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JUNE 1976

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# FSJ

## FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

JUNE 1976: Volume 53, No. 6

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## COMMUNICATION **re:**

# America Against Itself

I agree with much of what Ambassador McGhee writes in his article "America Against Itself" (FSJ March 1976) and certainly with his principal objective of obtaining greater cooperation between the USG and American transnational corporations in the interest of US foreign policy; but I submit that the practical problems are more complicated than he states them.

I have experienced, on one hand, the attitude expressed by Henry Ford II who, when I was introduced to him as the US Chargé in Brasilia two years ago, turned to our mutual host, the Brazilian Minister of Commerce and Industry, and remarked that the last person he would go to see if he had any problems in a foreign country would be the American Ambassador. (The occasion was a dinner hosted by the Brazilian Minister in honor of the Ford Motor Company's Board of Directors who were meeting and traveling in Brazil.)

On the other hand, one also encounters the American corporation head who, before he flies into town (often in a private jet), demands that the Ambassador arrange private interviews with the President and various ministers, asks for a full CIA briefing and then suggests in the strongest terms that he take over the Ambassador's residence for a reception which he—generously—will pay for.

Both of these are extreme examples, but they do still occur—often enough. The usual experience nowadays, however, is the American businessman's seeking and respecting the Embassy's counsel and assistance in doing business or looking for business abroad. In some countries the Embassy's commitment to do this is formally codified as one of the Embassy's major interests in that country—" . . . to promote US exports and investment . . ."—and I know of a number of USIS missions with these same specific program objectives. In these embassies the Ambassador, Economic and Commercial Officers, the Public Affairs Officer, and sometimes the Financial, Agricultural, Science and Civil Aviation Attaches cooperate closely and consistently in these efforts—often with highly positive results. I know of no case in recent years where the legitimate interests of private US business were not supported and furthered by our embassies or where American firms are considered "expendable" by the USG representative abroad.

I use the word "legitimate" in the preceding sentence since I know of instances where the overriding US national interests precluded support by the Embassy of specific efforts by private American companies. An example is the recent issue over the sale of uranium enrichment and nuclear reprocessing facilities to Brazil. But even in such cases where the national policy does not coincide with the interests of private American companies, the relationship between USG representatives and corporation officials can remain cordial and mutually beneficial.

The problems of the relationship between transnational corporations and the USG, in my opinion, goes some-



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what deeper, however, than the examples cited above or by Ambassador McGhee, and it might be beneficial to the eventual solution of the conflict if they were highlighted here.

First, there is often a divergence in the basic objectives of transnational enterprises and those of the USG. The fundamental motivation of transnational enterprises is to make a profit for their stockholders. Their business operations are drawn to foreign countries in search of greater profits—be they the result of cheaper labor or availability of resources. The USG, on the other hand, is often involved these days in efforts to assist foreign countries in their economic and social development programs by raising standards of living and utilizing their resources intelligently. There need be no irreconcilable conflict between these two motivations if both sides recognize their differing perceptions and accommodate them. Such organizations as the Business Council for International Understanding have done, I believe, much to bridge this perceptual gap, but more can be done.

Second, Ambassador McGhee mentions the fact that in most cases American corporations behave as good corporate citizens in foreign countries, and that is certainly true in spite of the recently publicized exceptions. As good corporate citizens they must, however, be continuously aware of the psychological problems they face in their operations abroad, problems which are quite different from those they encounter at home. I am convinced that much more can be done in the field of USG-private enterprise cooperation to overcome the psychological barriers which face the multinationals

abroad. These problems are much less serious in the larger and more advanced developing countries, like Brazil, where the government and other institutions consider themselves mature and sophisticated enough to deal with the multinationals on an equal basis, where the government feels it can control the activities of the multinationals and therefore can welcome them for the benefits they provide to the country's national development programs. The situation is quite different in the smaller, weaker, less developed nations where the multinationals loom as uncontrolled and uncontrollable colossi. As I said above, these perceptions—whether based on real experiences or mere suspicion—are psychological barriers which I believe the USG can be helpful in overcoming if the American corporations are willing to accept advice and assistance.

There are, it seems to me, any number of projects which would help American corporations improve their psychological images abroad and, in the process, help their business ventures. As merely one example, let me cite the recent studies conducted by the Conference Board in Mexico and Brazil which show that as corporate citizens American companies spend proportionally much less abroad than they do in the United States on social and educational projects which would help improve their images vis-à-vis the government and the public in the foreign countries in which they operate—just as these projects are designed to do in this country. I am certain that USG representatives abroad—especially USIS officers who are primarily concerned with improving the US image—would be ready to assist with advice and to coop-

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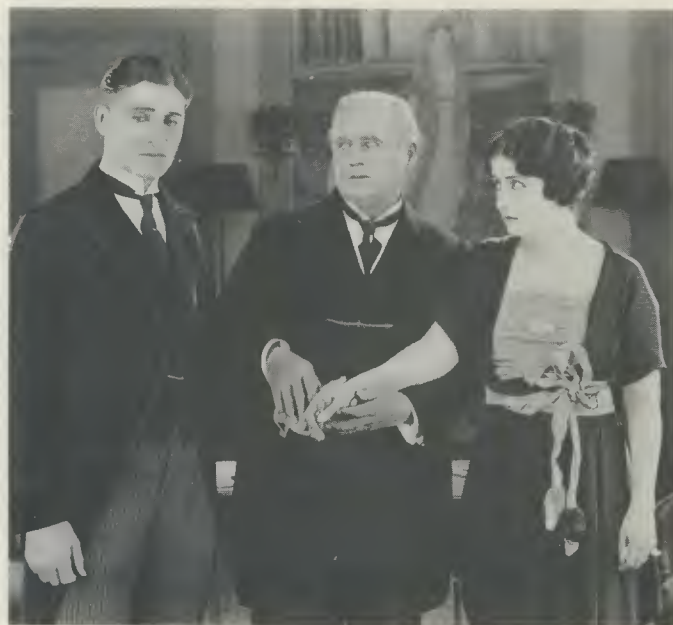
Finally, let me point to one more anomaly which contributes to diverging attitudes between transnational corporations and the USG. It is my experience that representatives of multinational enterprises working abroad feel more secure and comfortable with and therefore favor authoritarian governments in the developing world. From their point of view, such governments spell greater political, economic and social stability and enable them to do business with less fear of upheavals which have often occurred in developing countries that experiment with democracy. This again is a natural outgrowth of the basic profit motivation of American business and should be understood in these terms. But this attitude does tend to alienate those forces in developing societies which are struggling for democracy and tend to associate multinationals with authoritarianism and repression, an association which is in direct opposition to USG objectives in most countries.

In conclusion I come back to Ambassador McGhee's main thesis, with which I fully agree, that the relationship between our great transnational corporations and those concerned with the conduct of US foreign policy needs constant attention at both the policy-making and operational levels. The above thoughts are meant to contribute to this.

**HANS N. TUCH**

*Editor's Note: See also further discussion of the multinationals in the Letters to the Editor columns from R. M. H. Palmer and Eugene Braderman.*

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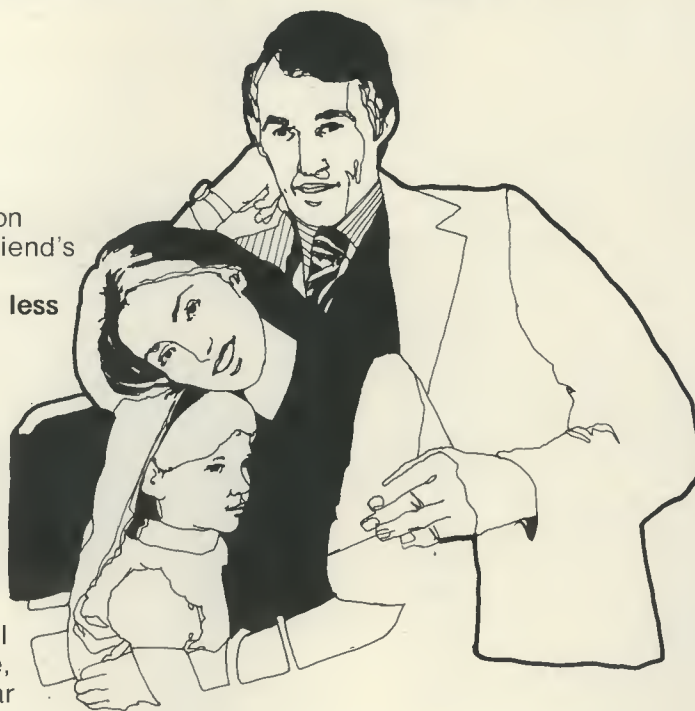
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# The Process of Making Foreign Economic Policy

SIDNEY WEINTRAUB

People in academia are fascinated with the mixture of process and substance in making policy. Who does what to whom and in what coherent or absurd way? Having just moved from policy and process operation to the analytic halls of a university, I have been asked frequently about how things get done in the foreign affairs field in Washington, and I even have tried to think before answering. My conclusion after some thinking is that our present processes for making foreign economic policy, which is the area I know best, are atrocious, Henry Kissinger notwithstanding, or maybe because of Henry Kissinger.

