, preventive medicine, which requires that doctors place some trust in the layman's intelligence and perception. The Department should be carrying out right now a comprehensive program of information and warning concerning cancer hazards in posts around the globe.

"And thus it ended, much as it had begun for us two years earlier in Dakar, in ignorance and inadequate understanding of this disease."

It is obvious from Beverly Kahn's experience that medical examinations, at a minimum, should be related to the record of disease incurred at the post from which the examinee has returned. Anything less can be tragically inadequate. Beyond this, in my view, the Department needs a much greater cancer capability than it currently has. There have been other instances of Foreign Service personnel passing through the examination process with malignancies undetected, which, when later discovered, are beyond treatment. A good beginning might be to have a cancer specialist on the medical staff at the Department. Another useful step would be to exchange information with other governments on incidence of cancer at Foreign Service posts.

Is it more humane to lie or not to lie? Personally I can think of no circumstances in which deception and concealment of information are justified. As earlier noted, Beverly Kahn suspected the true nature of her disease (Foreign Service people are accustomed to digging for information), and attempted concealment simply added an additional burden of agony for her to carry. Patient and family have a right to know the truth. Moreover, the most modern approach to illness of this kind is to encourage patient and family together, and in mutual support, to face the truth, not to hide from it or seek to ignore it. What we needed, I believe, but never got was someone to tell us the full story of her illness and all of its implications, then help us to meet those implications together as best we could. I believe that the proper role for the Department is to encourage this kind of candid approach and never, through a consultation or otherwise, to lend endorsement to a program of treatment which has included elements of deception and concealment.

There needs to be greater awareness in the Department of the world of scientific research outside existing standard medical treatment. The area of research into environmental causes of cancer has implications for the entire Foreign Service community. The information emerging from this research should have much more circulation in the future and be taken much more seriously. The most recent literature on stratospheric ozone depletion (such as, for example, the statement by Dr. Fitzpatrick cited earlier) underscores and explains the special risks and dangers which we encountered in Dakar.

Finally, the Department cannot again consider cancer as someone else's problem. It is our common problem, the Department's problem. Acceptance of responsibility in this area is the starting point for reform. It implies an overall view, a degree of interest and helpfulness, and an informational counseling role vis-à-vis the entire family which were totally absent in Beverly Kahn's case. It also implies a degree of candor which we never encountered. To adequately inform patient and family concerning a fatal disease and to encourage them to face up to this prospect is an unpleasant task, but it must be done. When the disease has resulted from foreign service, the Department must do it.

For the next Foreign Service family to be struck by cancer—and there will be a next family—I hope for some tangible benefit from these recommendations and for more sympathetic treatment than we ever received.

South of the Border, down Mexico way,
with a Foreign Service family . . .

# Down the Road with El Perfecto

SEAN KELLY

The search for El Perfecto began in late winter. From the onset, it was a family endeavor. We decided to drive down one side of Mexico, cut across the middle to Mexico City, and come back through Baja California. The planning alone for such a safari would ease some of the chill and boredom of a Washington winter.

In looking for El Perfecto, several energy crises had to be confronted. Our perfect vehicle for the trip would have to be bought and operated within a very tight budget. Low purchase price would be a paramount consideration, so would economy of operation—especially with Mexican gasoline costing nearly a dollar a gallon.

We also needed enough space for four long people, including two six-foot teen-agers, plus a modest amount of camping gear, clothes, books, magazines, stereo cassettes, frisbees, etc. to last everyone for a month on the road.

And although we planned to keep fairly close to main Mexican highways, there would be some camping out, particularly in Baja California. So availability of spare parts and repair facilities in Mexico turned out to be another factor—for those occasions when we would be between major population centers.

El Perfecto very quickly took the form of a six-year-old Volkswagen bus. We found him on the bulletin board at the Pentagon.

We took out both rear seats, and replaced them with an eight by four sheet of half-inch plywood (about ten dollars). Pushed over the top of the engine compartment, the plywood sheet required only a rough supporting platform constructed out of two by fours, plus two steel bolts drilled through the top of the engine compartment—to anchor the platform tightly.



*(Left to right) Sean, Brenton, and Kenyon Kelly, El Perfecto in background. Picture taken near Veracruz, Mexico by Anne Kelly, August 1975.*

We covered the eight foot long bed with thin sheets of foam rubber, and then tacked on a rubber-backed carpet (about fifteen dollars). Incidentally, we are neither carpenters, nor upholsterers, nor even very good handymen. We had to borrow an interested neighbor to drill those holes into the engine compartment.

Once completed, the platform stretched nearly the length of the VW's passenger compartment. It came short of the front seat by about two feet—enough space for the legs of those who wanted to sit upright, facing forward. El Perfecto's padded perch—with plenty of suitcase and camping gear space underneath—turned out to be a major success. So much so that now—months after returning to Washington—it's still in place, while the back seats remain in the garage.

We rounded out our trip preparations with a search for decent road maps. The American Automobile Association produces excellent maps of Mexico, particularly Baja California. For these, it helps to be a member of AAA—or have a friend who is. But the best Mexican road maps—in terms of both detail and accuracy—are free. They come with the cost of Mexican automobile insurance, if you buy your policy through Don Sanborn.

Sanborn's Mexican Insurance Service has offices in every major border town. We bought our three-week policy on a Sunday

*Sean Kelly is an FSIO, currently on Washington assignment. He and his family spent 17 days in Mexico and the trip cost them $1339.59.*

morning in Brownsville, Texas. It cost us about sixty dollars, and it covered El Perfecto against virtually every insurable risk. With it came a bundle of Sanborn's valuable maps, route charts, and helpful highway hints that lead you literally mile by mile through Mexico.

We headed straight down Mexico's east coast, spending our first night at Tampico—an experience which we would probably not go out of our way to repeat. It was simply a place to stop for the night. Food and accommodations were excellent at the Inglaterra—right on the town's main plaza. We made two very worthwhile discoveries: carne asada Tampiqueña, which is beef steak with refried beans, usually accompanied by an enchilada, seemingly available—in one form or another—all over Mexico. The other important discovery was that credit cards are now widely accepted in Mexico, particularly Bank Americard, Master Charge and American Express—in that order. If you have all three with you, there is no need to be burdened down with large amounts of either pesos or dollars.

One Mexican establishment that insists on cash is the gasoline station, although some will occasionally negotiate a dollar traveler's check. Gasoline in Mexico is a state-run enterprise. There is only one brand: Pemex, although it comes in two grades. We used both on a roughly half and half basis in El Perfecto, but an American car would probably need the higher octane Extra.

From Tampico, we continued south—across the Rio Panuco by ferry—to Tuxpan. It struck us as possibly a more interesting overnight stopping point than Tampico—providing one got an early start across the border. Tuxpan is 120 miles south of Tampico, has plenty of good hotels and restaurants, and seems less commercial in atmosphere. My 15-year-old son said Tuxpan gave him good vibes. Tampico didn't.

About twenty-five miles south of Tuxpan, a small—but paved—road leads off to the right for about fourteen miles. The road ends at a village named Castillo de Teayo which has a main plaza made out of a 60 foot Toltec pyramid that is in excellent shape, readily climbable, and a good spot for a picnic. Teayo is probably the only pyramid in the world with a belfry. This has caused some concern in Mexico City archeological circles, and there have been official efforts directed towards restoring the pyramid to its original dimensions. So far, the belfry has prevailed.

Further down the main highway, a new bridge bypasses the old ferry crossing at Tecolutla so that you now have to drive a few miles out of your way to visit the delightful beach resort that once flourished near the now-abandoned crossing. The accommodations are no longer first class, but then neither is the tariff. The waiters still wear white jackets at the old Hotel Balneario Tecolutla where Brigitte Bardot stayed while filming *Viva Maria*. Ten dollars a day gets you a double room overlooking both the beach, and the pool. Tecolutla would be an excellent spot to quietly drop out of sight for a month or two.

"Veracruz has been sieged and sacked, invaded and occupied, built and destroyed, more times than anyone can remember."

So would Veracruz, which has always been one of Mexico's most under-rated ports of call. Cortes named the city more than four hundred and fifty years ago. Since then, Veracruz has been sieged and sacked, invaded and occupied, built and destroyed, more times than anyone can remember. It was once a favorite haunt of pirates. The French and Spanish have come and gone—leaving a number of architectural and gastronomic legacies behind. Among the most recent invaders were several groups of Americans. General Winfield Scott came through in 1837 with a force that included a couple of junior officers named Grant and Lee. The United States Marines took Veracruz in 1914 and held it for eight months—at Woodrow Wilson's order.

For briefer visits, try any one of several good hotels that face the main plaza. Insist on an outside room, not only for the delightful view of the plaza, but also for the music. There is a continuous marimba and/or mariachi concert going on at any given point somewhere in and around the main plaza area. At least until midnight or so. Of the hotels, we like the Diligencias because it had the best view, but the Colonial, or the Veracruz, or the Prendes would all be good. The Prendes bar makes an absolutely first class margarita.

There is a lot to see in Veracruz and the best way to go about it is in one of the old, open-air streetcars (we liked Number 15) that swing by the main plaza every few minutes. The complete loop takes about thirty minutes, costs about a nickel, and is a grand way to see, hear, and smell Veracruz.

The trip over the mountains to Mexico City is a fair day's jaunt from Veracruz—particularly in a VW bus with El Perfecto's known aversion to climbs of any sort. We broke the trip at Fortin de la Flores where they still put fresh gardenias in the Hotel Ruiz Galindo swimming pool every night. But the old-fashioned rooms are less attractive, and much more expensive than those at Posada Loma, just down the highway. Dinner is good at Hotel Ruiz Galindo; breakfast or lunch is best at the Posada where Mt. Orizaba is perfectly framed in the dining room window—all 18,850 snow-capped feet of it.

We bypassed Puebla deliberately because—like several other big cities in Mexico—it needs at least several days to fully appreciate. Mexico City requires a similar sort of self-discipline. If you go there, plan to spend at least five days and bear in mind that, with its combination of high altitude and tropical climate, Mexico City is a capital best savored in small doses.

We stayed in the new wing that has been added to the back of the Hotel Maria Cristina on Rio Lerma. The new rooms are very pleasant, cost about twenty-five dollars a day for a large double, and the hotel has an excellent restaurant which serves breakfast on

pink table-cloths in the walled garden. On top of everything else, the location is handy for walking around the Reforma-Zona Rosa area. At the other end of town—opposite the zocalo and facing the National Palace—is the Gran Hotel Cuidad de Mexico, a former department store recently redone in French turn-of-the-century plush, complete with brass-cage elevators. Double rooms cost slightly more than the Maria Cristina, and reservations can be hard to come by. But even if you can't get a room at all, the lobby itself is well worth a visit.

The town of Patzcuaro is roughly halfway to Guadalajara from Mexico City. It is located on a small lake, and has a magnificent main plaza. Of the several good hotels there, Posada de Don Vasco is probably the best. Their dining room serves whitefish freshly caught in Lake Patzcuaro, and the hotel can organize a fishing boat trip—complete with the famous butterfly nets—out to Janitzio island for a visit to the 135-foot high statue of General Morelos, one of Mexico's revolutionary heros.

We pushed on from Patzcuaro to Lake Chapala, an easy day's drive. We turned off before getting to Guadalajara and followed the lakeshore around through the town of Chapala to the old fishing village of Ajijic. There is probably not much fishing going on these days in Ajijic, at least it no longer counts as the town's main occupation. Many Americans have retired in the Guadalajara-Chapala area, and Ajijic is full of real estate offices and art galleries. Most of the art we saw appeared to have been done by the retired Americans.

Judging from what we saw, it's still possible to make retirement income go a lot further in Mexico than here. Completely furnished (even to the silver and crockery) two-bedroom, two-bath lakeside houses rent for less than three hundred dollars a month, including maid and gardener. Many of these places are owned by retired Americans who lease them out on a seasonal basis through agents like Services Unlimited, Box 74, Ajijic, Jalisco, Mexico. Another good contact—as well as a place to stay—is the Posada Ajijic, Box 12, Ajijic, Jalisco, Mexico. Located right on the lake, its attractive suites rent for less than twenty dollars a day, single rooms can be had for seven dollars a day. The American management is very helpful in providing information about the area.

There's a fast road to Puerto Vallarta from Lake Chapala. It bypasses Guadalajara on the way to Tepic and then joins a new toll road that saves going all the way into Tepic and backtracking. As you come into the outskirts of Puerto Vallarta you pass the jet airport which has direct service to California and points north. Daily flights deposit hundreds of yanquis at a clip and yet Puerto Vallarta has retained a sense of its own innateness. Miraculously, the town's center survives the high-rise resort development at each end. Unlike Acapulco, Puerto Vallarta is more than beach and booze. It's an interesting town to walk around; much of it actually is best seen from foot. The huevos rancheros at the second-floor balcony restaurant of the Hotel Oceano come with a nice view of the sea and Puerto Vallarta's lighthouse plaza.

Getting across that sea to Baja California has now been simplified by scheduled ferry service between Puerto Vallarta and Cabo San Lucas—at Baja's southernmost tip. Similar crossings can be made from Mazatlan and Guaymas, further north, to the Baja ports of La Paz and Santa Rosalia. But the trip across the Sea of Cortes—as the Mexicans call the Gulf of California—is very much an ocean voyage. It takes overnight and the accommodations run from luxury staterooms (at $56 *per person*) to quite comfortable airline-type reclining seats (at $8 per person). Passengers have free roam of the ship, except for the locked area where the cars are stored. The inconvenience of this is more than offset by the knowledge that one's car—and its cargo—is secure. And it is. Information on the Baja ferry is available from Caminos y Puentes, Baja California No. 272, Mexico 11, DF.