He told the Senate Finance Committee on January 30, 1976:

It has been my experience that the coordination of foreign economic policy in this Administration has been outstanding, and it is a misreading of the situation to believe that occasional differences mean disarray. Differences lead to compromise and decision. The end result of the process is a coherent foreign policy.

This is pretty trite stuff. Let me try a different version.

I will organize it as follows: what are some basic elements that must go into policy-making in this field;

how do we deal now with some key international economic issues; and what (to use the "in" word these years at the State Department) conceptual changes are desirable in organizing the government for this kind of decision making?

What do we mean by foreign economic policy? The word "economic" appears in the title, as though to distinguish this from foreign policy, period. Or from foreign policy devoted to political or security or other issues. Are the distinctions real? For the most part, I doubt it. Richard Cooper, of Yale, has written a frequently cited article in *FOREIGN POLICY* on the theme that foreign economic policy is foreign policy, and I agree with this.

US-USSR détente (what's left of it, whatever word we use) is (was) a political phenomenon of seeking mutual accommodation on issues other than those central to the security or the ideology of either nation, but most of its manifestations are (were) economic, such as seeking expanded trade. Is the cutting edge (economics) separable from the rest of the blade (high policy on politics and security)? We tried to make it so, and that's what got us into trouble. Our incipient relationship with the People's Republic of China has had little economic content to date, and the political-atmospheric flavor really has not been a sufficient sustaining influence. When a relationship has little content, it becomes a frustrating relationship.

Our interaction with the less-developed countries, such as in the United Nations, takes the form of

political rhetoric whose content is almost purely economic. The trouble with leaving this in the UN is that the rhetoricians and not the substantive actors are dealing with the phenomena. The "new international economic order" which the less-developed countries advocate involves, among other elements, more automatic resource transfers from the rich to the poor countries, more regulation of commodity prices and markets, more privileges for less-developed countries in the trading system, altering the world monetary system so that it will enable more resources to flow to less-developed countries, exercising greater control over the activities of multinational corporations, and alteration of the patent system to facilitate cheaper access by poor countries to technology developed in the richer countries. The new international economic order is a political slogan whose content is almost purely economic.

Apart from the SALT talks, most of the important international negotiations now taking place are economic. These deal with the use of the sea, trade liberalization, the fifth replenishment of the International Development Association, enlarging quotas and altering what used to be the norms of the exchange rate system in the International Monetary Fund, and oil, raw material, and development finance issues in the Conference on International Economic Cooperation. Even the SALT negotiations deal with limiting the allocation of resources for armaments so that they can be used for other purposes.

I am not making a particularly

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*Sidney Weintraub is the first occupant of the Dean Rusk Chair at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs of The University of Texas at Austin. Dr. Weintraub was an FSO from 1949 through 1975 and has had extensive experience in foreign economic affairs. Before joining the LBJ School, he was an assistant administrator of AID, and immediately prior to that he was Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Finance and Development.*

original observation. I merely wish to highlight that economics and politics and security and social and cultural and other relationships among nations are part of the same process and not really divisible into cones.

Let me now show a bias and ask why the United States Government has not recognized this in its organization for the conduct of foreign policy. The National Security Council under Henry Kissinger was not set up to give priority attention to economic issues, and as a result, something called a Council on International Economic Policy was set up in the White House. It has been generally ineffective. This, in turn, has spawned a series of additional White House mechanisms and we now have complexity rather than rationality. It escapes me how a country like the United States can even have considered dealing with security without also considering economic security. The OAPEC oil embargo, the OPEC oil price increases, the Jamaican increase in bauxite taxes—indeed, all matters that deal with the domestic strength of our economy—are, *par excellence*, security issues, and yet they seem not to have been on the NSC agenda until forced there. Other issues which strike me as involving far less in terms of US security have been discussed extensively in the NSC machinery—e.g., how to subvert the Allende government because of its leftist philosophy. Our priorities have been conspiratorial rather than economically logical. If this makes for a “coherent foreign policy,” then give me anarchy!

Every study these days on how our government should be organized to conduct foreign policy pays obeisance to the importance of economics. Thus:

Almost certainly, economic issues will loom larger on the foreign policy agenda of the future. Investment policy, international monetary issues, balance of payments problems, economic development, and the terms of trade will continue to be principal concerns of major governments . . . *The Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy, June 1975 (the so-called Murphy Commission).*

The Murphy Commission also cited Henry Kissinger of January 1975:

Progress in dealing with our traditional agenda is no longer enough. A new and unprecedented kind of issue has emerged. The problems of energy, resources, environment, population, the uses of space and the seas, now rank with the questions of military security, ideology, and territorial rivalry which have traditionally made up the diplomatic agenda.

Is it really so new to have to deal with resources? My point, however, is that these are words and I don't think that the authors really have fully understood the implications of what they are saying.

I have concluded that one of the reasons for the way we are organized is that most of the people who lead our diplomacy are economic illiterates. They tend to consider as important such things as Tanzania's vote in the UN or the offensive words of Indira Gandhi, which are ephemeral and essentially petty political issues, and give inadequate attention to the monetary system or third-world development, which are far more enduring issues. This may change; indeed, it will have to. The purpose of this article is to give a shove to change.

The stress out of Washington on the word “interdependence” also reflects the discovery, but without specific content, of an old truism—that many events in one part of the globe have a profound impact elsewhere on this planet. For small countries highly dependent on international trade, like the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, this always was a fact of life. For a resource-poor country like Japan, this was the *sine qua non* of its foreign policy. For big and resource-rich countries, whose foreign trade represented a relatively small proportion of their gross national products, interdependence was not as pressing an economic issue. The god was anti-communism and not economics. Energy developments since 1973 have made us begin to think about resource issues the way the Europeans and Japan always did. Food harvest shortfalls have made the Soviet Union far more conscious of what they need from the outside world.

Improved transportation and telecommunications, the spread of multinational corporations, the diffusion of technology, the ubiquity

of United Nations and other international meetings, clearly have made the world more inter-related, more conscious of interdependence than before. But the basic phenomenon is not new. People in the part of the country where I now live, along the Mexican border, have always known that an excessive population growth rate in Mexico affects employment in the United States.

Just as foreign policy is a mosaic of political, economic, and other elements, so is economic policy a mixture of domestic and foreign strands. A domestic inflation makes our exports dearer and imports from others cheaper. An overvalued dollar led to persistent balance of payments deficits and a network of controls on our economy that could not be dealt with until the dollar was depreciated relative to other currencies. These are real issues since they affect domestic income and employment. Domestic farm price supports led at various times to export subsidies, which obviously affected others, just as the European Common Market's common agricultural policy affects our agricultural exports. A bad anchovy catch off the coast of Peru raised the cost of protein additives in cattle and poultry and affected the price of these products in the supermarkets. Nobody has to delineate the multiple repercussions all over the world from petroleum developments over the last two to three years.

I think that there is general agreement these days that, as a nation, we can not put domestic economic policy in one compartment and foreign economic policy in another. The essence of policy making is weighing the trade-offs between the two. Should we restrict the import of shoes, or specialty steels, as is now being sought by domestic workers and producers in these industries? If we keep domestic interest rates down, how will this affect capital flows and our balance of payments? Can we make a credible case against agricultural restrictions by others, say on soybeans or grain where we are competitive, when we impose our own restrictions in fields in which we have not been competitive, such as dairy products?

I opened this section by asking what we mean by foreign economic

policy. I would like to close it by stressing that the policy I have been talking about is not exclusively economic and not solely foreign.

**How do we make these decisions now?** We make them, I think, in the most disorganized, fragmented, and incoherent way imaginable. If there is consistency among decisions we make in our relations with less-developed countries, trade negotiations, selling agricultural products abroad, and so on, this is purely coincidental.

Let me take a few specific functional economic areas and then sketch in what I think is the policy-making process.

I will deal first with trade, since, as Richard Cooper and others have pointed out, this is the field in which nations interact most directly with each other and where the mix of foreign and domestic interests is most evident.

As is well known, in July 1973, spurred by what seemed to be mounting external orders, the United States precipitately instituted controls on the export of soybeans, primarily for fear of what short domestic supplies might do to domestic soybean prices. Contracts had to be abrogated and undoubtedly many foreign processors were unable to meet their commitments. One of the things this action accomplished, apart from whether it was needed or whether it achieved its domestic purpose, was to advertise to the world that the United States was not a reliable supplier. We are told by experts on Oriental cultures that thinking in that part of the world is in terms of decades, scores, centuries. If they are correct, our action set a process in motion in Japan whose consequences we will see only after more time passes. We managed with one stroke to undercut decades of US export promotion in the agricultural field. This was a case in which certain domestic interests (those concerned with the cost-of-living index) carried the day over other domestic interests (farmers, for example) and overall US foreign policy.