Driving the length of Baja California from Cabo San Lucas to Tijuana seems, in retrospect, a lot less impressive than it sounds. Highway One—the Carretera Transpeninsular—is now completely paved from one end of Baja to the other. Although portions of the road are narrow by US standards, it presents no great challenge to the prudent driver. Frequent bits of roadside wreckage remind one to avoid excessive speed, as do the occasional highway signs that declare economic development to be the objective of the Carretera Transpeninsular, and not high speed driving.

Although Baja California has many excellent places to camp—ranging from totally unimproved sites to hot shower arrangements and elaborate trailer hook-ups—making the trip need not necessarily be an adventure in outdoorsmanship. The Mexican government has built a network of very comfortable hotels within a day's drive of each other. Each has a restaurant and a filling station. They honor major credit cards (such as BA, MC and Amex, *not* the oil companies), and will even radio your reservations ahead to the next stop. Some of the El Presidente Hotels are veritable oases, operating their own power plants, radio communications, and water purification facilities. They are built for tourists and are therefore expensive by local standards: a double room runs about thirty dollars a day.

This does not mean to say that there are not plenty of opportunities for those who want to rough it in Baja. The thousand miles of Highway One wander back and forth across the peninsula, frequently in sight of the old track that used to require four wheel drive and a considerable measure of commitment to negotiate. There are also plenty of unpaved side roads leading off to mountain tops and seashore retreats for the venturesome. The excellent AAA (Automobile Club of Southern California) booklet on Baja gives a lot of detail to side trips.

There is good beach camping between Cabo San Lucas and La Paz (where there is a well-stocked supermarket for reprovisioning). The beaches are equally good, further north, at Bahia Concepcion. We stayed (for four dollars a night) right on the beach at Posada Concepcion Trailer Park. It was uncrowded, quite clean, and had hot showers plus a visiting food and water truck that came down from

*Continued on page 24*

# FSJ BOOKSHELF

## WILLY BRANDT

THE OTHER GERMAN: *Willy Brandt's Life and Times, by David Binder. New Republic Book Co., $12.50.*
WILLY BRANDT: *Prisoner of His Past, by Viola Drath. Chilton, $8.95.*

Throughout his career, the former German Chancellor and Nobel peace prize winner, Willy Brandt, has been the subject of acclamation and libel, given his leadership qualities and human weaknesses. In keeping with the current vogue of psycho-history, both works concentrate on the personality of the man. Lesser attention is given the external factors that shaped his life such as the influence of the German political culture on which he rose to power or the exposure to Scandinavian social democratic ideology which was the basis for his moving from a dissident Socialist to an integrative Social Democrat.

The volume by Binder, New York TIMES foreign correspondent, gives the impression of being hastily written and reflects his journalistic style. Although it underlines the other-directed side of Brandt's personality, it does not stress sufficiently the climate in Germany that enabled an emigrant (of illegitimate birth) to become Chancellor. Little is said about the tension within the SPD brought on by the struggle between patriotism and class loyalty in the early years or the changes in Germany that made it possible for the SPD to adopt the pragmatic Godesberg program that facilitated Brandt's rise to power. He does bring out the fact that the Guillaume spy affair, which led to Brandt's resignation, was only the final blow in a long series of difficulties the Chancellor experienced as head of state during his last three years. In the last part of the book we see Binder's friend, Herbert Wehner, parliamentary leader of the SPD, the fiery ex-communist who became Brandt's enemy in recent years, emerge as the real hero.

The Binder work is far more favorable to the former Chancellor and current party chairman than the image-destroying book of Viola Drath, a free-lance German-American correspondent. The Drath biography, in which the author's Germanic style comes through in English, is full of innuendos. In dwelling primarily on Brandt's foibles such as his many affairs with women, his rather manic-depressive personality, and his alleged connections with the OSS and CIA, the work borders on the sensational. The reader will not find a critical analysis of *Ostpolitik* or the Grand Coalition. It does complement the Binder biography by filling in some of its gaps such as Brandt's wartime years in Stockholm. This work, as Binder's, however fails to bring out the relationship between Brandt's political ambition and the changing social values in post-war Germany. The definitive biography still remains to be written.

—CHARLES R. FOSTER
*Committee on Atlantic Studies*

## PORTUGAL AND WEST AFRICA

GUINEA BISSAU: *A Study of Political Mobilization, by Lars Rudebeck. The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, $15.00.*

This book is a gold mine of facts, sensible observations, and rich information about an area of Africa on which there is a paucity of material in any language. At the same time, the volume is disappointing because there are no indications as to what direction Guinea-Bissau may take in the future. In view of the fact that Guinea Bissau is one of the least known areas in the world, the reader might well have expected to find here either the ultimate panacea for the problems which will undoubtedly confront the country now that independence has in fact been achieved (and this independence was a foregone conclusion at the time the book was published) or the overall alchemy for the leaders of the major political party—the PAIGC (The Political and Independence Party for Guinea and Cape Verde)—to transform things as they are into the way things ought to be. Unfortunately the reader is given a theoretical and comparative study about the politics of underdevelopment and development.

Having said this, the foreign affairs specialist is given some intimate details about the ideology, goals, political, administrative and judicial organization of the PAIGC. There is a substantial body of material on the economy, health and medical care, and educational system. Finally, there are appendices, in which there is included a rather specialized bibliography, although there are some rather curious omissions of well known tomes from that work.

The book has two major failings: (a) there is no in-depth discussion of the poly-cultural situation and its effects on the political development of Guinea Bissau; and (b) there is no discussion of the effects which developments in this impoverished West African country have had on the political situation in the Metropole (Metropolitan Portugal). Cultural pluralism has been characteristic of Guinea Bissau from its earliest days, but Rudebeck does not give this complex phenomenon the attention it deserves. The founder of the PAIGC, the late Amilcar Cabral, and his followers strove to bring about the concept of a "melting pot" in Guinea Bissau. The efforts were never successful. Due to the lack of success, the Cape Verdians have always been able to play an extremely important role in the country's affairs. This fact is largely ignored and, regrettably, Rudebeck offers no analysis of what might happen now that Cape Verde has become a separate independent country thus depriving Guinea Bissau of many of its trained administrators.

The author only briefly discusses the linkage between the long colonial war in Guinea Bissau and the coup d'état which took place in Portugal in April 1974 (see pp. 66-70). Following the coup, Spinola and his followers not only agreed to grant independence to Guinea Bissau but also to all of Portugal's overseas African territories.

The volume is rich in detail and has grown out of some reasonably good scholarship. It is unfortunate that there is not more analysis of the cultural situation in Guinea Bissau and the relationship of the situation in West Africa to that in the Metropole. The strident anti-colonial tone adopted by the author in many parts of the book does little but put the reader on guard and otherwise detract from a very good presentation of the material.

—ROY A. HARRELL, JR.

## ONCE THEY GO UP . . .

THE ROCKETS' RED GLARE, *by Wernher von Braun and Frederick I. Ordway III. Anchor Press (Doubleday), $9.95.*

With its pictures and heavy, slick paper, this entertaining volume stands a fair chance of being undervalued. It is not a great leap, or even a great step, for technical or practical purposes. Nor is it a history of the development of rocketry, as jacket copy proclaims. Instead, it is a fascinating, though somewhat ungrammatical, discussion of some aspects of rockets' history and rockets in history, including some personal recollections and touches that could have come only from Wernher von Braun. The title is, of course, a bicentennial "grabber," and there are obligatory pages on military rocketry in the War of 1812, and especially at Fort McHenry on August 24 and 25, 1814.

As the title perhaps indicates, this is a book with a theme or topic rather than a thesis, and so it is difficult to convey its contents or import. Perhaps it is best simply to share some intriguing tidbits from this book, and so to tantalize and entice potential readers. Did you know that Henry IV of France inaugurated the perilous tradition of personally lighting public fireworks displays? Or that rockets were a principal and effective weapon at the British siege of Copenhagen in 1806? Or that "lifesaving rockets" are credited with saving more than 15,000 lives in the British Isles between 1871 and 1962? Did you know that it costs $500 per pound to place an object into low orbit, and twice as much if it is to be recovered?

It would be easy to nit-pick this book, but it would be a mistake; for this beautifully-produced volume is to enjoy. The first six chapters on old and early rockets, fireworks, and explosives provide much amusement, and the last three chapters—on pioneers of modern rocketry, the military balance, and space travel—comprise a brief overview of important developments in which the authors have played considerable part. Does it matter that von Braun still feels it necessary to excuse his work for Hitler's Germany (p. 139)? Or that the authors misdate the Berlin airlift circa 1955 (p. 164)? Not least of the attractions in the book is the bibliography, an extensive list which avoids overemphasizing either technical matters or political affairs. Have fun with this one.

—THOMAS H. ETZOLD

## CYPRUS AND GREECE

CYPRUS—THE VULNERABLE REPUBLIC, *by Dimitri S. Bitsios. Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, $5.00.*
THE STRUGGLE FOR GREECE, 1941-1949, *by C. M. Woodhouse. Hart-Davis MacGibbon, London, $30.00.*

These are two rather special books on the recent history of Greece and Cyprus.

The author of "Cyprus—The Vulnerable Republic"—Dimitri S. Bitsios—is now Foreign Minister of Greece. As Cyprus Desk Officer in the Greek Foreign Ministry in the 1950s and Greece's Permanent Representative to the United Nations in the 1960s, he was heavily involved in Cyprus's emergence as an independent republic in 1960 and in subsequent developments. The book covers basically the period from 1951 through President Johnson's famous letter and Galo Plaza's mission of 1964, although Mr. Bitsios adds a final chapter on the events of 1974 and his own appearance before the UN General Assembly in October of that year. He provides insights into Greek policy-making and comments knowingly on the major Greek and Cypriot actors in the drama—Caramanlis, Averoff, Makarios and Grivas, among others. The author is not exactly kind to certain British and American policy makers, and one has the impression that this book—which I understand was prepared while he was in temporary retirement in the early 1970s before he could have known of the tumultuous events of 1974 and his own recall first as Under Secretary and then as Minister of Foreign Affairs—contains a degree of candor almost never found in the writings of those still holding high office.

"The Struggle for Greece, 1941-1949" is also by an author exceptionally well placed and qualified to provide such a work—C. M. Woodhouse, a remarkably well informed writer on modern Greek history who also helped to make some of it in the 1940s. With a command of thought and word one would expect from an Oxford double-first and a former director of Chatham House, he has written a powerful account of the three-round Communist struggle for Greece that commenced following the German occupation in 1941. Woodhouse himself was Commander of the Allied Military Mission to Greece in 1943-44 and knew many of the leaders on both sides. He analyzes why the Communists failed to defeat a series of feeble Greek Governments and makes some instructive comments about American assistance in the late 1940s. In writing this book Mr. Woodhouse performed extensive research and this work could well be the definitive history of one of the longest and most bitter civil wars of modern times.

—JACK B. KUBISCH

## US AND CUBA

ON NEGOTIATING WITH CUBA, *by Roger W. Fontaine. The American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research. $3.00.*

Roger Fontaine puts prospects for a resumption of relations with Cuba into rational perspective. His premise that an arrangement with Cuba will ultimately be worked out is sound enough, though Angola and a recent hardening in Havana have lengthened the period of time required. He sets forth and evaluates United States and Cuban negotiating goals, strategies and options, making clear the relative opportunities and problems of each. No one who attempts to understand the complexities of the problem straddling the Straits of Florida can afford to leave this thin book unread.

Since its publication in December, 1975, Castro has set the prospects back, or at least raised his price. In a recent speech before the Cuban Communist Party Congress, he said, "What we want from Ford . . . is apologies for the shameful, hateful and disgraceful crimes which the government of the United States prepared against the leaders of the Cuban Revolution," in presumed allusion to widely publicized assassination plots. His proven shrewdness precludes considering this an idle remark.

His very likely purpose is to aggrandize himself and his country by humiliating the United States in the eyes of the world, especially the black world and Latin America. He

could benefit immeasurably from the image of an invincible giant-killer, and would appear a veritable Superman if he could force the United States to grovel. In view of the multilateral nature of this country's problem with Cuba, the welling mewlings from the left, and the pressures lately on Washington to mend its fences with hemisphere associates at almost any cost, a calculating Castro, whose failures have so far been few, may fancy he can do just that.

—JOHN P. HOOVER

### "A ROCKY ROAD AHEAD"

ASIA AND THE ROAD AHEAD, *Issues for the Major Powers, by Robert A. Scalapino. U of California Press, $10.95.*

In his "Asia and the Road Ahead, Issues for the Major Powers," Robert A. Scalapino offers fresh thoughts close on the heels of the American debacle in Indochina. Bob Scalapino has spent one-third of his last 25 years engaged in intellectual labors in South and Southeast Asia. He is the author of eight books and 60 articles on Asian politics and American foreign policy. Those FSOs and FSIOs who have had the good fortune to program Dr. Scalapino as "guest speaker-expert" before foreign audiences can attest to the fact that few academics come better equipped to face hostile questioners.

In his present work Dr. Scalapino focuses on Japan, the People's Republic of China, India, the USSR and the United States. By exploring the domestic situation in each of these countries he provides a proper framework for an analysis of that country's policy objectives and alternatives in Asia. Author Scalapino avoids over-simplification yet tries not to overwhelm the reader with his presentation of the panoply of issues and courses of action open to each of these national participants on the Asian continent.

The questions Dr. Scalapino raises are the most troublesome of our times. "What basic alternatives confront the United States in its future Asian policies?" "Can and should the extraordinary skills and technology of the United States and Japan be put to the service of modernizing the USSR and China?" "How real is the threat of war between the USSR and PRC?" "Can Southeast Asia be neutralized by the Major Powers or will one or another outside nation seek hegemony?" And, "What sense is there in providing food and relief in Bangladesh and India in order to save a few hundred thousand lives if this allows these local governments to procrastinate and continue to mismanage their affairs, resulting in the loss of several million lives a short time later?"

"Old pro" Bob Scalapino does not pretend to provide instant answers to these profoundly troublesome questions. He leaves that to the "instant experts." But, by forcing us to think through to the consequences of his chain of analysis we are left with an inescapable conclusion. In the years ahead Asia will remain a cockpit of struggle for the Major Powers.

—JAMES D. MCHALE

### FOR CHINA HANDS

FLOWERS ON AN IRON TREE—*Five Cities of China, by Ross Terrill. Little, Brown and Company, $15.00.*

Ross Terrill is a professor at Harvard, he has visited China four times in slightly more than 10 years and he is the author of the very well-received "800,000,000: The Real China," published in 1972. In his new book, "Flowers on an Iron Tree"—flowers that bloom once every 60 years, according to a Chinese saying—Terrill "offers work and play in five cities" (Shanghai, Dairen, Hangchow, Wuhan and Peking).

The book is written in a chatty style that will appeal to a broad audience; it also presents a great deal of valuable information. Terrill's general descriptions and observations of urban life in China are supplemented by amusing and revealing experiences and conversations with officials, by historical flashbacks, by guidebook-type information and by documentary materials. Skillfully combining all these varied sources, he gives the reader a good "feel" for China and relates a sympathetic, yet reasonably objective, story of China during the past 25 years.

Despite this generally favorable reaction to the book, there is a question that nags at this reader: is "Flowers on an Iron Tree" the best vehicle for communicating


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Terrill's insights? The five cities he focuses on are, indeed, different, but many of the interesting vignettes of sights and sounds on the city streets and of life in general are interchangeable and could just as well have happened in one of dozens of other Chinese cities. What Terrill has to say is much more important in terms of China itself—and that fact may very well be lost on most readers.

—Leo A. Orleans

### MEDIA ETHICS

The Messenger's Motives. *Ethical Problems of the News Media, by John L. Hulteng. Prentice Hall.*

This is an unpretentious, textbook-like volume whose author, faculty member at the University of Oregon, recognizes his topic is a "pervasive and perplexing issue," but wisely has set himself the objective of making the ethical problems of journalism more clearly understood in practical terms—by both the people of the media and the consuming public. Hulteng selects his examples well and, on the whole, succeeds rather admirably in presenting the problems and the efforts of professional and academic societies to provide philosophical charters to guide the journalist, and in considering how responsibly the practitioners themselves approach and make the decisions on questions of ethics—described by the parameters of accuracy, influence, taste, confidential sources, personal relations, political motivation, and others—which face them routinely during their working hours.

Interestingly enough, however, one looks in vain for any indication that reportage and comment in the field of foreign affairs are subject to the same hazards as those amply illustrated for journalism in every other sphere. Perhaps Hulteng thinks that in foreign affairs all's well with the media. If so, I wish he would specifically reassure us. Instead, in a solitary reference, he writes of Henry Kissinger as "a notably successful media hero" and of the reporters who traveled with the Secretary of State on the Vietnam and Middle East peace missions as "in effect, part of the Kissinger apparatus or staff." In a straightforward book, that is a double-edged sword of a comment which deserves elaboration.

—Andrew T. Falkiewicz

### BICENTENNIAL QUOTES

Echoes: *500 Thoughts for Today from American Revolution Personalities, by Patten D. Allen. Crescent Publications, $2.00*

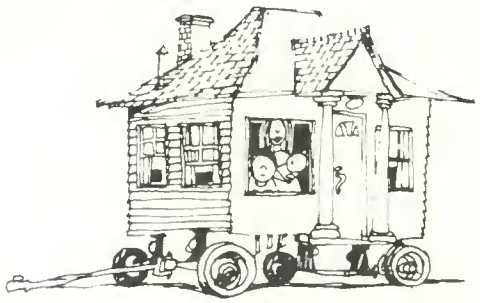
FSO-retired Patten D. Allen has culled bicentennial gems of quotes from widely varied sources for the benefit of speakers, writers and thinkers of 1976. The book is nicely divided into chapters, such as Human Rights, The American Example, Universal Goals, and also under subtitles within each chapter. The quotations are identified by source and the authors by their official activities.

Favorite quote for this reviewer, at least: "The Colonists are men, the Colonists are therefore free-born, for by the law of nature all men are free-born, black or white," by James Otis, 1764.

This convenient package of thoughts for today from those who made a Bicentennial possible should have wide appeal.

— N.S.


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**THE BRITISH ARE COMING** —*from page 4*

some of the agencies on "suspended amounts." These are suspended on first examination because of technical deficiencies, such as missing receipts, unexplained stopovers not covered by travel orders, or plain calculation errors. I don't wish to embarrass any single Department or disclose what protective officials might consider privileged information, that is why I'll only give aggregate totals. I have been able to identify about $145,000 in suspended amounts during fiscal year 1975. There is no easy way of determining how many claims were resubmitted but if we postulate as above that perhaps a total of around $100,000 was finally disallowed, the taxpayer is spending around $600,000 to recover $100,000. The picture is even bleaker in the other federal agencies. A much greater drain on public funds is likely to be taking place there, inasmuch as foreign travel represents only a small fraction of the federal travel bill.

In sum, the travel voucher system is not cost-effective. It wastes money, it wastes time that could be productively employed on government business, and it assails the integrity of all public officials.

However the vouchering system is anchored deeply in bureaucratic tradition. It might not be easy to dislodge, but if the British were able to do it within a Foreign Service even more solidly rooted in the past, we ought certainly to give it a try.

On closer analysis it becomes evident that our system is not based directly on statute, but on regulations that in turn flow from law. The law gives the Executive wide leeway and like the British our own regulations could be changed by administrative action amending the *Federal Travel Regulations*. An act of Congress does not appear to be required.

USC V paragraph 5707 states: "The Director of the Budget shall prescribe the regulations necessary for the administration of this subchapter. The fixing, payment, advancement and recovery of travel allowances, and the reimbursement of travel expenses under this subchapter shall be in accordance with the regulations." Executive Order 11609 (of July 22, 1971) delegates to the Administrator of the General Services Agency authority to promulgate the required regulations. The current Federal Travel Regulations were published by the GSA on April 30, 1973 and made part of the combined Foreign Service regulations.

The adoption of more economical and effective methods for the "fixing, payment, advancement and recovery of travel allowances" than those provided for in the current regulations lies clearly within the authority of the Administrator, GSA. The Secretary of State through his Assistant Secretary for Administration would then have these changes incorporated into the Foreign Service Regulations.

It seems reasonable to the writer that AFSA should seek to persuade the Assistant Secretary and the GSA Administrator to promulgate travel voucher reforms after ascertaining with precision the facts and figures cited above. After all we may have something to learn from our British colleagues in this bicentennial year.


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## DOWN THE ROAD

*from page 18*

Mulege with fresh produce.

We saw none of the pollution described by Thomas W. Pew in the January issue of SMITHSONIAN magazine. His fears for the 22-mile length of Bahia Concepcion seemed to be based on a visit to one of the public beach areas where the Mexican government charges campers a dollar a night, and provides virtually no services in return. These can be pretty dreadful, which is why we recommend staying in privately-operated camping grounds.

North of Bahia Concepcion is the old French mining town of Santa Rosalia. It was built in the 1880s and although the French have long since left, an interesting monument commemorates their presence. In the center of town is a galvanized iron church designed by Alexandre Gustave Eiffel for the 1898 Paris World's Fair. Once the fair was over, the church was taken apart, crated up and sent all the way to Santa Rosalia—reportedly by mistake.

From Santa Rosalia north the highway climbs abruptly away from the Sea of Cortes and strikes across Baja towards the Pacific. Nearing the west coast one encounters huge piles of salt from the processing lagoons at Guerrero Negro. Every year—from January to mid-March—the lagoons also produce gray whales in considerable number. Scammon's Lagoon is an annual rendezvous point for wintering whales, headed south from the Bering. Their cavorting in the placid waters of the lagoon is fast becoming a Baja tourist attraction. The whale watching has recently been facilitated by the construction of an excellent El Presidente Hotel at the Eagle Monument north of town.

An easy day's drive north of Guerrero Negro is the old beach town of San Quintin where English settlers tried to establish a farm colony in the late 1880s. They built a grist mill, a customs house and a pier—remnants of which are still visible. So is their forlorn cemetery where some of the English family names can still be faintly traced on the wooden grave markers. The effort at colonizing was aborted by several years of drought.

There is not much memorable north of San Quintin. The border comes up pretty fast and, as it nears, Carretera Transpeninsular becomes virtually indistinguishable from its North American counterpart on the other side. At one point, it's difficult to know for sure whether you are in Mexico or the United States.

The last distinctively Baja scenery is the beautiful valley of Santo Tomas—just 30 miles south of Ensenada. Planted decades ago by mission priests, the Santo Tomas vineyards still produce a fair quality table wine. Unfortunately, it must be consumed virtually on the spot. Not because it doesn't travel well—much of it actually ends up being mixed into California wines. The problem is at the border. California will not permit any form of alcoholic beverage to cross the frontier by car or foot. It can be commercially trucked, flown, or sailed in—but not transported by private car.


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**DIPLOMACY OF INTERDEPENDENCE**

*from page 11*

this increasingly important function would still be the Secretary of State, the ranking American negotiator in an increasingly complex international decision process. But the Department he heads could not even dream of having a monopoly of "foreign affairs"; for the whole government, international policy would be part of day-to-day decision-making.

To serve as the opposite number to a White House-based Interdependence Council, Congress would need a Joint Committee on Interdependence. Here there are several useful models—the Joint Committees on the Economic Report and on Atomic Energy, and the arrangement now being tested for a Joint Committee on the Budget to balance total Federal income with total outgo.

The interdependence issues cut across the traditional jurisdiction of Congressional committees, just as they cut across the responsibilities of existing Executive Departments. Congress had just as much notice of the need for a national energy policy as the President did, but there was apparently no way in which a legislative leader or caucus could develop a widely-supported package to consider as a Congressional alternative to the President's program—even though the latter was already a year late when it finally emerged from the Executive. A joint standing committee with explicit responsibility for analyzing such cut-across issues might give the public something of Congressional origin to compare with the President's proposals, and thus enable the Congress to avoid the present unhappy choice between sounding negative or appearing acquiescent.

A generation ago when the Marshall Plan was invented, the decisive actions required to meet an international crisis were mostly taken by a couple of dozen leaders in the White House, the State Department and the Congress. But nowadays the chronic crisis of interdependence, of which the facets called energy and food are only the tip of the iceberg, requires action by dozens of government agencies, thousands of private institutions, and millions of householders and automobile owners.

The style of national governance required in these circumstances is more akin to wartime leadership, engaging the cooperation of whole populations to take "domestic" actions without which the requisite international cooperation cannot be arranged by even the most skillful diplomats. Such leadership goes far beyond the capacity to guide legislation through the labyrinth of enactment, to the capacity to persuade whole populations that interdependence requires changes in attitudes, assumptions, lifestyles and workways—and to elicit millions of willing actions, more or less voluntary, backed up by the market economy, social pressures, public shame, and only at the margin by police persuasion. The search for this leadership style is one of the hidden issues in the political campaigns of 1976.


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**TOKYO 1941**

*from page 9*

*Asama Maru* in Yokohama. Grew had worried about how he would get his report of some sixty pages out of the country without risking inspection by Japanese authorities. It had been typed in six copies and the pages were divided among several of the Embassy officers and worn strapped to their torsos under their shirts. The Japanese made no searches and the report was carried on board intact. After exasperating delays and an exchange with the Japanese diplomats returning from the United States and other countries at Lourenco Marques, Mozambique, the Americans arrived in New York on board the *Gripsholm* on August 25. The Ambassador and his private secretary, Robert A. Fearey, took the first train for Washington ahead of the other passengers. At his home that evening on Woodland Drive, Grew received the welcome and respects of numerous friends and ranking officers of the government, including Harry Hopkins.

The next morning, accompanied by Fearey, Grew went to the State Department to call on Secretary Hull, carrying in his briefcase the Embassy's report. He was ushered into Hull's office, Fearey remaining just outside the oaken doors. Soon rising tones of angry Tennessee profanity penetrated the door. After a time, Grew emerged, obviously shaken. He asked Fearey to accompany him to the Metropolitan Club for lunch. There he related the details of the interview. He had handed his report to the Secretary, describing it as the Embassy's view of the attempts to reach agreement with Japan. Hull picked up the paper and as he leafed through its pages, his face flushed with mounting anger. Finally, he threw the report on the desk before him and exclaimed: "You will either destroy every copy of this report or you and I will fight this issue out in public!" Grew remonstrated that he could not retract his convictions but neither could he be a party to a public controversy in time of war when national unity was essential. Hull insisted that Grew select one of the two alternatives and come back the next morning with his choice. The Ambassador told Fearey at the Metropolitan Club that he was determined to reject both alternatives. To Grew's surprise, when he returned to Hull's office the next day, the Secretary made no mention of the report and strongly supported Grew's plan to undertake a nation-wide speaking tour to awaken the American people to the fighting strength and tenacity of the Japanese enemy.

Ten years later in his autobiography "Turbulent Era," Grew included the highlights of the report in a chapter entitled "Pearl Harbor From the Perspective of Ten Years." He remained convinced to the end that the Embassy's recommendations had been right, that President Roosevelt should have met Prince Konoye, that however slim the chance, this last opportunity to save the peace should not have been spurned. Whatever the outcome of such an encounter might have been, it could scarcely have been worse than what really happened.