In the case of grain exports to the Soviet Union after its bad 1972 harvest, that too was a decision made without awareness of all the competing factors. It seems to have been made in support of certain

foreign policy objectives favoring détente and increased exports without much regard to other foreign affairs objectives, such as the needs of other grain recipients, particularly less-developed countries, and other domestic interests, namely the consumer.

In both cases, it now seems evident that the decisions were made with incomplete facts and with incomplete assessment of all the competing interests. These are not unique examples of decisions made without regard to the totality of US interests; inadequate machinery lends itself to this. We opposed or abstained futilely on World Bank loans to Nigeria and Brazil because of prejudices of senior Treasury people and aroused only wrath. We started down a path of insisting on export controls by Japan without asking ourselves fully where this could ultimately take the trading system. Our initial positions on the law of the sea were dictated primarily by military considerations and we came only belatedly to recognize the economic implications of the issues involved.

With respect to trade in primary products, the State Department still carries a good deal of authority. It was the Secretary of State who announced at the United Nations that the United States would look with somewhat more sympathy at potential commodity agreements and he cited specifically tin, coffee, cocoa, and sugar, although always on a case-by-case basis. But the State Department authority is by no means always the prevailing one. Treasury Department officials, several times since, have "interpreted" Kissinger's remarks, adding their own ideology about the free market, in such a way as to imply to the world that Kissinger was speaking for himself and not necessarily for the United States Government. When the Treasury-dominated Economic Policy Board wanted a study of how to deal with some half-dozen important minerals in international forums, it turned the study over to the Treasury-dominated Council on International Economic Policy and came out with a study that corroborated the Treasury viewpoint, namely, that price fluctuations for the primary commodities less-developed countries export are not unduly great, that less-developed

countries are not unduly damaged by what fluctuations exist, and that trade in these commodities is best left to the marketplace.

All of this may be correct, or it may not be. My quarrel in this context is not with the conclusion, but with the lack of unbiased machinery to examine, analyze, and reach conclusions on the basis of domestic needs and foreign policy considerations without the foreordained verdicts of simplistic ideology.

The dominant voice for handling trade negotiations is the Office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations. STR was set up in the early 1960s because of concern that the State Department, which previously had the lead role in trade negotiations, did not bargain hard enough with foreigners. Trade is one of those fields that cuts across the interests of most agencies, and one in which just about every agency has a protectionist coloration to meet the demands of part of its domestic constituency, and some trade expansionist tendency, since farmers and manufacturers and miners all have some export interest. Other than the State Department, or at least part of it, the less-developed countries have no strong supporters in the machinery set up for handling the trade negotiations. This is a point—the absence of powerful advocates for some important constituencies—to which I will revert.

However, given the fact that making trade policy is as old as the nation and also because there has been a reasonable degree of philosophic consistency since the days of Cordell Hull on the direction we as a country would like to see trade policy move, the decision-making process is well developed in this area. We may do crazy things at times, but as often as not these have occurred when the machinery was short-circuited—when all the constituencies were deliberately not heard.

Our policy towards less-developed countries is decided by a mishmash of machinery that defies analysis. Let me cite a few of these complications without dwelling on them. In the House of Representatives, different committees handle legislation on trade, on bilateral aid, on aid via multilateral channels, and, until recently, on food aid. In the executive branch, there

is a parallel differentiated structure. There are plenty of horrid examples of inconsistencies, say, of AID carrying out its mandate of promoting the production of a given product or agricultural commodity in some less-developed country, and other agencies then seeking to restrict the export of the item in question, either to the US or elsewhere. As to coordinating groups, different ones handle aid via bilateral channels, via multilateral channels, and food aid. Commodity issues are handled in still other coordinating groups, as are trade negotiating matters in general. There is a recently formed Development Coordination Committee under the chairmanship of the administrator of AID, which is designed to bring together all the various substantive elements as these affect US relations with less-developed countries. To date this has not been effective, in part because of agency jealousies to protect their prerogatives and in part because the Secretary of State has shown little inclination to use this committee. I suspect this is because he, as well as the State Department as a whole, looks at development as a political rather than a development matter.

Who coordinates the whole show? Nobody, really. It is impossible even to know in advance what coordinating body will deal with a given issue. When Treasury officials wanted to deal with commodity issues, they turned to a coordinating body which they dominated, as noted earlier. In getting ready for what originally was called the dialogue between oil producers and consumers and is now the Conference on International Economic Cooperation, State set up an *ad hoc* inter-agency committee which it controlled. The decisions taken on August 15, 1971, when the United States took such major steps as suspending convertibility of the dollar into gold and other reserve assets, and imposing a 10 percent surcharge on dutiable imports, were made at Camp David, away from all the usual coordinating bodies. This also was done with what seemed to be the deliberate exclusion of the State Department, possibly for fear that State might object to some of the measures, such as the surcharge.

We now have a non-system. Does this mean that policy decisions are therefore bad? Not necessarily, but it does put a handicap in the way of consistent policy-making. Machinery can facilitate professional analysis of choices.

**What concepts should dominate future decision making?** Almost everybody who has studied this issue of coordinating the different elements of what is called foreign economic policy has advocated a change in the machinery. There is also a consistency about the direc-

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**"State also has had a predilection to put priority on international political and security issues, and there are many who feel this is a congenital and permanent disability."**

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tion of most of these recommendations. Each advocate suggests that the coordination technique used when he or she was involved is the best technique for the future. Those were the halcyon days. And to some respect, they may have been.

Thus, Douglas Dillon, who had a coordinating role when he was Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, believes that the State Department is best positioned to coordinate decision-making on foreign economic policy. The system did work well under his leadership at State. Francis Bator, who worked in the National Security Council in the White House in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, advocates that a small White House staff keep on top of issues in order to see the whole picture and then prod the agencies into taking action. This system did work well in his time. His proposal endorses a sort of floating crap game, that is, forming *ad hoc* coordinating groups suitable for the purpose under the overall hegemony of the White House.

The Murphy Commission proposed what strikes me as complex machinery, namely, a joint sub-council of the National Security Council, the Domestic Council, and the Economic Policy Board. It has spawned a number of private studies of ex-staffers of the Commission unhappy with the final report.

Since my own background is State Department, and since I lean to the Dillon approach, let me outline why I want the State Department, properly reorganized internally, to be the coordinator. If there is any single agency of the United States Government that can be expected to carry the torch for behaving as though interdependence means something, it is State. State has been consistent in its advocacy of lower tariffs, freer capital movements, and international consultation on economic issues. The concern that other agencies have is that State too often is an advocate of why the United States must accommodate to the needs of other nations. State, as I have already noted, also has had a predilection to put priority on international political and security issues, even ephemeral ones like influencing votes at the United Nations, rather than on economic self-interest, and there are many who feel this is a congenital and permanent disability.

There is a certain coloration that comes to individuals as they work for agencies, like animals that adapt to the foliage around them. Otherwise sensible people who go to work for the Treasury learn after a while to beat their breasts each morning to show how "hard nosed" they can be. It is easy for an Agriculture man to see everybody stealing our agricultural export markets. A State man can always see the foreign policy needs. I make this point to stress the need to focus on the mixture of viewpoints.

However, I really have no precise machinery to recommend above all others since many organizational patterns will work. But I do have some conceptual imperatives that I think must be included in whatever machinery comes forth. Should the next President be a Democrat, or a Republican other than Gerald Ford, altered machin-

*Continued on page 30*

"Go forth to seek: the quarry never found  
Is still a fever to the questing hound,  
The skyline is a promise, not a bound."—John Masefield

# The Magic Carpet Caper

GORDON D. KING



Cory Clocker squirmed in his metal chair behind his metal desk, wondering why he wasn't cursing the day he entered the Foreign Service. The hottest glider pilot in Central City with bids in his pocket from half a dozen sponsors and he threw it all over for the striped pants of a diplomat.

Only he had yet to see a pair of striped pants. Let alone anything that looked like real diplomacy.

Whatever that was.

What he did see were statistics, piles of statistics, that he had to formulate into insipid reports that nobody in Washington ever read.

So why wasn't he cursing? Well—because there were other things to his life, thank God. Like that gal Cindy he met last night. Claimed to be the daughter of the British Ambassador. With any luck she'd turn out to be a latent nympho. Just needing him to help release some of those British inhibitions. He stretched his legs and grinned, looking out the window.

And there were still other things here, good things. Like those Himalayan foothills across the way that reminded him of southern California. And of hang gliding. And of the big new kite lying trussed up along the wall of his garage. God, would he ever show these locals something to put in their copy books.

Speaking of which, he'd better put something good in his own copy book soon or it meant a one-way ticket back to the States and a big VOID stamped across his diplomatic passport. No question about it: his Chief of Mission was damned mad. From the look in those ambassadorial eyes, he suspected the old man would like to

have strangled him personally.

And all because he overslept and got to the airport late and then forgot the luggage. How was he to know the visiting Senator was so important? No one ever told him anything. Just a forgotten Third Secretary, a bureaucratic peon. Well, the Ambassador noticed. Cory Clocker wouldn't be forgotten again.

Which was great with him, only he wanted to be remembered the right way. He didn't want that trip home in disgrace. What he had to do—he looked at the pages of statistics and fought down a yawn—was to figure out how *not* to rub the Ambassador the wrong way—and still leave room to enjoy himself.

Like with that kite this afternoon while everybody else in the Embassy was off to the President's big blowout.

He sat up suddenly, the grin returning. He could, of course, spice it up with Cindy—get her to ride with him. A Genuine Clocker Strategy. It gave most people a terrific high, hanging for the first time under one of those big sails. So he could shake her up and impress her at the same time . . . and then—

Cory put his papers away and dropped a scrawled note on his secretary's desk. In two minutes he was out the front of the American Embassy. In five, with coat over shoulder, he was on his usual shortcut home, angling across the back of the British Embassy through a cluster of cars, buses,

people, his eyes intent on the near blue mountains.

Then suddenly there was Cindy.

He took in the turned-up nose, the wide blue eyes under a froth of blond hair, the generous mouth.

"God," he said, "you're real."

She looked at him. "I'm not certain you are. You told me you worked at the American Embassy."

"I do, I do! I'm just playing hooky." He tried to look skeptical and lecherous at the same time. "But you're sure not the British Ambassador's daughter."

"No?"

"No. I heard on good authority she's a witch."

"If you say so."

"Whereas you're a . . . mmmmm . . ." he grinned, then let his eyes turn sober. "but, look—I've got a great idea!"

"Better than the witch one?"

"I'm going to give you the thrill of a lifetime. Like right now."

"You're applying for British citizenship?"

Cory snorted. "If you've got nerve enough."

She eyed him. "You're *not* going to take me hang gliding."

"How did you know?"

"You talked in your cups last night. Thanks but no thanks."

"Come on, Cindy! Hang gliding's old hat, even in backward Blighty! Besides, I've done it for five years. Best safety record in California."

"Which just means you're still alive."



*Gordon King, FSO-retired, joined the State Department in 1947, after service with the Army overseas. He has served at Kabul, Tehran, Isfahan, Peshawar, Bonn, London and as Principal officer at Lahore. Mr. King received the superior honor award in 1965 and the merit honor award in 1970.*

"You'd love it! Just think of soaring up there—"

"That's what I *am* thinking of." She hesitated. "But—and I suppose this proves my mind's going soft—I'd do it anyway—"

"You will?"

"—but not today. I simply *must* go to that inauguration thing at the President's palace."

"That schmucky affair?"

"I promised. Anyway, you'll have to go too. That is, if you really *do* work for the American Embassy."

"Me go? Not a chance, love. American Embassy Third Secretaries don't get either seen nor heard. Besides, I'd rather look down on it from up there." He gestured toward the ridge looming over the new capital.

"So you're really going to do it. Another crazy American. What time is the great performance?"

"Well," he said, looking at his watch, "if you can look past all those Ambassadors and Ministers and Presidents toward that middle spur up yonder at, say, about four thirty . . . you just might see old Clocker on his Magic Carpet."

Cory angled off the road and walked rapidly along a worn uneven path through the scrub trees and bush and high grass of the rolling, broken terrain which was the heart of the official city. The green was fresh and friendly after the rains, the air a good warm. Coming out of the shallow gully filled with white feather-tufted reeds, he glanced at the Presidential Palace a quarter mile away, thought he saw numbers of people moving about on its huge top terrace. He let his eyes move appreciatively on to the backdrop of mountains.

He almost bumped into the boy.

"Hey, kid," he said, "watch where you're going."

The youngster had his hands in the pockets of trim gray school slacks. Over the blue school blazer, a thin face under black hair was dramatized by the intensity of the two dark eyes. Cory felt an appeal in spite of himself.

The boy said, "Hello! Are you a foreigner?"

"I suppose so," Cory said, "only I don't feel very foreign."

"What kind of foreigner?"

"American. The American

kind."

"I *like* Americans!" The boy raised himself on his toes. "Do you live here?"

"Straight ahead. And, look, kid, I have to get moving." Cory began walking. The little figure managed to keep abreast.

"But why are you walking? Where is your car?"

"I don't have one."

"Oh?" The boy laughed in disbelief. "*All* Americans have cars! Very big cars! I saw one yesterday, the biggest one I'd ever seen. It had an American flag on it. I know because my grandfather told me. Why don't you have a car?"

"That had to be the Ambassador's . . . well . . . because I don't have enough money to buy one. Besides, I have a housemate and I borrow his. But I do have a motorcycle, and . . ." Cory grinned wickedly, ". . . and a Magic Carpet."

The eyes widened, then the laugh came again. "A Magic Carpet? I think you are teasing me!"

"Why would I con you about something like that? Sure, I have a Magic Carpet. Right there at home, right now."

"May I come see it?"

"Not now, kid, you have to head home, I'm in a hurry—"

"Oh please! This is my play time—I don't have to ask—"

"Okay, but now look, junior, just don't get in the way—"

"I promise!"

Cory put his hands on his hips and looked down at the floor of the garage. "Here she is, Rafiq. Here's my kite."

The boy looked, then twisted his head, quick emotion. "Kite? But *Coh-Ree*, you said it was a Magic Carpet!"

"Son," the American pulled at the long canvas case, talked out of the side of his mouth, "it's a kite like you never saw before, you nor anybody else around this place. It's big enough to carry people—in fact, it's carried me many a time already, right down from the tops of mountains."

The dark eyes widened, belief returned. "It's a kite big enough to sit on?"

"Well, yeah . . . underneath . . . you really hang underneath it . . . on a seat like a swing—"

"From the tops of mountains?"

"For sure. Now, kid, is that a Magic Carpet or isn't it?"

"Yeeees," the boy breathed softly. "*Jadoo ka kaleen!*"

"*Jadoo ka* what?"

"*Jadoo ka kaleen*. That's what we call a Magic Carpet!"

"Fancy that," Cory said.

"Now, Rafiq, my friend, why don't you, as they say in better circles, split?"

The tears made the American acutely uncomfortable. He busied himself helping the driver balance the long bag on the roof rack of the borrowed car. Keeping his head turned from the sound of crying, he gathered up his helmet, considered a second one of Cindy's size, threw it and a double glider seat in the back.

Some deal. Here he'd wanted that luscious British babe and instead he had some damned kid plaguing him with stupid questions and now moaning worse than some stupid girl.

"All right, all *right!*" He took the boy by the arm and pushed him into the car. To cover his pleasure at the way the small face lit up with pure hero worship and delight, Cory yelled for the cook-bearer and gave the brown-faced man in the rumpled white uniform instructions in a gruff voice.

The cook-bearer took off on this bicycle, first-aid kit clamped on the carrying rack, shaking his head. Not only did he have to go out during his afternoon nap time, but the Sahib had insisted he'd be floating down from the mountains on a kite and he, Ghulam, had to be on hand to receive him. What if Bashir or Ahmad or some of the other bearers should see him? How could he possibly explain what he was doing? He would become the laughing stock of the servant community. Floating down from the mountains. What insanity. Life was hard. Here he was reduced to working for a mere Third Secretary who now turns out to be crazy. He wheeled on down the street muttering under his breath.

Across the ragged grassy stretches of the central city, preparations on the vast roof of the Presidential Palace were nearly complete. The rich carpets were laid, islands of chairs waited along the borders, handsomely uni-

formed bearers were laying out rows of glasses on well stocked bars, potted palms and banks of flowers graced walls and lined parapets. In small groups here and there senior bureaucrats and members of the President's staff were already on hand for their social duties, their dark suits in sharp contrast to the vivid butterfly *saris* of their wives.

Near the top of the grand stairway and roof entrance, a separate cluster of tall men in uniform eyed the terraced expanse warily and talked in low forceful tones among themselves.

The men were police, neat gray sweaters belted over brown trousers. Several were of the ranks, standing stiffly and respectfully to the side, but the knot at the center wore officers' peaked caps, polished Sam Browne belts, and looks of deep concern. They were listening to a powerfully built man of medium height with a jutting jaw and flashing eyes. He was pounding fist into palm and speaking English in a measured fury of words.