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# LETTERS TO FSJ

### "The Wife Problem"

The Foreign Service owes a debt of gratitude for the hard work and initiative shown by Katharine Baker for her latest study.

My own area of special concern is that of employment for spouses overseas and consequently I was most interested to read that . . . "57 percent (of Foreign Service wives) were satisfied with their work status." This, of course, is a global figure and includes older as well as younger wives. Another way to state it is that 43 percent of all Foreign Service wives are *not* satisfied with their work status and, according to Ms. Baker, "younger women reported significantly more dissatisfaction than older women." I would like to see a breakdown by decade of this "dissatisfaction" figure. If a much larger percentage of younger wives are frustrated by not being able to pursue professional lives and careers overseas I would assume an increasing number of junior and mid-level FSOs will opt for longer Washington assignments and will be increasingly reluctant to interrupt their spouses' careers to go overseas. Indeed, some, when required to go abroad, may well be forced to choose between separation from their spouses and resignation from the Foreign Service. No one could argue that either of these solutions would be either conducive to good mental health or cost effective. The Department of State spends a good deal of money preparing officers for their full careers.

It has been estimated that the cost of a new officer, from selection through the third assignment, is $26,700. The Department loses if these officers resign because their wives are unhappy about being unable to work.

We need more studies like Katharine Baker's, and more publicity.

CARMAN C. WILLIAMS
Washington

### Suggested Amendment

I support the position expressed in Arnold Freshman's letter in the March issue of the JOURNAL to the effect that action should be initiated without delay in accordance with whatever procedures are deemed appropriate with a view to removing the present President of AFSA from office. Members of the Foreign Service need and deserve a professional organization dedicated to improving US foreign policy—not one in which officers emphasize quarreling, pettiness and back-biting.

I am further of the view that action should be taken to amend the AFSA constitution to provide that the President must be an officer still on active duty.

DONALD A. WEHMEYER
Seabrook, Tex.

### Open Letter To President Hemenway

The AFSA Chapter has watched with growing concern the escalating conflict between you and the other members of the Board of Directors, and the concomitant decline in communications with and services in support of the overseas membership. We believe that AFSA should be run on a collegial basis; indeed, that is the point of having executive powers vested in a board of directors rather than in a single executive officer. The latest example of this internal strife between you and the other board members—the so-called "great mail robbery"—once again demonstrates that you are unwilling to accept and abide by the principal of collegiate responsibility and that your differences with the Board are fundamental and irreconcilable.

Continuation of this internecine strife among the leadership, in our judgment, can only prejudice the interests of the Foreign Service and, ultimately, destroy the Association. Accordingly, the members of the board AFSA/London have decided to initiate your recall pursuant to Article 10 of the AFSA By-Laws. We shall strongly urge other AFSA overseas chapters and the membership in Washington to support this initiative.

LARRY C. WILLIAMSON
*Chairman*
AFSA/London

### Interests of the Service

I had hoped that the months and miles which separate me from an active role in AFSA would have provided insulation from the malicious accusations of Messrs. Harter and Hemenway. It is not to be.

Mr. Harter has filed frivolous, unfair labor charges seeking to use the Employee Management Relations Commission (EMRC) as a forum for *ad hominem* attacks against myself and his other imagined enemies. Both Mr. Harter and Mr. Hemenway testified at recent Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on promotion nominations, slandering me in an effort to block my promotion and that of other colleagues. The Senate rejected these allegations and unanimously approved the promotions. Nevertheless, Harter and Hemenway are in the position of being able to present their vicious lies in public fora and distribute them to the Washington media. From Santiago, my only opportunity to respond is in the pages of the JOURNAL.

The essence of the attacks on me by Harter and Hemenway is that I received undeserved professional consideration because of support for "a number of positions which were tantamount to a 'sell out' in the basic rights and interests of Association members." This is a lie, and there is a record to prove it. On pages 37 and 38 of the August 1975 FSJ there is a list of all the improvements fought for and won through negotiation or legislation during the period I was part of the AFSA leadership. Every person in the Foreign Service is today better off financially with such benefits as annual education travel for Foreign Service children, the kindergarten allowance, the transfer allowance, payment of overtime, and scores of similar improvements gained in the 1972-75 period. Every person in the Foreign Service can today have more confidence and pride in our profession because of the safeguards built into the personnel system, the due process procedures established, and the courageous voice raised in the Congress against political abuse of the Service—including politically motivated ambassadorial appointments—all achieved during my stewardship. These accomplishments were won by hard-nosed bargaining and the utilization of all the political persuasion and pressure that I and my colleagues could think of to bring to bear on management. Management did not

willingly cede any of these gains and we who participated in the struggles are aware of the costs. The achievements are facts, and Harter's and Hemenway's interminable repetition of the "big lie" will not alter these facts. Their efforts to denigrate and cast suspicion on real achievements is scurrilous, particularly when compared with their own destructive records.

Mr. Harter, for instance, must face the fact that the EMRC found USIA guilty of an unfair labor practice because of an action on the part of John Harter. This is a direct quote from the Commission's decision:

Harter's use of the envelopes to distribute materials seeking the recall of Boyatt as President and Harris as Vice President of the Association was an *open and flagrant misuse of Agency property*. . . . the Commission finds that the failure of the Agency to disavow Mr. Harter's actions tended to interfere with the employees' right to select a representative, and in the internal affairs of an employees organization."

It is ironic, though hardly surprising, that Mr. Harter was found guilty of what he has accused others of doing, namely, consorting with management against the interests of the people of the Foreign Service.

With respect to Mr. Hemenway, his testimony must have presented a sense of *déja vu* for those who watched Senator Joseph McCarthy's efforts to destroy by false allegation and innuendo in the '50s: the same sneering rhetoric, the same hints of possession of secret incriminating evidence, and the same screech for drastic actions against innocent people. Mr. Hemenway accuses others of a "sell out" (even the words are McCarthyesque) against the background of his own achievements which include:

- Efforts to scuttle the first grievance legislation in Foreign Service history because such legislation did not facilitate Hemenway's return to the Foreign Service;
- Striking a retired Foreign Service officer and AFSA board member 25 years older than Mr. Hemenway and half his size, and then rushing to distribute a different version to the press;
- The loss of AFSA's exclusive representation of USIA; and
- Paralyzing the Association's functioning to the point that it can achieve nothing in terms of financial or personnel benefits for the people of the Foreign Service.

Messrs. Harter and Hemenway should make no mistake about it. They have presented the managements of State, AID and USIA with a sweetheart arrangement. They have converted what was once an aggressive employee representative and professional spokesman with a fighting record of achievement into a supine laughing stock. That doesn't cost management a damn cent but it costs the people of the Foreign Service a great deal. The interests of the Service and its people have been "sold out," all right. Progress has been sacrificed to the politics of hate and savage personal vendetta that Harter and Hemenway permanently employ.

THOMAS D. BOYATT

Santiago, Chile

### A Plea for AFSA

Well-wishers of the Foreign Service must regret the present signs of confusion in the councils of the Association's Washington leadership, but it is essential that they not show their displeasure, as I understand some have lately done, by allowing their AFSA memberships to lapse. In the first place, the Association badly needs the dues of all of its members if it is to represent effectively its membership's wider interests. In the second, any weakening of the Association can only redound to the advantage of labor union groups anxious to dislodge AFSA from its central position in the foreign affairs community.

Physicians may now and then complain about the American Medical Association, but they know well that their professional concerns can scarcely be entrusted to the AFL-CIO's National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees. Lawyers, for their part, are not unanimous in praise of the American Bar Association, but they are not likely for that reason to turn to the Teamsters' Union to speak for them.

There is as little reason for members of the foreign affairs community, by turning their backs on the Association when it most needs their help, to permit a mixed group of open or unavowed advocates of the AFL-CIO's American Federation of Government Employees to work the ruin of AFSA. For, in the nature of things, a labor union representing the Department's employees would necessarily tend to downgrade the professional interests of the serving officers who make up the bulk of AFSA's present membership.

THOMAS A. DONOVAN
*FSO-Retired*

Accokeek

### Low Caloric vs. High Choleric

One is bound to wonder why the Foreign Service JOURNAL bothered to publish Louis J. Halle's "People vs Government." As a defense of the "cool and calculating"—like, say, George Washington (read diplomats)—against the "militantly righteous"—like, say, Tom Paine and Sam Adams (read the ideologues)—it is obviously self-serving. And just as obvious, it is calculated to show the moral superiority of the cool over the militantly righteous. But just to give an example, would Mr. Washington have had the occasion to exercise his cool calculations as the first President of the Republic if it had not been for the likes of Paine and Adams? And, do we really know that Mr. Washington was not just as self-righteous in his cool as M. Genêt was in his militancy? When more recently our cool and calculating leaders kept looking for the light at the end of the tunnel in Vietnam, was it not the militantly righteous who helped them extricate themselves, their cool and all from that horror? Is it, finally "only righteousness . . . which can justify the more extreme forms of human brutality?" Were Messrs. Stalin and Hitler more self-righteous or more coolly calculating when they blithely dispatched those hapless millions, of all ages and conditions, to the other world?

It is only natural for diplomats to want to work off their indignation against their aggressively sanctimonious critics. The reality, however, is that the cool and calculating and the militantly righteous need and deserve each other more than they know. The question of the "greater moral nobility" can be left to Mr. Halle's philosophical gruel.

PHILIP DI TOMMASO

Athens

# 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 .....30
Accounting from the Board .....31
Equality for the F.S. .....32
State Standing .....32
AID Affairs .....32
Grievance System .....33
AID Assignment Precepts .....33
Referenda Items .....34, 35, 36, 37
Outrage of the Month .....38
AFSA Seeks Counsellor .....38
Harter, Thomas, AFSA Unfairs .....39
Bookfair .....39
F.S. People .....40


## USIA NEWS

### AFSA LOSES ELECTION TO AFGE

AFSA lost the election in USIA by a vote of 504 to 853. Seventy-five people voted for no representative. Ballots were counted on March 23. Of USIA's approximately 2140 eligible voters, 1432 voted for a two-thirds turnout. We do not yet have a breakdown showing what proportion of those overseas voted. In the '72 representation election AFSA received 605 votes to 520 for AFGE and 72 cast for no representative.

The FASing of over 1000 former GS category employees into FS since 1972 was the decisive factor in the election. The repeated experience of people in AFSA's USIA Standing Committee was that most of these former GS employees had retained their previous loyalty to AFGE and their numbers far outweighed the 900-odd FSIOs in the bargaining unit. Another loss to AFSA was the potential votes of the many FSIOs classified as "management" and denied a voice in the outcome. Troubles on the AFSA Board and, according to the comments of several voters, the public activities of the President of AFSA also contributed to the defeat.

Despite the defeat USIA's AFSA Standing Committee will continue to play an active role at USIA. We are still free to play our legitimate role as a professional organization, while AFGE tries its hand at bread-and-butter issues. Many new projects are under consideration, including a series of bag lunches to which speakers will be invited and the establishment of a system of grievance counselors in each major unit of the Agency to assist Agency FS personnel in need of counseling.

### MR. HEMENWAY'S RECALL SOUGHT

On March 26 the Association Secretary received a petition for the recall of John D. Hemenway as President. The petition, signed by 306 AFSA members from AID, USIA, and State (no one serving on the Governing Board signed), was submitted under AFSA Bylaws Article X, which states:

ARTICLE X
RECALL

1. Fifty Members, or a two-thirds majority of the Board, may recommend with stated reasons the recall of a Board Member for behavior in contravention of the Association's Constitution or Bylaws, for committing fraud, embezzlement, or malfeasance in the management of Association funds or, for other such serious misconduct.

2. Special meetings shall be called of the Washington Membership and all Chapters to consider the recall recommendation. If endorsed by a majority vote of the Members attending these meetings, the Board shall appoint a Committee to organize and conduct promptly a recall election by secret ballot. The Committee shall accept, for circulation to the Membership with the ballots, such statements as may be presented by the proponents of the recall and by the Board Member in question.

The petition reads:

The undersigned Members of the American Foreign Service Association hereby recommend the recall of John D. Hemenway from the office of President of the Association for violations of the Bylaws and serious misconduct, as indicated below:

1. Hemenway has misrepresented to the Congress and the management of the foreign affairs agencies the position of the Association on major issues affecting fundamental interests of Foreign Service employees, thereby threatening the interests of these employees, contrary to Articles V.3, IV.1, and VII of the Bylaws.

2. Hemenway has consistently acted as AFSA President in such a manner as to hinder the effective functioning of the Governing Board to meet its responsibilities to the Membership and to the Foreign Service people it represents under Executive Order 11636, contrary to Articles V.3, VII and VIII of the Bylaws.

3. Hemenway has publicly defamed the character and impugned the motives of members of the Association, its Board and Committees, contrary to Articles V.3, VII.4, and X.1.

4. Hemenway has prepared a mailout to the Membership not cleared by the Board and representing his own personal views, and charged its costs, $496., to the Association, contrary to Article V.3, VII.4c, d, f, and h. Only under the threat of legal action, has he agreed verbally to reimburse the Association.

5. Hemenway has openly stated, and acted to implement, his desire to destroy the right of the Foreign Service people to elect an exclusive employee representative, and the effectiveness of AFSA as exclusive employee representative, contrary to Article I.1 and 2, V.3, VII, and X.1.

6. Hemenway physically assaulted an AFSA Board Member 20 years his senior on February 11, 1976, at the Foreign Service Club, contrary to Article X.1 of the Bylaws.

*Howard Meyers* — *Robert H. Stern*
*Thomas L. O'Connor* — *Adrian A. Basora*
*Murrow B. Morris* — *H. Clay Black*
*Michael Austrian* — *Joseph J. Paciorka*
*Edward R. Stumpf* — *James R. Vandivier*
*Ann R. Berry* — *Edward B. Rosenthal*
*Susan C. Fouts* — *Robert A. Deitchman*
*M. A. Sanderson* — *F. Allen Harris*

Members are cautioned that the above are allegations only and have not yet been proven through the recall process.

The petition also had seven pages of detailed reasons attached.

On March 30, Mr. Hemenway distributed a statement warning that "all persons connected with this action run the personal risk of offenses under the laws of libel and slander," and remarking further that this was "a renegade Board which is a personal affront to every person who has the best interests of the Foreign Service and its personnel at heart."

The detailed reasons supporting recall, and the AFSA President's statement are available from: Secretary, AFSA, Room 3644, N.S.

# LEADERSHIP IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE VERSUS PETTINESS — PART I OF III

**(A Message from Association President John Hemenway)**

April 2, 1976 was Foreign Service Day. AFSA President Hemenway and DACOR representatives joined the Director General in welcoming speeches and discussion of the Foreign Service and US policy. The AFSA Memorial Plaque dedication by AFSA President Hemenway and Secretary of State Kissinger brought these men together for the first time in side-by-side speeches at the dedication which should be reported separately in the FSJ. Participants left for home full of praise for AFSA, for the Service and for the style in which Foreign Service Day was handled.

Unfortunately, brunch the next morning (Saturday) at the AFSA club was marred by the same kind of petty bickering that has marked every Board meeting in recent months. Mr. Loy Henderson who sat at the head table with the Association President made a moving appeal for reconciliation. Conciliation was not much in evidence but after hearing Board members Hydle, Rogers and Deming present prepared positions putting all blame on the President, Jacques Reinstein wrote to the President to request that his name be removed from a recall petition he had been persuaded to sign earlier. Bewilderment was expressed concerning the motivation of persons who seemed to want to tear the AFSA apart. Appointed VP Hydle pointed out he had only lost the election by a few votes less than the elected President and was braced for a tough fight to remove Hemenway. He offered to resign if Hemenway would.

**Loss of USIA Election.** The Board searched its conscience for reasons it lost to Local 1812, AFGE, in the USIA election. It was a thumping defeat, 8-5. The fact that AFSA leadership had pushed for the FAS program even though many FAS officers might have preferred the civil service-oriented AFGE for "union" representation did not explain the lopsided loss. Even among good friends of AFSA as a professional organization in USIA, the feeling persists that AFSA representatives were doing a poor job of representing employees in bread-and-butter union issues. Therefore, they voted the other side.

**AFSA as a Union and a Professional Organization.** Doubt has been expressed from all sides concerning the efficacy of AFSA as a "union." It is a fact that certain AFSA members have represented your union interests rather unskillfully. The Association as a whole is now witness to the fact that the entire Board is unwilling to consult the membership by denying referenda, AFSA Bylaws to the contrary notwithstanding. This Board has even appointed a "referenda committee" to defeat the purpose of referenda bearing the requisite signatures. Under these circumstances the elected President's campaign promise will be toughened from a "referendum vote," as promised, to a Bylaw amendment proposal.

1. A referendum vote by the membership on proposals to restore esprit to the Foreign Service by creating a two-tier professional organization. This will consist of:
   a. A truly professional section to encourage professional standards and to encourage a return to the foreign service family concept among GS, FSR, FSS, FSO, and other ranks.
   b. An employee organization to promote vigorous union activity to go after the bread and butter issues that are so important. This group will seek out and destroy corruption that promotes maladministration wherever it is found, even if the path leads directly to the door of Congressman Wayne Hays. (May, 1975, FSJ)

On grievance legislation, the path indeed led from Mr. Eagleburger to Mr. Hays and the interests of the men and women of the Foreign Service suffered.

If the Board continues to act contrary to the Bylaws the confidence of the membership may erode just as the confidence of USIA softened regarding AFSA effectiveness as a union.

A letter to the FSJ suggesting the recall of the Association President by a high management official was circulated at the 6 April Board meeting. That letter is evidence of "unfair practices" by management. It provides direct evidence of interference in the internal affairs of AFSA as a union. Yet all of the militant "unionists" on the AFSA Board remained mute when presented with this hard evidence of management interference in AFSA affairs. The Association President shall propose action, of course. The problem is that the double standard on the AFSA Board pervades everything. Policies which are favored by the Board majority are considered legal and proper and consistent with the Bylaws. Projects which are not—like the referenda on finances, openness, and the FSJ—are pushed aside even against the will of hundreds of members by a vote of 6-10 Board members, most of whom are not even elected. Our "union" will never win any confidence votes if it is based on this kind of contempt for the rights of the membership. We may well see more Board members in court if only to protect the interests of the membership.

**Question of Priorities and Respect for Propriety.** Leadership must come from the Board and President of AFSA. Many observers at AFSA Board meetings have commented that Board members have preferred to spend their time systematically to thwart the office of the AFSA President rather than paying proper attention to members' interests. There are many big issues that concern you, the AFSA member, which are being neglected as Mr. Cooley introduces yet another resolution trying to muzzle the AFSA President at Board meetings, or to prevent the effective presentation of the various sides of issues in the FSJ. Look at the last two issues of the FSJ. Can anyone claim they presented a balanced or an opposing view?

**Refusal of the AFSA Board To Follow the Bylaws.** Hundreds of AFSA members indicated their desire to hold seven referenda votes which the AFSA President and they felt would be desirable. Yet this positive challenge was transformed by the Board's flat refusal to implement referenda on at least three of the questions which, naturally, were the questions most vital to the organization: (1) openness, (2) finances and (3) the use of the FSJ and its modernization.

**Denial of Secret Ballot by Kenneth Rogers.** You, the member, have not only been denied the right to express yourself in the first referenda votes ever held, you are being insulted by this Board by being required to vote in full public view. You are denied a secret ballot by Referenda Committee Chairman Rogers over the AFSA President's objections. The complaint is that it costs too much money—$1,500.00. Well, the last election cost $17,000.00! A few simple referenda to keep the organization honest are, frankly speaking, a good business investment.

**Theft of Mail Consequences—Issue Still in Court.** Only sparse information can be passed to the membership by the AFSA President because he must communicate at his own expense. He is denied by the Board any other avenue of communication except one page in the JOURNAL. When the President spent $500.00 of his own money to contact the members, his personal mail was stolen by Mr. Hydle. Why has the Board not demanded the resignation of an AFSA Vice President of whom Clark Mollenhoff writes:

"[U.S. Attorney for D.C.] Silbert said there is no question that Hydle stole the letters, but 'we regard this whole fuss as an internal matter'."

**How is the Squabbling Benefiting the AFSA Membership?** Mr. Hydle claims "vindication" because he has not actually been indicted for theft for the not so simple reason that the public prosecutor considers the case "unprosecutable"—whatever that cloak for "public policy" means. Instead of buckling down to AFSA business Hydle has diligently set out to get the AFSA President impeached (recalled) and has submitted at least three complete drafts of recall procedures. His procedures are a joke and more like the kangaroo justice found in "comradely courts" of Soviet Russia. In the libelous recall petition, every abuse of which the Board is guilty has been assigned to the AFSA President. In the meantime every kind of outside influence is being brought to bear on the AFSA which flounders badly. The AFSA President is not at all afraid of false charges brought by dishonest men; however, he will insist that the proper form be followed. In the meantime, who is serving the membership's needs?

## AN ACCOUNTING TO OUR MEMBERS FROM THE GOVERNING BOARD

We regret having to devote the burden of our piece to quieting inaccuracies in our President's message in that it, of course, lends credibility to his "petty bickering" charge. However, our experience with him leads us to believe that falsehoods left unanswered can become "facts" and lead to even greater liberties being taken with the truth.

**Brunch . . . was marred.** Chairing the brunch, Mr. Hemenway occupied most of the time expressing his own views in the fashion he has on the opposite page. Several guests called for reconciliation, and a number, including Ambassador Willis, urged that lawsuits against Board members be dropped. Mr. Hemenway claimed that the lawsuits were personal matters having nothing to do with AFSA business. Now in his column, purporting to deal with AFSA's business, he raises the suits again.

**Hydle . . . braced for a tough fight to remove Hemenway.** Mr. Hydle actually said that when he was appointed, he knew that Mr. Hemenway was in office and that it would be difficult or impossible to work with him. Mr. Hemenway endeavors to portray the movement for his recall as a personal vendetta, but neither Mr. Hydle nor any other Board member has signed the recall petition.

**(Hydle) offered to resign if Hemenway would.** True. This was to be without admission of wrongdoing on either side and in order to spare the Association the turmoil which is diverting energy from its business and raising questions of confidence among some of its members. Mr. Hemenway has not given a reply to the Board.

**Loss of USIA election . . . AFSA as a union.** The "doubt from all sides" of AFSA's efficacy as a union comes primarily from one direction. When the former Governing Board decided to try to become the employee representative for the Foreign Service of USIA, AID, and State, Mr. Hemenway publicly opposed it. Indeed, in his campaign statements in the 1975 Board election he promised to try to abolish E.O. 11636, the charter of our Association's rights to negotiate benefits for the people of the Foreign Service.

**Letter to the FSJ . . . by a high management official was circulated . . . double standard . . .** The official sent copies of the letter to all Board members. When the Board was reliably informed that the official's job was classified as "management" the publication of the letter in the FSJ was deferred by common consent.

**Board members . . . not even elected.** Not being in the Foreign Service, Mr. Hemenway does not perceive that replacements for people assigned overseas must be appointed (under the Bylaws). Others have resigned because of Mr. Hemenway's activities.

**More Board members in court.** While diverse in our opinions on many issues, we share a common resolve not to submit to threats of this type of "reconciliation."

**Mr. Cooley . . . trying to muzzle the President . . . or . . . prevent . . . the presentation of issues in the FSJ.** This refers to two censure motions—one for misrepresentation to the Congress of AFSA's position on grievance legislation and one for misappropriation of $500 of AFSA funds for an unannounced mail-out, a "sense of the Board" resolution requesting the President to grant us regularly-scheduled Board meetings, and a resolution enacting for Board meetings the portions of "Roberts' Rules" concerning decorum in debate and the rule requiring a person participating in debate (in which he is an interested party) to relinquish the Chair. It is true that in the FSJ we try to speak with a consistent and, we hope, coherent voice. It is also true that our latitude for comment in letters to the editor has been exceptionally broad: see Mr. Harter's letter speaking of "management(s) . . . unelected stooges on an uncertified AFSA governing board who betrayed their F.S. colleagues . . ." as a high (low?) point of openness to dissent. (February FSJ, p. 32)

**Refusal of AFSA Board . . . Denial of Secret Ballot.** See the discussion of these problems under Referenda in this issue.

**Theft of Mail Consequences—Issue Still in Court.** This is a serious charge, and unfortunately our President has not confined it simply to words. Was it "theft?" The US District Attorney has declined to prosecute Mr. Hemenway's charges. Was it "mail?" The postal inspector summoned by Mr. Hemenway ruled it was not. The issue is indeed still in court: a Hemenway civil suit against three of his fellow board members continues. Ultimately the court will decide whether the materials, printed on AFSA stationery, by AFSA's contractor, using AFSA mailing labels and AFSA staff, with AFSA's "non-profit organization" 1.8c postage envelopes, stamped OFFICIAL AFSA BUSINESS and billed to AFSA were indeed Mr. Hemenway's "personal mail." Until that time the Board feels that "demand(s) for resignation" are somewhat premature. (Mr. Hemenway, in his intensity, overlooks his secondary targets in the suit, Messrs. Patterson and Harrell.) A final note here: as Mr. Hemenway is aware, US Attorney Silbert has denied making the remark against Mr. Hydle attributed to him in the Mollenhoff article.

**Hydle . . . has submitted . . . drafts of recall procedures.** True. Members of the Governing Board, Mr. Hemenway included, are alike in their concern that adequate procedures for recall be established, and share doubts that Bylaws Article X standing alone provides reasonable and equitable measures. The 306 members' petition is a fact, and the Bylaws charge the whole Governing Board with the duty of making regulations implementing the Bylaws, interpreting them and such regulations (Art. VII.4.h.) and maintaining the standards of conduct required of the Association by law and regulation (Art. VII.4.c.). Duty and a sense of decency to all—recallee(s)-designate, the petitioners, and the common membership—call on us to do our best to allow a fair and democratic resolution of the question to be achieved, regardless of personal views on the recall petition's merits.

**Libelous recall petition . . . false charges brought by dishonest men.** The AFSA Board stands firm for the rights of the 306 men and women who have signed the petition and the supporters of those seeking to retain their office to make their views known without threat of retaliation.

The reader of the President's message (and our own) will have noticed that it is redolent with procedures, charges, appeals to legal interpretations, and impugning of motives, but devoid of comments on the merits of any substantive issues facing the Association. That is, unfortunately, a presentation by example of the content of a typical AFSA Board meeting under the sort of "leadership in the Foreign Service" Mr. Hemenway has to offer.

It is, however, fortunate that the full measure of the Association's achievements is not to be sought solely in the Hemenway-dominated Board meetings, although the media seem to concentrate unduly on this aspect of AFSA's activities. There are, of course, achievements by our Board: the first Grievance legislation for USIA, AID, and State, fair selection-out procedures, and the earliest-negotiated State promotion precepts in years, to name but a few. More note should be taken of the Committees: AID, State, USIA, Members' Interests, etc. (not to mention our Chapters abroad) which are turning out AFSA's work under Board-delegated authority. We urge you to follow their accomplishments in AFSA News and the Red-Tops, to send in your advice, and to volunteer to serve.