"Now, *listen!* I tell you again that the President may cancel the whole thing! No reception! I don't care what you've been told by any stupid ass around here, I got this straight from the Military Secretary who just talked to the President." He stabbed his finger forward in a powerful gesture. "They think the little boy is missing! Nobody can find the little Rafiq, and if nobody can find him, he's *missing*, and if he's *missing*, then the President could call this . . ." wave of hand toward the roof, ". . . bloody well *off!*"

He paused for breath, and looked around as a tall straight-backed figure in the uniform of a senior army officer emerged from the entrance and walked briskly across. The Military Secretary addressed himself to the powerfully built man.

"The President says the reception will be held."

"The boy's been found?"

"He has not. However, there are hopes that he has simply wandered off as boys do." He hesitated. "And there is one report—from a fruit vendor near the Assembly building interrogated by one of your own patrols—that the youngster was seen earlier with . . . a

diplomat. In any case," his voice became harder, "it is too important that the reception be held. Too much advance publicity, too many dignitaries coming, and so forth. Now," he took the stocky officer by the elbow and led him to one side, "the President doesn't dwell on these things, he's just concerned about that boy, but you know and I know that this is a security matter, Shafiq, possibly a serious one. If the lad wanders back in, fine—but if he's been kidnapped, it's obviously some sort of damnable plot against the President himself. The point is, we can take no chances whatsoever. I want this place blanketed with your people. Inconspicuous, of course—has to be—but I want them *everywhere*, covering every approach. Double the contingent at the gate and entrance. *No* exceptions on entry only with invitation card—unless it's a well known figure—for God's sake, have your people use common sense—but take *no* chances."

As the trim figure of the Military Secretary disappeared through the entrance, the burly senior police officer was already leading his group of subordinates toward the far end of the terrace. He pointed decisively at certain spots behind clusters of palms, at folds in the walls, at places along the parapet. Looking down over the stone barrier, his growling voice peremptory, he stabbed his hand toward lower levels of rooftop, toward the entrance gates, toward several terraces in the garden. Finally satisfied, he paused for a moment to look up and across to the lavender blue bastion of the nearby range. His eyes softened. He was a mountain man.

Had he been using binoculars, he might have seen, starting the climb up the rough convoluted road to the high crest opposite, a small car with a long thin queer sort of case on top.

Cindy was glad they were reasonably early. As it was, several cars were lined up ahead, in front of the huge black wrought-iron entrance gate; a little later and it would have been a dreary mess with cars backed up for two or three blocks on broad Constitution Avenue. She glanced at her father, dignified and handsome in his diplomatic uniform. He leaned for-

ward, squinting ahead under shaggy brows.

"A bit unusual, I must say."

Her mother flicked an imaginary thread off a fold in her long blue dress. "Too many people. Richard, simply too many. Must they make these affairs so terribly large?"

"I suppose they think they must." He sat back.

"Aren't they particularly slow today?"

"Security precautions, I suspect. Ah, here we are."

The big car, flag flying, moved slowly past saluting guards, stiff and erect in trim dark uniforms. Beyond them, flanking both sides of the driveway sweeping up toward the main entrance, a contingent of the President's Body Guard sat proudly on superbly matched horses, scarlet coats and tall turbans gleaming under the afternoon sun. On the green grass of the terrace level below the entrance a military pipe and drum band sported green plaid uniforms and turbans and trilled out "The Campbells Are Coming!" Protocol officers at the huge door led her father and mother through the marbled hall. A younger officer attached himself to her until a hissed word from a senior turned him reluctantly back.

She followed her parents up the grand staircase but her mind was troubled with images of a trim young American and an impossible kite. In the sunlight of the high terrace, it took a moment to see, over the heads of the scattered people turning to look at her, the wall of blue mountains. My God, it's *high*, she thought, as she nodded and smiled and handshook her way across the expanse of deep carpets. And *rugged*. She spoke to the American Ambassador's wife and glanced with a touch of envy at the chic Frenchwoman with one of the Arab Ambassadors. A *long* way to fall. She took a drink from a passing bearer, set it on the stone parapet, and looked down at the mounted Body Guard. Beyond she could see the entrance gate and beyond that, down Constitution, a string of cars stretching for at least two blocks.

Her diminutive watch said ten past four.

The little car sat level on a grassy knoll, the driver hun-

kered down at one side, carefully examining a front tire. Cory looked about as he released the last rope and eased the long bag onto a shoulder. They were at the top, the very highest point on the ridge. As luck would have it (good luck, thought Cory), the height was blunted by nearly an acre of more or less level earth and stone sloping gently toward the mountain wall that dropped toward the city. The American, with the boy at his side, walked carefully to a spot some fifteen yards back. He deposited the bag, length pointing forward, and moved toward the drop-off.

His heart beat faster. Below, the cliff face plunged sheer for fifty feet before sloping steeply into a narrow thicketed gorge which twisted past lower folds and mounded hills until it opened out far below into the undulations of grass beside Constitution Avenue and the Presidential Palace. A steady 15-mile-an-hour wind, spicy with sage, blew up into his face. Elated, he tousled the boy's hair.

But, *damn*—there were tears again.

Irritated, he turned his back, walked toward the long bag. "Look," he said, "you're getting on my nerves. This is my fun time, junior—don't mess it up!"

The boy trotted alongside. "*Coh-Ree!*" He shouldn't say it that way. It would weaken anybody's resolve about anything. "*Coh-Ree,*" the boy said, "take me with you!"

Cory let out a hoot of laughter. "You don't know when to quit, do you?"

"Please!"

"Look, buster, get lost, will you? Just get lost!"

But something in the youngster's face stopped him, and he saw the driver standing by the car with a tense expression in the dark eyes watching the boy.

"If you don't take me," the boy said slowly, desperately, "then I will say that you kidnapped me."

"You got to be kidding!" But he stood still, looking at the tear streaked face.

"I will tell *everyone!*"

Shaking his head, Cory eyed the small figure. Crazy as a roadrunner . . . my God, he might do it. Maybe he could be diverted somehow.

"And if I was crazy enough to

take you, your family'd have my skin!"

"Oh no, *Coh-Ree!* I won't tell *anyone!* I promise!"

And Cory realized he'd lost. So he'd take the kid. And the family would be after him and the Ambassador would hear and there went his diplomatic career—but then, the whole thing was so wild they wouldn't believe it anyway. He took the small hand and walked decisively back to the kite.

He slid the glider out of the canvas bag and went efficiently, methodically through a routine he'd done hundreds of times be-

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**"The raw cliffs and  
thicketed slopes were  
dropping smoothly,  
silently below. The  
sailplane slid  
gracefully, sweetly,  
a steady updraft  
keeping the drop to a  
minimum."**

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fore: separate strut wires, attach the sturdy triangular control bar, nose the kite down facing the wind, rotate cross bar, raise king post, secure and tighten support wires, unfold wing and secure, fasten swing seat—the double one—and (glancing at the boy) adjust for balance. He then walked slowly around the kite, touching, testing, examining, checking alignments, bolts, turnbuckles, cables, the wide sweep of white nylon wing. Finally satisfied, he turned to his young companion who was watching the operation with wide eyes.

"How fast can you run, Rafiq?"

"Oh very fast!"

"Show me."

The youngster took off like a shot from the grounded nose of the kite, raced past the flared wing around in a wide circle until he was running toward the raised back of the sail. Abruptly he stopped and dropped out of Cory's sight. Puzzled, the American walked around the wing. Rafiq was down on his knees, with a transfixed look on his

face, staring at the underside of the wide sheet of mylon. He said breathlessly:

"The Magic Carpet!"

The name in two-foot red letters was spread across the underside. Cory laughed.

"That's it! Just like I told you! The *Jadoo-ka* . . ."

"*Kaleen!*" the boy finished.

They walked under the wide trailing edge of the wing, ducked down. Cory maneuvered the youngster into his seat, hefted him, made an adjustment in the swing rigging before getting into place himself. He pulled the heavy aircraft-type nylon sear straps tight around hips, then turned and looked at the boy.

"Now listen very carefully, kid. No mistakes allowed. I'm going to pick the whole kite up by this triangular control bar here and raise the nose into the wind. You're not to do *anything* but hold on—so—and then when I give the word, you're to run hard with me—*exactly with me*—right down this little slope toward the drop-off. Now repeat."

"Repeat?"

"Tell me what I just told you."

The boy gave Cory back his exact words. The American raised eyebrows, then reached down, locked his arms around the upright shafts of the control bar, raised. The great triangular wing came slowly up until level with the ground. He looked at a short length of colored ribbon streaming back from the flying wire near the nose, shifted the kite's direction slightly.

"Get ready!"

The small form was taut, poised by his side.

"Get set!" Cory twisted his wrist slightly, looked at his watch. It was exactly four thirty.

"Go!"

They began to run.

Oh dear," said Cindy's mother, "there are going to be speeches."