**FRANK CUMMINS**
**CHARLOTTE CROMER**
**ALFORD COOLEY**
**OLCOTT DEMING**
**ROY HARRELL**
**SAMUEL HART**
**LARS HYDLE**
**JOANN JENKINS**
**JOHN A. PATTERSON**
**KENNETH ROGERS**
**WILLIS SUTTER**
**GLENN WOLFE**
**PATRICIA WOODRING**

## EQUAL TREATMENT FOR ALL F.S. PERSONNEL BY HOST GOVERNMENTS ABROAD

The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, which was ratified by the United States, states in Article 37 that administrative and technical staff personnel at posts of foreign assignment shall enjoy the same privileges and immunities granted to diplomatic personnel.

AFSA knows that in some countries secretarial and other staff personnel are not being accorded the same privileges as officer personnel of the Foreign Service. We therefore request AFSA chapters to examine the matter, perhaps in consultation with administrative officers, to determine if there is any disparity in privileges accorded our personnel. For example, one should look at local sales taxes, state and local taxes, gasoline and excise taxes, telephone tax, import duties, duty free privileges, etc.

Please provide your report and comments to the Chairperson, Members' Interests Committee, AFSA, Room 3644, Department of State. Please note whether or not the host government is a signatory to the Vienna Convention and has ratified it. AFSA will then encourage the Department of State to urge equal treatment of all our personnel by the host government. There may be some minor taxes which are difficult to avoid paying, but these should be applied to all of our personnel in an even and non-discriminatory fashion.

## AFSA/STATE AFFAIRS

AFSA's State Standing Committee met twice during the past month (March 15-April 15) to hear interested parties and to consider measures of importance to State's Foreign Service in a temperate atmosphere. The Committee heard Jesse Clear give a plea for the Association's affiliating itself with a national labor union to get professional expertise in negotiations and additional "clout" on the Hill (see January FSJ, p. 35). Jim Vandivier and Stu Branch of Two Thousand Plus (Administrative Officers' Assn.) also spoke of Support Staff (communicators and secretaries) concerns: *i.e.*, linkage of pay with that of the Civil Service, FAS program, maximum Department tour, excursion tours, training, and inclusion on the Diplist (copies available from State Standing Committee, AFSA, Room 3644, New State).

JFSOC representatives have also voiced concern about a sudden massive drop in the number of promotions across the threshold (FSO-6 and FSO-5) in the 1976 promotion list, and State's Committee is trying to ascertain the facts and gain due redress for the O-6 officers affected. The Committee has also kept a keen watch on a new State management proposal to "strengthen the Department's (domestic) personnel structure," which at the moment (April 15) is thoroughly amorphous in published form. Further, the Committee has had a preliminary briefing by management on a new "promotion zone" scheme, information which has been sent to the Chapters overseas by telegram and to the domestic State membership by Red-Top for discussion and critical comments. It is summarized on page 36 under Referenda proposal 2.

The State Committee people also caucused with about half of the 28 people in its Washington keyman network to report on goings-on at the Governing Board level and to receive advice on such varied subjects as ex-Ambassador Shelton's new consular appointment and the planning of a general membership drive.

### MAILOUTS, REFERENDA, & LEGAL ACTIONS

Continuing our story from the last FSJ (p. 36), Mr. Hemenway's small claim against three fellow Board members on the mail-out has been referred to the D.C. Superior Court, the calendar of which is full. He has reimbursed the Association for the greater part of the funds used and has allowed the signatures for referenda to be verified. As a result the referenda questions can now be sent to the membership for voting on the issues. (See pps. 34, 35, 36 and 37.)

**JOIN AFSA**
(OR ENCOURAGE OTHERS TO JOIN)
DUES CHECKOFF MAKES IT EASIER

## AID AFFAIRS

### A LITTLE SOMETHING GOOD

Whenever AID commits an outrageous act, violates Executive Order 11636, or in some other fashion compromises the Foreign Service, AFSA has been quick to bring such activities to the attention of the membership and take appropriate steps to offset the harm done.

Nevertheless, when the Agency does something good, no matter how small, we believe AFSA members should be informed. For example, recently our Association pointed out to management that nothing but information on the Civil Service personnel system was presented in the course on the "Manager's Role in Personnel Management." The Agency took steps immediately to provide equal coverage on the Foreign Service personnel system. One might ask why such a condition was allowed to prevail in the first place; nevertheless it is gratifying to have seen AID respond so quickly once the problem was brought to light.

### VOLUNTEERING

Travelers Aid Society needs volunteers for expanded services at two new Bicentennial locations. The Great Hall of the US Commerce Department Building will be open March 1, seven days a week from 10:00 A.M. until 6:00 P.M. A minimum of two volunteers each day are needed to work with professional staff. Orientation and training are being given by staff and a Volunteer Coordinator. Volunteers are asked to give four hours weekly on a regular basis.

When the National Visitors Center opens July 1 on the same schedule, equal numbers of volunteers are needed to render Travelers Aid services.

Since 1913, the local Agency has helped people away from home who have encountered travel, housing, and related problems. With millions of visitors expected during the Bicentennial (an estimated 1½ million per day on the Mall alone during 4th of July weekend!) the need for Travelers Aid assistance will be acute. Volunteer help is more vital than ever. Please call Travelers Aid for further information—347-0101.

## THE NEW GRIEVANCE SYSTEM: THE FINAL STEPS

On March 23 the Governing Board unanimously passed the following resolution:

### RESOLUTION REGARDING THE FORMAL AGREEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION OF GRIEVANCE LEGISLATION

*THE GOVERNING BOARD*

*HAVING* approved candidates for the Grievance Board by resolutions dated January 19 and February 11, 1976;

*HAVING* had the opportunity to review the January 23 and February 27 drafts of the grievance regulations;

*HAVING* informed the Membership and sought its advice through the open meeting of March 11, 1976;

*NOTING* that the legislation imposes a 120-day deadline for promulgation of the regulations and appointment of the Grievance Board, which will expire March 28, 1976;

**NOTING* that the Association is preparing a general referendum on these regulations and that the Governing Board will be guided in its future negotiations on this matter by the results of this and any future relevant referenda;

*HEREBY RESOLVES THAT:*

The AFSA President is authorized and directed to sign the Agreement implementing grievance legislation on Tuesday, March 23, at 4 p.m. in Room 2820 New State.

*Amendment proposed by Mr. Cummins and accepted.

On the same day President Hemenway signed on behalf of the Association the following agreement with management on the new Foreign Service grievance system:

### AGREEMENT ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FOREIGN SERVICE GRIEVANCE REGULATIONS

This agreement between the Department of State, the Agency for International Development, and the United States Information Agency (the Foreign Affairs agencies) and the American Foreign Service Association (the AFSA), is hereby entered into pursuant to section 404 of P.L. 94-141 (22 U.S.C. 1037, Section 692 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended), enacted November 29, 1975, and Section 10 of Executive Order 11636 (36 F.R. 24901), dated December 17, 1971.

1. The Foreign Affairs agencies and the AFSA, as a result of their consultations, agree to the promulgation by the Secretary of State of the Foreign Service Grievance regulations contained in Attachment A hereto.

2. The Foreign Affairs agencies and the AFSA agree to the appointment of the persons named in Attachment B as members of the Foreign Service Grievance Board, for the terms of service indicated.

3. This agreement shall enter into effect on March 26, 1976, and remain in full force and effect until revised pursuant to consultations between the Foreign Affairs agencies and the exclusive employee representative. This agreement may be reopened for consultation:

a. by mutual agreement of the Foreign Affairs agencies and the exclusive employee representative, at any time;

b. unilaterally following the expiration of six months from its execution date with respect to Sections 663, and 664 of the regulations;

c. unilaterally following the expiration of one year, with respect to all other sections of the regulations.

4. During the pendency of any consultation pursuant to the reopening of this agreement as contemplated in paragraph 3 above, the Foreign Service Grievance Regulations shall remain in full force and effect.

The text of the implementing regulations referred to in paragraph 1 of the Agreement along with the legislation itself, were transmitted to foreign service people in the Department of State Newsletter No. 178, April 1976. The Grievance Board Members appointed pursuant to paragraph 2 of the agreement, with their terms of office, professional background, previous service on the interim Grievance Board, and origin of their nomination, are indicated below:

*Two Year Terms of Service*

Porter, Alexander B. (Chairperson) NAA, I, S
Burns, Martha I. FS (USIA), I, S
Dorman, Philip F. FS (USIA), I, S
McConnell, John W. NAA, I, S
Smith, Rufus Z. FS (State), AFSA
Snell, Harold D. FS (AID), I, AFSA
Spector, Melbourne FS (State & AID), AFSA
Trezise, Philip H. FS (State), AFSA

*One Year Terms of Service*

Anderson, Arvid NAA, S
Bloch, Richard I. NAA, S
Mittenthal, Richard NAA, P
Quinn, Rev. Francis X. NAA, P
Robins, Eva NAA, I, S
Seward, Ralph T. NAA, S
Stockman, Abram NAA, P

NAA — Member of the National Academy of Arbitrators
FS — retired Foreign Service officer (former agency)
I — interim Grievance Board Member (previously approved by AFSA and management)
S — proposed by interim Grievance Board Chairman William Simkin
P — proposed by interim Board Deputy Chairman and new Board Chairperson Alexander Porter
AFSA — proposed by AFSA Board

The Grievance Board will now issue its own internal regulations, after comments from management and the employee organizations.

## AID ORDERED TO CONSULT WITH AFSA

Last September AID submitted "Precepts for Foreign Service Assignments" to AFSA. This important document codifies a series of principles—some new, some not—regarding the manner in which Foreign Service employees are assigned overseas. The principles include program and career development needs and specifics on the length of overseas tours and Washington rotations.

The Association immediately requested consultation on these Precepts. In a disappointing response, AID indicated that they were a reserved management prerogative and therefore not consultable. In its appeal to the Employee Management Relations Commission, AFSA pointed out that the Agency was proposing changes in personnel policies and procedures which, under Executive Order 11636 must be negotiated with the Association. In addition, while recognizing management's right to assign, AFSA pointed out that the Order requires consultations on regulations, policies, procedures, criteria, or whatever management uses to carry out its right to assign (or promote, RIF, etc, for that matter). Finally, in response to some of AID's sophistic arguments to hide the proposed changes, the Association stated that "A rose by any other name smells as sweet" and personnel policies and procedures are consultable whether management likes it or not.

In a landmark decision, issued on March 1, 1976, the Employee Management Relations Commission held that the clear import of Executive Order 11636 is to make consultable *all* proposed or revised management policies which affect working conditions of employees. In this instance, AID's Assignment Precepts on their face were ruled consultable. In addition, the EMRC emphasized that AFSA may consult on a precept whether it is current or revised. Current precepts remain in effect until AFSA and AID agree on changes.

With this important ruling in hand, AFSA is entering into negotiations with the Agency immediately in order to assure that the Assignment Precepts are as equitable and fair to the Foreign Service as possible.

**REFERENDA (use ballot at end)**

The Board of the American Foreign Service Association always welcomes the guidance, opinions, complaints, criticism and suggestions of all of its members. AFSA represents the interests as exclusive bargaining agent of personnel of AID's and the Department of State's Foreign Service, AFSA and non-AFSA members alike. Therefore we must also be alert to the views of non-members.

The Association is governed by the current Bylaws. Article XII provides that:

"The Board, 10 chapters, or 100 members may by written request, propose a referendum on any matter within the Board's authority which shall be promptly submitted to a vote of the membership by publication in the Foreign Service Journal or AFSA News. A majority of the members casting valid ballots shall determine the Association's final position on the proposal."

Article III states that: "Every member shall have equal rights and privileges within the Association." Therefore, all members may vote on all referenda items.

On January 28, 1976, President John Hemenway submitted to the membership four items, urging that they request referenda be held on them. On February 16, President Hemenway submitted a fifth, sixth and seventh item. In late March, the Chairman of the AFSA Referendum Committee counted 140 valid signatures of persons on the President's items.

On April 5 the Referendum Committee, established by the Board, including President Hemenway; Secretary Frank Cummins; USIA representative, Will Sutter; AID Representative, Charlotte Cromer; and State Representative, Kenneth Rogers (Chairman), discussed a draft ballot provided by President Hemenway to the Committee. After a few minor changes for purposes of clarity, the President's proposals on the first four were accepted for publication in the JOURNAL.

**Three Items Stricken.** However, the President's detailed draft ballot proposals of April 5 on the three items from his February 16 submission were considered by the Committee majority to be beyond the scope of Bylaw referendum article XII cited above, because they constituted amendments to the Bylaws. These three items give the President total control of all AFSA finances, the JOURNAL and Committees.

**AFSA Finances. Item Six (that the members signed) read: *"AFSA Finance Requirements,* concerning checkwriting, assessment of scholarship funds, overdrafts, loan authority, or other fiscal matters."**

However, Mr. Hemenway submitted a three-part draft ballot text that would accord the President a veto power on financial arrangements, which was in contravention of Bylaws Article V.6 hereunder quoted:

"V. The Association shall have as Officers: a President, a Vice President, a Second Vice President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer." . . .

"6. The Treasurer, under the general direction of the Board, shall have charge of the Association's moneys, funds and assets, meet its financial filing obligations under applicable law or regulation, draft a budget for the Board, and render a statement of accounts and balance sheet of the books at each annual meeting of the Association, and at other times when requested by the Board. With the approval of the Board, he or she may make a limited delegation of powers and duties to the Executive Director. All extraordinary expenses and investments shall be made by the Treasurer only upon recommendation to and approval of the Board or by the Membership, if necessary to conform to the Constitution."

**FSJ Modernization.** The item that the members signed read:

***"FSJ Modernization:* AFSA President's plan for FSJ reorganization to membership for consideration."**

However, Mr. Hemenway submitted a 10-part draft ballot text that accorded the President a veto power over selection of FSJ staff and a censorship power over information concerning career and professional matters. This was in contravention of Articles VII, 4, (e) and (i), which are quoted:

4. In addition, the following .....

e. To authorize and approve the employment, compensation, conditions of employment, and duties of an Executive Director and such other salaried employees of the Association, the *Foreign Service Journal,* and the Foreign Service Club, as may in the consideration of the Board be necessary;"

i. To appoint the Chairman and members of the *Journal* Editorial Board, who shall serve at the pleasure of the Board, and who, under the general direction of the Board, shall be specifically responsible for the publication of the *Foreign Service Journal.* The yearly dues shall include a payment of at least $5.00 for a subscription to the *Foreign Service Journal."*

**Openness in AFSA.** The item that the members signed read:

***"Openness in AFSA;* AFSA Committee structure and principles governing access to these committees proposed by the AFSA President for membership decision by referenda."**

However, Mr. Hemenway submitted a draft ballot text that accorded the President a veto power over all appointments to AFSA committees. This was in contravention of Article VII:

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

"a. To *establish policies and programs* to achieve the purposes of the Association;"

"b. *To create and abolish Committees* of the Association; to *appoint the Chairmen and Committee Members of such;* to *direct the work of all Committees;* and otherwise organize the internal structure of the Association;"

**Use of Amendment Power.** In the view of the Referenda Committee and the Board, such changes should be enacted only through Article XIII below:

"1. One hundred Members or the Board may propose an Amendment to these Bylaws by submission to the Amendments Committee. Each such proposal shall be accompanied by a short statement of explanation."

"2. The Amendments Committee shall promptly circulate to the Membership each such proposed Amendment and statement in explanation by publication in the *Foreign Service Journal* or *AFSA News.* For 45 days following the date of publication of the proposal the Committee shall accept statements of appropriate length submitted in opposition thereto, provided each statement is signed by not less than 10 Members, and no two statements shall be signed by the same Member. Further, the Committee shall commence within 90 days following the date of publication of the proposal, and shall conclude 45 days thereafter, polling of the Membership on the proposal. The Committee shall provide to the Membership, together with the ballots, the statements in opposition accepted by it in accordance with this Article, as well as statements to be furnished by the proponents."

"3. Should Members wish to distribute, at their own expense, additional statements regarding a proposed Amendment, the Association shall make available to them on request the Membership list or address labels. In such cases, Members will reimburse the Association for all related expenses."

"4. The adoption of a proposed Amendment will require the affirmative votes of not less than two-thirds of the valid votes received."

The Board is open to changes in the Bylaws through this procedure. Since the President has withdrawn the texts of his draft ballots, they could not be published here. However, should anyone wish to initiate them as Bylaw amendments, their full texts are available through Mr. Hemenway or at AFSA, Room 3644, Dept. of State.

## THE FOUR REFERENDA: BALLOT

The four referenda proposals are numbered. At the end of this article appears a ballot coupon which members should use to vote on any or all of the four proposals.

Mr. Hemenway strongly urged that the balloting be secret. He reported to the committee that the cost of a secret ballot would be $1,500. It was the opinion of the Board that such an expense would be excessive. However, any member wishing to preserve the confidentiality of his/her ballot may use two envelopes. Address the outer one to P. O. Box 1316, Arlington, Virginia 22210 and enclose a second envelope containing the ballot. A person wishing to preserve the confidentiality of his or her ballot need not sign it but must sign his or her name and also print it legibly on the outside of the outer envelope. When the name is verified as being that of a member in good standing as of March 15, 1976, the outer envelope will be destroyed and separated from the inner envelope with the ballot. On each ballot are four blocks where one may vote "yes" or "no" on any or all of the four referenda proposals. Each ballot has a block to indicate constituency: State, AID, USIA and Retired. (Associates are not eligible to participate.) There is an optional block to indicate pay plan for purposes of statistical study: FSO, FSIO, FSR, FSSO, FSRU.

To clarify the issues, one-half page is devoted to comments pro and con on each of the four referenda proposals. The Committee and the Board (less the President) believe that the draft ballot texts provided by the President went well beyond the scope of texts which the members had actually signed. The President thereupon agreed that the originally signed texts be used in this ballot.

**1. "*1975/76 'Selection Out' Precepts:* Proposal to deny ratification by AFSA on grounds that precepts lack basic safeguards."**

### DENY RATIFICATION: "YES"

*Mr. Hemenway has not submitted a text to AFSA News to explain his proposal. To afford the membership some insight into the rationale behind the proposal, the text of his explanation of the item in his January 28 mail-out is reproduced below:*

**Selection Out Precepts, 1975/6**—The AFSA President is concerned that an employee facing selection out will be without the procedural safeguards that an employee has the right to expect when in such a difficult position. The AFSA President refused to sign the 1975/6 precepts on the grounds that they were required to be approved by the membership. Vice-President Hydle thereupon signed the precepts and the President was required by duty to inform management that the Vice President's signature on an illegal arrangement could not make that arrangement legal. In the President's view, the membership should decide the AFSA position on all important issues directly affecting the membership (the Bylaws so state) and, in any event, should be informed. Copies of the pertinent correspondence are being sent to your keymen and have been posted on STATE bulletin boards for more than one month.

### RATIFY AFSA ACTION: "NO"

Note that the Board has already requested members' comments on this in State 295824 of December 16 and in the February FSJ, p. 34. For Foreign Service officers of the State Department, selection-out, for failure to meet performance standards, is required under the Foreign Service Act. In the past it often fell upon persons merely for low-ranking, but without explanation or recourse. The Gesell decision of 1974 imposed due process requirements on the selection-out process.

Under the new performance standards precepts, those lowest-ranked (by Selection Boards whose precepts were unanimously approved by the AFSA Board) and who are subject to selection-out are referred in alphabetical order to a separate Performance Standards Board which should then determine whether or not any of those persons should be selected out, based on the record and the standards (in the precepts) provided to that Board. If a person is identified for selection-out, he may appeal to the Special Review Board, which reviews the entire case on its merits.

In the opinion of the Precepts Committee which had the advice of numerous experts, the Performance Standards and Special Review Board process provides due process. Members are requested once again to read the precepts in FAMC 708 in order to make a fair judgment if that view is reasonable. One area of disagreement on the Special Review Board was on the setting where it would be held: whether it should be a closed or open hearing. It was the view of most concerned that a closed hearing would be preferable so that the person involved would not feel inhibited in explaining or discussing the personal and sensitive aspects of his/her case. However, as can be seen from the precepts, the person involved may request the presence of many persons and records in his support.

The first test of the new precepts was in early 1976. Of about 130 persons, three were identified by the Performance Standards Board for selection-out. Two have appealed to the Special Review Board.

**2. "*F.S. Promotion System:* Requirement that AFSA President and Board submit various proposals to membership for total reform of all aspects of F.S. promotion system."**

### "YES"

*Mr. Hemenway has not submitted a text to AFSA News to explain his proposal. To afford the membership some insight into the rationale behind the proposal, the text of his explanation of the item in his January 28 mail-out is reproduced below:*

**Promotion System** –So many valid criticisms have been articulated again this year concerning the results of the final promotion lis that the question must be asked: whether the Foreign Service should not consider a fundamental overhaul of the subjective system currently in effect which is so capable of manipulation.

### "NO"

There was very recently proposed a comprehensive new package by the Department of State concerning promotions. It went to the field by AFSA telegram (State 087122 of April 9) and to personnel in Washington by AFSA Red Top on April 14. It included a three-stage proposal: (a) to lower the threshold from FSO-5 to FSO-6, to seek legislation changing pre-threshold ranks to reserve officer status and to set a fixed time for achieving career status; (b) a proposal of semi-automatic or "merit-zone" promotions which should provide a reasonable, predictable and orderly advancement rate for about 80% of Foreign Service officers from FSO-6 to FSO-3 and accelerated promotion for the outstanding 20%. It would discontinue interfunctional competition at mid-career ranks which has caused so much controversy. It would also provide for a more analytical measurement at the senior threshold level of achieving FSO-2 rank, by providing an opportunity to demonstrate skills they have not had a previous opportunity to display.

The Board requests comments and criticisms of the membership on these proposals and other recommendations and suggestions to improve the promotion system.

**3. "*F.S. Grievance Board:* Approval by AFSA Membership, prior to permanent action of composition, regulations, and antecedent AFSA Grievance Committee actions."**

### DISAPPROVE GRIEVANCE SYSTEM: "NO"

*Mr. Hemenway has not submitted a text to AFSA News to explain his proposal. To afford the membership some insight into the rationale behind the proposal, the text of his explanation of the item in his January 28 mail-out is reproduced below:*

**Grievance Board**—The new grievance legislation consists of a total collapse to the desires of Congressman Wayne Hays and State Department management. Vice President Hydle and the "Progress Slate" majority of the Board supported the withdrawal of support for the "Bayh Bill" which AFSA has supported for the previous four years. The AFSA President was denied a request for a referendum on this issue which he made *prior* to the reversal of the traditional AFSA position. Since the same persons are in charge of implementing the legislation who made the decision to accept the Hays/Eagleburger proposal, the AFSA President feels that it would be improper not to consult with the membership prior to final, permanent decisions.

### APPROVE THE AFSA-NEGOTIATED GRIEVANCE SYSTEM: "YES"

When the current Governing Board took office last July 15, Foreign Service people had no system for the impartial resolution of grievances. AID management had just destroyed the previous interim grievance system by refusing to implement one of the Grievance Board's recommendations, which led the Board's public members to resign. And prospects for detailed grievance legislation seemed no better than they had for several years; the Bayh Bill continued to enjoy solid support in the Senate, which it had passed for several consecutive years with AFSA support, but foreign affairs agency management and Congressman Wayne Hays continued effectively to block its enactment.

The Governing Board had two options:

(1) it could leave Foreign Service people without an effective grievance machinery while continuing the heretofore futile exercise of trying to ram the pristine Bayh Bill down the throats of management and Congressman Hays; or

(2) it could seek to negotiate with management and the Congress toward the enactment as soon as practicable of a revised Bayh Bill with the maximum attainable due process for individual Foreign Service grievants.

On three occasions the Governing Board unanimously, including AFSA President Hemenway, chose the course of negotiation. At its first meeting July 17 it decided to talk with management and the Congress on the basis of a revised Bayh Bill draft which included a large measure of agreed language. On October 17 it resolved unanimously that it was vital to obtain grievance legislation before 1976, and approved a management-AFSA draft except

for two issues on which further negotiations were sought. And on March 23, 1976, the Governing Board unanimously approved (and later signed) an agreement with management on the regulations implementing the legislation, and on the membership of the new, independent Grievance Board.

The legislation and regulations have been forwarded to each Foreign Service person in the Department of State Newsletter No. 156, dated April 1976. The March 23 AFSA Board resolution, and the AFSA-management agreement, and the membership of the new Grievance Board, are all on p. 33 of this edition of AFSA News. The new legislation was compared with the Bayh Bill in the January AFSA News.

The Governing Board's actions on the grievance system are in no sense permanent. The regulations can be challenged in court by any aggrieved party, and can be revised on the basis of experience by agreement of management and employee organizations. When the terms of the Grievance Board Members' appointments expire, AFSA will have to approve their renewals or their replacements. The Governing Board will be guided by the Members' views on all of this. Meanwhile, we ask that you vote "YES" to approve the Governing Board's action in obtaining detailed grievances legislation providing a full measure of due process.

**4. "*Monthly President's Report:* Requirement that AFSA President report monthly to membership in FSJ without Board censorship."**

**"YES"**

*Mr. Hemenway has not submitted a text to AFSA News to explain his proposal. To afford the membership some insight into the rationale behind the proposal, the text of his explanation of the item in his January 28 mail-out is reproduced below:*

**Monthly President's Report**—The AFSA President has been denied space on the pages of the Foreign Service JOURNAL unless he first submitted to censorship by a Board which increasingly has become a Board filled by appointees, i.e., non-elected members. The "Progress" slate is totally dominant on the Board and has appointed a Board member to control what can and can not be published. With the exception of the August edition of the Foreign Service JOURNAL, there has been no way for the membership to be informed of the position of the AFSA President. A number of matters considered very important by the President have not been reported at all.

**"NO"**

An example of a President's Report may be found on page 30 of this issue.

Members should consider whether this is the sort of "information" they want to receive.

The Post Office Box will be opened on July 1, 1976, at 10:00 a.m., ballots counted, and the results published in the August JOURNAL

## OUTRAGE OF THE MONTH
### Double Promotion in Midst of AID Freeze

For over two years, AID management has been privately telling its Foreign Service that it is overgraded as the reason for holding promotions to less than 90. After an extended freeze for the 1975 cycle, AID magnanimously announced 60 promotions. AFSA immediately asked for the Agency's analysis. We received nothing and concluded there was no analysis. Our conclusion was substantiated after we were informed of Mr. Mann's Action Memorandum to the Deputy Administrator announcing, "The Agency is short 161 employees above FSR-3 and 4 levels and has 41 excess FSR-5 employees." Without explanation the memo went on to state, "A review of the data by backstops indicates that 60 promotions can be made, distributed as follows . . ." At the same time, the Agency, by its own account, continues to be undergraded by over 100 positions at the R-4 and R-3 levels while GS and AD promotions continue almost unabated and while R-4s and R-5s pay the price of another year in grade.

Apparently, as far as AID management is concerned, there are no problems in penalizing the Foreign Service as long as it can play favorites under the "buddy system" by either converting GS employees

were no promotions announced for Program Officers from R-4 to R-3), the Agency is trying to use expedient means. AID cannot justify such an action, after stating that there are 110 more FSR-1 and 2 employees than positions.