She was standing with her daughter at the edge of the large red carpet at one end of the long terrace. On three sides were deep arrogant chairs in rich maroon velvet. In the central chair, facing the red carpet and beyond it the crowd, was the President. The Military Secretary hovered behind his shoulder. Cabinet Ministers, a Supreme Court Justice, the bemedaled Chief

of Army Staff, several Ambassadors, occupied the remaining seats. A senior Minister stepped forward to a microphone standing in the front center of the carpet.

Cindy felt a hand on her arm, turned. It was her father. Next to him was the tall dignified figure of the American Ambassador. They smiled at her, turned their faces toward the microphone. Cindy shifted slightly. She was determined to keep the mountains—that particular mountain—in view.

The senior Minister looked out over the terrace full of attentive faces and spoke about the founding of the city, the great plans for its development, the design and building of the President's magnificent residence and office, the way it represented the aspirations of the people and the nation. He spoke simply and eloquently.

And briefly, Cindy thought gratefully, as the Minister introduced the President and surrendered the microphone. Looking over her shoulder, the English girl squinted at the blue heights.

She thought she saw a speck of white moving in front of the crest.

Cindy's right, Cory thought. *I am crazy. But who could resist this?*

Coming off the edge of the cliff, nosing down to gain speed, feeling the updraft press smoothly under them, he tuned his ears to the sound of the wind in the sails and rigging. Moving the control bar gently, he nudged them gradually a few degrees left. The wind up these slopes was as smooth as any mountain currents he'd experienced anywhere—but mountains were notoriously tricky places to fly. He kept the nose pointed straight into the wind, playing it safe, no maneuvers, no fancy anything with the kid aboard.

He threw a quick look at his small seatmate. The boy was as taut as the sails, face glowing with a look of almost religious exaltation. His voice shrilled:

"Ooooooh, *Coh-Ree!* Look down!"

Satisfied with the feel of the great kite, the man let his eyes drop and felt the bubbles of almost uncontrollable laughter well up from deep down inside as always happened with him at this stage of a good flight. The raw cliffs and thicketed

slopes were dropping smoothly, silently below. The spurs and sides of tributary ridges were well off to right and left. The sailplane slid gracefully, sweetly between, a steady updraft keeping the rate of drop to a minimum. The wind buffeted them over one of the lesser ridges and Cory compensated by banking gradually a few more degrees to the left. Not too much more, he thought, or we'll be heading for Constitution Avenue and that line of cars.

From far up in the buoyant heights, from his sitting position below the light skeleton of aluminum tubing and steel cable capped with a thin humming skin of white nylon, Cory felt a keyed up sense of the whole wide earth under him. He could touch it, taste it, savor it. From the slopes and fields sliding softly past below, all the way to the hazy horizon.

"Hey, Rafiq! Look there!" Cory gestured ahead with his chin. "There's the Assembly building, that's Embassy Row, way over there is the lake—"

The piping voice interrupted. "—and there's my grandfather's house!"

Cory followed the pointing hand with his eye. "Where? What're you talking about? There's nothing over there but the Presidential Palace!"

"That is it, *Coh-Ree!* That's my grandfather's house! That's where I live!"

The American stiffened against the control bar, thought he heard the roaring in his head over the hiss of the wind. I think he means it. I won't tell anybody, he said. Of course not, not even my grandfather. Who happens to be President.

"Your grandfather's the President? He'll have me shot!"

"Oh no, *Coh-Ree!* You're my friend! My grandfather will like you too! Are we going to land over there?"

Cory refocused his eyes. The wind had veered a few more points to the left and the updraft was still strong. The kite was pointing almost directly at the Palace ahead. This does it, he thought. Not only have I kidnapped the President's grandson but I'm going to smash us up right on the roof of the Palace. And God help me—he suddenly remembered—look at all those

people . . . it's the big reception . . . Cindy's there . . . with her father . . . and my Ambassador.

Times come in the lives of a relative few when danger is sudden and immediate and must be faced in full sight of the gawking crowd (like being hung in public, Cory thought) and a rare individual can make the instant decision to go through the damned thing with real style. Thus the American knew in that painful second that height and speed and direction ruled out landing on the easy grassy stretch he'd had in mind. Street lamps and cars cluttered up Constitution Avenue. Thickets and brush enclosed the Presidential estate and inside the walls the uneven ground bumped down in a series of terraces.

In all that expanse directly ahead only one area was flat and clean and easily big enough for a good landing.

It was the roof over the grand central staircase, the very highest level of the Presidential Palace, overlooking the great terrace and the sea of faces.

Cory began to fishtail gently to slow the kite down. Beside him the boy was laughing with uninhibited delight.

" . . . and it is my earnest hope," the President was saying, "that all the people of our nation will consider this great edifice as belonging to them . . ."

But Cindy had tuned herself out, had turned her side to the great man and the microphone and was staring over her father's shoulder with a half fearful, half mesmerized look on her face. Her inattention became obvious enough that her father glanced at her, noticed the rapt stare. He whispered urgently: "Cindy! I say, Cindy!"

But by then he was caught. His daughter's total absorption with something out there in the afternoon sky had created an overpowering urge in his otherwise cool and orderly mind. He *had* to see what she was staring at. He turned his head, looked up.

Almost in unison, the American Ambassador on one side of father and daughter, and her mother on the other, sensed the diversion, glanced out of the corners of their eyes with the smallest possible movement of the head, saw the intent stares skyward, and were

*Continued on page 28*

"He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able men hath a great task; but that is ever good for the public. But he that plots to be the only figure amongst ciphers, is the decay of a whole age."—Lord Bacon

# Foreign Policy-Makers: *The Weakest Link?*

CHARLES MAECHLING, JR.

One unfortunate by-product of the Kissinger era has been such a personalization of American foreign policy that the public now forgets—if it ever knew—that crisis management is only one aspect of diplomacy. In fact, the making and implementation of foreign policy is a collective process involving half a dozen agencies and hundreds of anonymous officials. In propagating the delusion of a master hand and only one tiller, both the executive branch and the news media have collaborated as if in a silent conspiracy—the executive branch in order to enhance the prestige and image of its political leadership, and the news media to simplify the task of reporting and enlarge their audience by dramatizing a few personalities.

The resultant distortion depre-

ciates the importance of issues and policy considerations. It encourages the political leadership (including secretaries of state) to play up and identify themselves with favorable developments in foreign policy. It accentuates their tendency to pursue short-term success for domestic political advantage at the expense of long-term safety and consistency. It promotes the inflation of routine perturbations and local incidents endemic to a world in turmoil in order to purchase cheap diplomatic triumphs. And it diverts public attention from a wide range of significant developments and long-term trends which do not capture the headlines because they are handled at a secondary level of government.

Not that this secondary level is unimportant. One would think that after the disasters of the Bay of Pigs and Vietnam, of bungled grain deals and the CIA's assassination plots, it might be prudent to focus a small corner of the spotlight on the national security decision process and the officials responsible for it. Instead we cling to the fiction of a decisive presidential father-figure, an omniscient and ubiquitous sec-

retary of state, and a "dedicated" corps of public servants, thereby ensuring that the system and its personnel will never be subjected to the kind of scrutiny that exposes weakness and invites reform.

The global scale of World War II institutionalized foreign policy decision-making in the English-speaking world. Our present national security apparatus has its genesis in the British war cabinet and chiefs of staff committee system, later modified to make it conform to American notions of command responsibility and staff function. For 30 years, interdepartmental coordination of national security policy in both its formative and implementing stages has been thoroughly institutionalized, although forms of organization and procedure have varied from one administration to another . . . In each case the purpose was the same—to relate the parts to the whole and to introduce some measure of coordination into the formation of policy and the world-wide deployment of men, money and resources.

No important decision in the area of national security or foreign

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policy is made by a president or (in the case of the Ford Administration) a secretary of state without in some degree being shaped and formulated by an interdepartmental decision process. Even the information and advice on which a decision is based filters through to the highest authority in a form that consciously or unconsciously reflects the assumptions and viewpoints of key subordinates and second-level decision-makers. The comforting notion, propagated by image-building presidents and the personality-oriented media, that "the buck stops here" ignores the reality, well known to everyone in government, that every "buck" is forged, shaped and framed by immediate subordinates, usually in a way that makes the final decision inevitable. The classic example is the US military intervention in Vietnam, but it is equally true for the first use of the atomic bomb, the Marshall plan and every other major policy decision of the last 30 years with the possible exception of the Nixon *rapprochement* with China.

Moreover, the "buck" is rarely an isolated one, but usually the culmination of a long, winding procession of earlier developments. Every day senior officials of State, Defense and CIA—departmental secretaries, intelligence directors, aid administrators, military chiefs-of-staff—see the president and insensibly condition him to the prevailing consensus. For every publicized decision he makes, this second echelon of decision-makers makes a hundred equally important ones. And it is this steady stream of less conspicuous decisions, building on and interlocking with their predecessors, that fixes the direction and contours of foreign policy and locks a president into predetermined courses of action, just as effectively as the few spectacular decisions that are the result of conscious deliberation at the top.