Through hypocrisy the Agency is proclaiming to the world, Congress, and to its career Foreign Service how badly overgraded it is, but it has no qualms about exacerbating the alleged overgrading problem by trying to promote through administrative and legal loopholes. Some of these loopholes we have been able to close through exposure since there are some responsible officials who are either sensitive to the situation or who do not like adverse publicity. Others we are closing through negotiations under E.O. 11636. In this case, we do not yet have an answer since the telegram was dispatched only two days before this writing. At any rate, to a considerable extent, our ability to protect the integrity of the promotion process depends upon the vigilance of our constituency and our being advised of potential injustices.

## AID REORGANIZATIONS

Foreign Service employees are reminded that they are afforded protection under E.O. 11636 should any Agency reorganizations impact upon them adversely. The following excerpt from a letter to

ient on a recent
tion is illustrative
pplicable to any
Otherwise, indi-
may file unfair
or grievances,
ve realignment or
s the potential for

tes the reserved right
ssign employees, we
role mandated to us
Order, especially that
realignment of work
, we note your com-
positions incumbered
nployees will be abol-
adverse impact since
ned to other Agency
s, in view of the po-
t such assignments
of the reorganization,
otification of the indi-
other Agency posi-
s gauge the actual im-
tion. We, of course,
onsult on this matter
angements not be car-
to the reassignments
u reorganization. . ."

## AFSA SEEKS COUNSELLOR

The Association is seeking to fill one of its two top staff positions—that of Counsellor. The incumbent, under the general direction of the Governing Board, works in conjunction with AFSA's Staff Attorney and is in charge of efforts to follow up on Association proposals with management; keep track of management's activities to see that they are fulfilling their responsibilities to consult and negotiate with AFSA; see that the membership is kept informed of AFSA activities by writing AFSA News, FSJ articles and letters; backstop Executive Order negotiations; follow events on the Hill closely and draft appropriate legislation and correspondence; and draft unfair practice charges. The Board seeks a Counselor who has considerable knowledge of the Foreign Service of State, AID and USIA and demonstrable initiative.

The Association is canvassing both Foreign Service employees on active duty and retired Foreign Service personnel.

In the past, active duty candidates selected for the position have gone on leave without pay for a year, and the Association has matched the person's salary. Those interested should request a "general outline of duties" from us and/or submit a resumé (including any AFSA experience) to:

AFSA Counselor
Search Committee
Room 3644
Department of State
Washington, DC 20523

## HOW TO GET YOUR DISSENT AWARD INTO YOUR FILE

In the April issue of the FSJ, guidelines for providing nominations for the Rivkin, Harriman, and Herter awards were outlined. The question has been posed as to how these awards can be placed in an officer's personnel record. As they are not awards of the Department of State, they can only be placed in personnel folders at the request of the recipient. Persons who receive such awards should sent a copy of the award together with their request for its inclusion in their file, to PER/PE, Room 2803, Department of State.

## HARTER AND THOMAS AND AFSA "UNFAIRS"

Mr. Harter's and Mrs. Thomas's cases against the State Department, most recently covered in the February FSJ, p. 40, have been laid to rest by the Employee-Management Relations Commission. The EMRC dismissed both complaints, the first for lack of proof concerning the charges of wrongdoing by past and present AFSA Boards, the second for the complainant's lack of standing to sue.

Meanwhile, AFSA itself came a cropper in its own case against the State Department for certain dealings it had with 2000 Plus, assiduously pressed from the days of the former AFSA administration. The EMRC unexpectedly reversed the administrative law judge's recommendations. In any case, the new AFSA Governing Board has adopted a policy of trying to work in concert with 2000 Plus and the other informal groups. The differences are greatly diminished from what they were years ago, when the informal groups were founded.

## AFSA HONORARY MEMBERS

The Association has a long and honorable history of offering honorary memberships to those who have been members of AFSA for 50 years. The first members so honored received such memberships in 1974, also the 50th anniversary of the Rogers Act. Since that time we have been informed of several others entitled to this status but we believe there are still more who do not realize that the Association wishes to honor those who have paid dues for 50 years and relieve them of further obligations to do so. We would also like to run photographs and brief biographies of our honorary members in an early issue. The JOURNAL has on file the photographs from the 1936 photographic register put out by the Association but would prefer more recent portraits.

While we do not wish to single out those who may still be using Grecian Formula, we believe that, among others, Ambassador E. E. Palmer, Richard Fyfe Boyce and Earl L. Packer may be eligible for honorary membership in the American Foreign Service Association. We would like to so honor these three and others that may be called to our attention.



*Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and AFSA President John D. Hemenway at the unveiling of AFSA's Memorial Plaque in the State Department on April 2. The April FSJ contained the names added to the plaque this year.*

*At the unveiling, Mr. Hemenway said, in part, "Let the kin and colleagues of these brave men know that their names and their memories and the tale of their bravery shall remain with us. We shall never forget them. They are part of our heritage for as long as there is an America."*

*An accounting of the Foreign Service Day activities and AFSA's post-F.S. Day brunch will appear in the next issue.*

## BOOKFAIR '76: FRIENDS, DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN

In March, along with the launching of in-house and outside publicity campaigns, BOOKFAIR '76 sent letters to the 50 United States Governors and to the heads of 128 diplomatic missions in Washington, telling them about AAFSW's annual BOOKFAIR and the Association's educational projects. The responses, still coming in at this writing, have been not only most gratifying, but highly interesting.

Canada, for example, has donated a lovely copy of "The National Gallery of Canada," along with an assortment of stunning posters; Ireland, a charming collection of folk booklets and posters; Switzerland, a beautiful selection of books in German and English; and Morocco, children's artwork.

The Ambassador of France, Jacques Kosciusko-Morizet donated a copy of "Ceramique de Picasso" with a personal dedication to the Association of American Foreign Service Women, and, at the same time, wrote a letter, beginning "I wish to thank you for your letter of March 22, 1976, and express my congratulations to the Association of American Foreign Service Women for their sponsoring of Educational Scholarships. It has been truly said that the future of the world rests in the hands of our children, and nothing is as important as their reaching, through education, a literate and meaningful adulthood. We are most pleased to assist in your worthy project . . ."

*Reminder:* The Education and Counseling Center shares, with AFSA's Scholarship Fund, the major portion of proceeds realized from the annual BOOKFAIR.

*Another Reminder:* If you have books to donate to BOOKFAIR '76, or paintings or prints, framed or unframed, (or frames without paintings or prints), stamps, objets d'art, artifacts from far-off places, or bric-a-brac, just telephone 598-5946 or 363-1831 to arrange for cheerful and careful pick-up donation by a representative of AAFSW at a time convenient to you. (And, if you wish a receipt, for tax or other purposes, that, too, will be provided.) (Overseas donors please mail contributions to CHAIRMAN, AAFSW BOOKFAIR '76 - *Room 8326 NS* Department of State.)

## MINUTES OFFERED

Members may request the By-laws or minutes of meetings of the Governing Board, giving the date(s) or subject(s) by writing to AFSA at Room 3644, New State.

**Tues., Mar. 16:** Letter to Presidential Candidates about ambassadorial appointments, AID's overturning another decision by the interim Grievance Board, recall procedures, appeal to Mr. Hemenway to cease legal action on mailout and to reimburse the Association, new restrictive GAO ruling on "consultation with management" (4 hrs./mo.).

**Tues., Mar. 23:** Legal effect of pending referendum on signing grievance regulation agreement, discussion of decorum in debate and rule against Chair's participation in debate.

**Tues., Mar. 30:** AFSA's loss of USIA representation election, receipt of recall petition, assignment of non-consular officer to Bermuda, Precepts for FSO-8s, creation of recall committee, referenda procedures, enactment of Decorum in Debate and rule against the Chair's participation in debate.

**Tues., April 6:** Proposals for: sponsoring presidential candidates' debate, AFSA's printing the Biographic Register, charter for AFSA, radiation & UHF & electro-magnetic dangers, conditional resignation of VP Lars Hydle, referenda format, recall procedures.

## HOMESTAY HOSTS NEEDED

The Foreign Student Service Council needs hosts (families and young adults) to provide informal three-night homestays to university-age international students visiting Washington, D.C. Hosts provide bed and breakfast (other meals if they wish) and a point in the right direction for sightseeing. If you have beds, or sleeping bag space, and are interested, please call, Peggy Brasko on 232-4979.

## 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.

### BOOKS

THE OWL & THE PUSSYCAT Children's Bookstore gives 10% discount on overseas orders. Knowledgeable, personal service. Large stock of paperbacks and hardbacks. Also supply adult books. We mail everywhere. Catalogue $1.50. 314 South Ashland Ave., Lexington, Ky. 40502, USA.

### REAL ESTATE

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

### HOME LEAVE

INDIAN RANCH, SUNLIGHT BASIN, CODY, WYOMING. A must for FSOs and families on home leave! Small family ranch 6000 feet above sea level in the Shoshone National Forest near Yellowstone. Ideal for riding, hiking and fishing in breathtaking country. Swift unpolluted streams offer excellent fishing. Ideal horses for the full gamut of riding capabilities. For many years FSOs and foreign diplomats have enjoyed the warm family atmosphere and Ed's excellent cuisine. Special arrangements for packtrips or big game hunting. This is a simple ranch . . . no country club atmosphere and no pressure. For those loving wild country and what it offers. Write Mrs. Paul Ritterbrown, Box 1389, Cody, Wyoming 82414. Foreign Service references.

## Foreign Service People

### Marriages

**Brown-Swan.** Mary Jane Brown, former FSECC Counselor, was married to Geoffrey Marshall Swan, resident landscape architect for Yellowstone National Park, on April 10, in Sandy Spring, Md. The groom is the son of Marshall W. S. Swan, Cultural Affairs Advisor, USIA, and Mrs. Constance Swan, AFSA headquarters staff.

**Flanagan-Henderson.** Lois Flanagan, widow of FSIO Thomas E. Flanagan, was married to John W. Henderson, FSO-retired, on March 29, in Washington. Mrs. Henderson served in the Foreign Service of USIA and is now manager of a US bicentennial exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum in New York.

### Deaths

**Elwood.** Robert Bailey Elwood, FSO-retired, died on April 1, in Belleaire Beach, Fla. Mr. Elwood entered the Foreign Service in 1945 and served at Cairo, Rio de Janeiro, Taipei, Beirut, Kabul, and as DCM at Port-of-Spain before his retirement in 1969. He is survived by his wife Lee, and three sons, Robert, John and Christopher, of the home and a daughter, Jean Wheeler, of Elk Grove Village, Ill.

**Klontz.** Dr. Charles E. Klontz, editor of the Foreign Service Medical Bulletin and director of the continuing medical education program, died on March 19, in Washington. Dr. Klontz joined the Foreign Service in 1961 and served at Kathmandu, Vienna and Bogota. He is survived by his wife, Lucile, a daughter, Elizabeth, and three sons, David, Jonathan and Karl, of 3627 Chesapeake St., N.W., Washington, D.C. Contributions in his memory may be sent to the Pauline King fund, Vellore Christian Medical College Board, 475 Riverside Dr., New York 10027.

**McMains.** Philip D. McMains, FSO-retired, died on March 30, in Pasadena. Mr. McMains entered the Foreign Service in 1951 and served at Bonn, Saigon, Vienna and Paris before his retirement. He is survived by his wife, Helen, of 756 S. Los Robles Ave., Pasadena, California and three sons, James, Steven and Mike.

**Rees.** C. Herbert Rees, director, South Asian Affairs, AID, died on March 25, in Bethesda. Mr. Rees joined the foreign development agency in 1948 and served two tours in Karachi. He received AID's Superior Honor Award in 1969 and its Distinguished Honor Award in 1972. He is survived by his wife, Jeanne, and four children, Martha W., Susan E., John H. and David C. of 230 Beulah Road, NE, Vienna, Virginia.

**Small.** Judith Ann Cobbold Small, wife of F. William Small, AID, died on April 1, in Vienna, Virginia. Mrs. Small, who had served with the British foreign service from 1956 to 1966, accompanied her husband on assignments to Rangoon and Bangkok. In addition to her husband, of 9341 Campbell Rd., Vienna, she is survived by three children, Peter Cobbold, Allegra Margot and Thomas Ward of the home. Memorial contributions may be made to the Church of the Holy Comforter in Vienna, or the American Cancer Society.

**Wainhouse.** David W. Wainhouse, international lawyer and former arms control adviser in the Department, died on March 19, in Washington. Dr. Wainhouse became an adviser to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and director of the Office of Political Affairs of the UN and served as DCM in Vienna. He researched and published four studies on the UN and arms control and served as the chief American adviser at many international meetings. Dr. Wainhouse is survived by his wife, Katherine, of 4301 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., one son, Austryn, of Tours, France, and two grandchildren.

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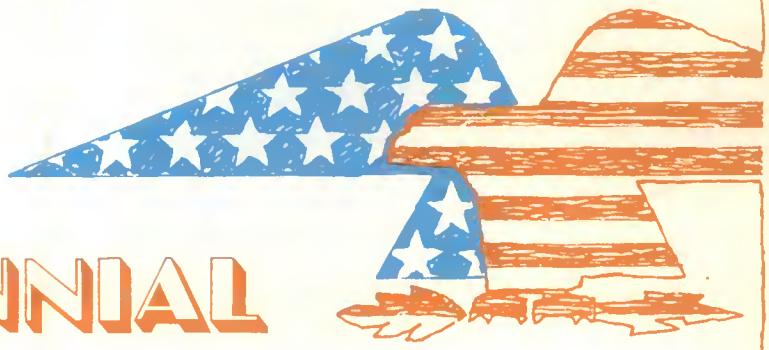
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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL



# BICENTENNIAL CONTEST

## for the David K. E. Bruce Awards

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**MAILING ADDRESS:** David K. E. Bruce Awards, c/o FSJournal, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037

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