The second echelon—the "ruling few" of American foreign relations—comprises the key actors of a decision process that for most purposes makes and implements foreign policy in the president's name. Sandwiched between the White House and the vast, amorphous ant-heap of the bureaucracy, political in the sense of being appointees of the adminis-

tration, it numbers at least 600 officials of cabinet and sub-cabinet rank, including civil servants in the highest levels of the executive pay schedule. By rank and title this layer includes the secretaries, undersecretaries, assistant secretaries and their deputies of State and Defense; the administrators, assistant administrators and deputies, of the foreign aid and information agencies; the Director of Central Intelligence and his deputies and chief staff officers; the secretaries of the Army, Navy and Air

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**"Thus the generation that defeated Hitler and framed the Marshall Plan has remained wedded to concepts that have proved both irrelevant and counter-productive."**

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Force and their under and assistant secretaries; plus an assortment of high-ranking officials of assistant secretary level in the White House, State Department and other parts of the executive branch who have foreign affairs and defense functions.

To this conventional listing should be added the military chiefs of staff and certain key admirals and generals, colonels and naval captains, with important politico-military functions; a few ambassadors and foreign aid officials on duty in Washington; and the White House NSC staff. Not all the posts are presidential appointments in the sense of Senate confirmation, and the modest location of some of them in the bureaucratic hierarchy usually strikes outsiders, including the press, as marginal at best. But the total effect is to blanket the national security structure with a managerial layer easily capable of controlling the flow of information and the formation of policy in both an upward and downward direction.

This totally American system of governmental management is unique in several respects. First, no other country in the world has a system in which with every change

of administration a new executive layer is inserted on top of the bureaucracy in place of an old one. Nations with a parliamentary system are used to cabinet reshuffles, but these take place without any comparable turnover in the top levels of the civil service. Second, within the top managerial layer, a high percentage of the most important cabinet and sub-cabinet posts are filled by outside appointees who not only are comparative strangers to government but often have little or no background in the subject matter for which they are responsible. Third, in the course of each administration the turnover in this layer is phenomenal; according to a recent study, the average tenure of assistant secretaries of the Army, Navy and Air Force worked out to nine months. Whether the recruitment policy is restrictive and paranoiac, as with the Nixon administration, or deliberately inclusive and "co-optive" as with most Democratic administrations, the object is the same—to staff the administration with a cadre of politically reliable managers of sufficient ability to execute policy without causing embarrassment or asking inconvenient questions. The drawback is that a system designed to insure compliance with the elective mandate through the medium of a limited number of key appointments has, with the protean expansion of government, degenerated into a spoils system of its own, and one that perpetuates stereotyped approaches in decision-making.

**H**ow did this system evolve? And what are the characteristics of the managerial layer? To the first question there can be only one answer. As Max Weber pointed out 70 years ago, the advent of mass industrial society and the inadequacy of traditional modes of leadership have made bureaucracy inevitable and with it the rise of a new managerial class. More recently Thomas Kuhn in his "Structure of Scientific Revolutions" has demonstrated how cultural elites develop and crystallize around paradigms—shared assumptions about goals and methods designed to provide congruent solutions for the pressing questions that confront them. Nowhere has this been more true than in the field of national security and foreign affairs,

where for 30 years the paradigms of a foreign policy elite have predetermined both the goals and approaches of US foreign policy. But, as Kuhn so brilliantly elucidates, the stereotyped solutions generated by paradigms ineluctably produce anomalies that in time render these solutions obsolete. Thus the generation that defeated Hitler and framed the Marshall Plan has remained wedded to concepts that have proved both irrelevant and counter-productive in dealing with the problems of the 1970s, and especially the revolutionary dynamics of the Third World. (The Bay of Pigs was our Balaclava, Vietnam our Boer War!) Which leads directly to the second question: What are the qualities of our decision-makers that make the paradigms of US policy so stereotyped and inevitable?

Before World War II, the foreign policy decision apparatus—to the extent that it existed at all—consisted of the president and secretary of state; a handful of administration appointees in the Department of State and major embassies; the senior diplomats of a tiny but adequate Foreign Service; a few military and naval officers serving in important commands or as attaches; and a constellation of influential lawyers and bankers, involved in the Council of Foreign Relations and largely residing on the East Coast. Except for the occasional ambassadorial appointment of a prominent scholar, there was no institutional link between the executive branch and academic life; indeed, the conventional wisdom of the time dictated a certain separation between the two. As in the early days of the Republic, distinguished lawyer-politicians were the most frequent appointees to the office of secretary of state, while other high-level appointments and special missions were entrusted to prominent financiers and businessmen. In his method of conducting foreign relations, each president and secretary of state was *sui generis*, drawing for advice on his small official family, the party leadership on Capitol Hill and a few private counselors from the Eastern Establishment. In this respect, President Roosevelt was no different from Taft, except that his associations were far more catholic and diversified.

After World War II the system changed. With the vast expansion of US responsibilities, the number of officials actively involved in the conduct of US foreign relations grew by quantum leaps. Secretary Marshall imported elements of the Army's staff system into the State Department. In the Pentagon, the Joint Chiefs of Staff committee structure was institutionalized. In the White House, a new National Security Council structure was created by statute and presidential directive. The Defense Department, CIA and foreign aid and in-

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**“They conferred an air of solidity on administrations otherwise dependent for ‘image’ on more flashy political types, and, in the beginning at least, they inspired confidence in Congress and the financial community.”**

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formation agencies grew into vast empires with specialization at every level and a hierarchy of administration appointees to manage them. The idiosyncratic operating styles of the chief executive and secretary of state were still important but only on matters to which they gave personal attention; elsewhere the personal touch gave way to new mechanisms of inter-departmental consultation. The managerial layer of high-ranking advisers and decision-makers began to solidify, and within this layer assumptions crystallized and policies began to develop a life of their own.

In the typical post-World War II administration, the officials and military officers composing this layer break down into four rough categories: 1) outside professional appointees, usually successful lawyers or bankers, sometimes an educator or businessman, brought on board for a few years or the “duration”; 2) military officers, usually with distinguished records and often with some prior associa-

tions with key figures in the administration; 3) senior Foreign Service officers and career civil servants, sometimes selected on the basis of specialized ability, but more often for their professed enthusiasm for the policies of the administration; and 4) the hired intellectual, freshly liberated from the cloistered atmosphere of a university or foundation to write speeches or policy papers and then to be placed in a key policy job. Bearing in mind the usual wide variations between individuals, and the presence of numerous hybrids with backgrounds spanning several careers, and assuming the drive for power and recognition as a constant, let me risk the following generalizations about the professional attributes that each category has typically brought to the foreign policy decision process.

The prominent lawyer or banker generalist, often from Wall Street, was until recently the type most likely to be appointed secretary of state or defense, or to one of the many sub-cabinet posts that exist in these departments. This tradition dates from the early years of the republic and was renewed and solidified during the New Deal when Felix Frankfurter filled the domestic agencies of government with appointees from law school faculties and the better law firms. In the foreign affairs field, classic models were such paragons of the Establishment as Henry L. Stimson, John McCloy, the Dulles brothers, and Dean Acheson—and more recently George Ball and Roswell Gilpatric. Coming as they did from the top ranks of American professional life, these men were often public figures in their own right. They conferred an air of solidity on administrations otherwise dependent for “image” on more flashy political types, and, in the beginning at least, they inspired confidence in Congress and the financial community. Implicit in their appointments were the notions that ability and financial success were synonymous; that “broad-gauge” Ivy League generalists were superior to drab specialists from the Big Ten; and that they incarnated a host of other estimable qualities, wisely left undefined. Also that successful lawyers—especially those from two or three leading law schools—were by training more

qualified than anyone else to master the arcane complexities of government.

So at least ran the theory, which successive administrations and the public accepted for exactly as long as the Eastern Establishment maintained its dominance. In its heyday—and we have now seen the end of the era—the Establishment appointee typically brought these assets to government: excellent education and a high level of personal culture; broad experience in the world of affairs and tested judgment of men and issues within the scope of that experience; a wide and influential circle of acquaintances in the top ranks of business and the professions; unrivaled speed and ability in digesting enormous and diverse aggregations of data and reaching plausible conclusions based on the data (the lawyer's brief); and the poise, initiative and self-confidence that comes from an independent position and a financially rewarding profession to return to.

From the standpoint of their politician employers, such appointees had the additional merit of unquestioning acceptance of the postulates of postwar policy and a willingness to shelve personal doubts or convictions in the interests of the administration. (There have been no resignations on points of principle from this type of appointee. The client must be served at all costs!)

In view of the generally high ability of this class of public servant, it may seem captious to cite their deficiencies. But in today's world they are crucial. These include a frequently crippling ignorance of the history and cultural background of foreign countries, especially outside the familiar context of Western Europe; a purblind inability to comprehend the ideological and revolutionary tides sweeping across much of the world; a pathetic faith in "competition," the "free market," "private enterprise" and other concepts of Western capitalism, regardless of their pernicious effects in less developed societies; and, in the case of lawyers, a contractual approach to the shifting relationships of international life and over-reliance on written agreements.

Of these deficiencies the first has been the least noticed. Without a

thorough understanding of the idiom of international relations and detailed knowledge of the political, economic and technological context of the issues, an outside appointee is either prone to make colossal errors of judgment when he acts on his own or is doomed to remain at the mercy of staffs and specialists when he does not. Lawyers, convinced of their ability to digest "facts" and to analogize from prior cases, are vulnerable to the former; businessmen, impatient with subtleties and accustomed to basing decisions on the recommendations of reliable subordinates rather than their own investigation, are vulnerable to the latter. Both often seem incapable of realizing that "facts" are the product of those with the mission of defining what is factual and that fields of inquiry are easily structured to obscure the truth. Insulated in plush offices, cushioned and flattered by a deferential staff, stupefied by endless briefings and flow charts, the average assistant secretary from "outside" is little more than a front office man for Congressional presentations and a rubber stamp for the decisions of his staff.

The second category, the professional military man, is now somewhat in eclipse from the peak of his influence during the postwar period in Vietnam, but he is still a powerful factor in the formation of foreign policy and will continue to be as long as force counts in the affairs of men. Despite their anonymity, military men in key positions on the NSC or the Joint Chiefs of Staff often wield immense influence on decisive issues, if only because of their mastery of technical detail. As career types, they bring the following assets to bear on their quasi-civilian functions in the foreign policy field: absolute acceptance of the postulates on which policy is based; familiarity with the decision-making process and the technique of processing "paper" up through the hierarchy; virtually limitless access to staff support, research assistance, travel funds, etc.; and personal qualities of poise, dignity and dependability, coupled with considerable sophistication and tact in professional relations, especially with superiors. To these admirable qualities should be added two usually not thought

of—an increasingly high level of education at the graduate level and personal exposure to different societies and cultures as a result of service in overseas commands. But in an age of disintegrating faiths, it is their loyalty to superiors and devotion to duty that most commends them to their superiors.

The defects that military men commonly bring to bear in the policy and decision process are: a deliberate over-simplification of complex issues to fit preconceived doctrine; a tendency to assess politico-military problems strictly in terms of technology and military logic; an inability to escape from the straitjacket of official jargon and doctrinal clichés; and uncertain judgment in dealing with the civilian world of business, finance and politics. (But note how for one type of superior, even these deficiencies can be turned into virtues—*vide* the meteoric rise of General Alexander Haig!)

Senior diplomats, unfortunately, often play a less effective role in policy-making than they deserve to, considering their years of experience in the practical world of international affairs. Springing neither from an independent professional base nor from a lifetime career with ironclad tenure and a warrior image, they function best in the closed world of diplomacy. The best products bring invaluable assets to policy-making: a detailed grasp of the subject matter; personal familiarity with the ruling political and social circles of other countries; an unrivaled ability to make balanced and sophisticated assessments of foreign personalities and political developments; and individual qualities of dignity, poise and discretion. Their principal weakness as policy-makers is probably a built-in disposition to view the world in terms of political relations between governments. This refusal, or perhaps inability, to place social, economic, technological and ideological relationships on the same level as political leads to an essentially superficial and short-term approach to foreign policy, especially in an age where at so many levels national sovereignty is becoming a fiction.

From a personality standpoint, diplomats have two notable weaknesses as policy-makers. Their obvious distaste at the intrusion of

other agencies (including Congress) into the sacred precincts of foreign relations too often takes the form of psychic withdrawal, sometimes ending behind the ramparts of the Metropolitan Club. And they acquiesce too readily in the misguided opinions and reckless schemes of other agencies and political appointees. Certainly, the most useful service that a senior State Department official can perform in a policy-making role is to douse the facile enthusiasms of administration "activists" in the cold water of reality. But most of them bring so little energy and skill to this task that they merely project an image of negativism. Their training seems not to have encompassed the nature of decision-making and the dependence of options on a selective interpretation of data. The vulnerability of foreign service promotions to Congressional attack, the absence of *esprit de corps* and career solidarity within the Department, and early conditioning as a reporter and *factotum* doubtless account for the inconclusive and hesitant behavior of career diplomats in critical policy deliberations.

To these traditional types of foreign policy adviser must now be added a fourth—the professor in government. Always a fixture in such specialized areas as the Federal Reserve system, the Council of Economic Advisers and the Department of Justice, the academic intellectual, as a class, has only recently begun to oust the outside lawyer or banker from the seats of power in the White House, State Department and Pentagon. For this phenomenon, unthinkable even 20 years ago, there is no simple explanation. The increasing complexity of the subject matter of international relations, the decline of the Eastern Establishment, the prohibitive tangible and intangible costs of leaves of absence from firms and businesses and the lack of public appreciation for years of public service have all contributed. Perhaps the most important factor is the inability of other careers to match the scholar's freedom to spend long periods of time (largely at federal expense) in mastering one specialty or another of international relations. It was years of sabbaticals, foundation grants, special research projects and a light

teaching schedule that enabled an obscure academic like Henry Kissinger to penetrate the calculus of nuclear deterrence and make himself a latter-day Metetrnich.

The academic in government typically brings such assets as these to policy-making: fluent command of the subject-matter—so long as he stays within his field of competence; enthusiasm and zeal for administration policies, often indistinguishable from naïveté; an innovative mind, willing to challenge prior postulates; an ability to function without staff or a command position in the hierarchy; and unflagging initiative in proposing and propagating ideas. But, alas, these assets are sometimes offset by distressing personality failings, of which absurd presumption and self-importance, together with a gauche abrasiveness in dealing with people, are the most com-

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**"Not only are agency positions predictable in nine cases out of ten, but their representatives run as true to type as breeds of horses."**

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mon. For an American accustomed to dealing with the reserved and dignified foreign service and military professionals of his own and other civilized countries, the first encounter with a bouncy White House special assistant, aggressive in manner and loaded with conceit, can come as a disagreeable surprise.

These defects are trivial, however, compared with the dangerous potential of the intellectual in an operational role. From Woodrow Wilson to the present, his propensity to treat the constructs and abstractions of his own creation as reality—harmless and indeed desirable in an academic context—have had a disastrous influence on the prudent, pragmatic evolution of policy. In recent history, the hired intellectual has been only too willing to place these at the service of political leaders who have used them to manipulate public opinion

and engineer social consent. Some of the most prominent intellectuals in government have had no compunction about distorting the disparate and recalcitrant facts of international life in order to mislead and misinform Congress and the public. The capacity of some of them to fabricate slogans and catchwords for their political masters is virtually unlimited. To them, we owe such absurd schemes as the happily abortive multi-lateral force (MLF) of the Eisenhower era, the training of Third World military officers in coup techniques, the "counterinsurgency" theories of the '60s, and all the fraudulent and pretentious rationales of the Vietnam War. Moreover, the bright, innovative academic mind is the worst possible equipment for approaching the fragile, sensitive structure of international life. The model-building and thesis construction on which contemporary academic reputations are built find no counterpart in the elusive complexities of the real world.

Finally a word ought to be said about that modern aberration of *homo bureaucraticus*, the CIA official. Here one must be careful to distinguish between members of the overt intelligence branch and specialists in covert operations, the "department of dirty tricks," for in terms of function and personnel the CIA is really two agencies. The intelligence branch, on which the reputation of the agency ought to rest, is not really relevant to this discussion. With a few notable exceptions, its highly-qualified analysts, who produce the most scholarly and sophisticated long-term intelligence estimates in Washington, are usually too drab or too valuable, or both, to permit them to rise to the highest levels of decision-making. The CIA official whom one usually encounters in interdepartmental policy meetings is more likely to be a polished but noncommittal representative of the covert side and typically an alumnus of the OSS or the Allen Dulles era.

For the first 20 years of its existence, the upper ranks of the CIA were dominated by a special type of career employee, and these still impress their stamp on the agency. The original theory, for obvious reasons never articulated, was that the backbone of the new US in-

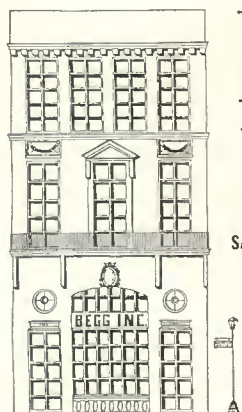
telligence service should consist of a corps of native-born Americans of impeccable ancestry armed with enough travel and language qualifications to give them some semblance of conformity to the John Buchan, T. E. Lawrence type of British gentleman-adventurer which served as the model. What in fact evolved was a cadre of well-to-do escapists from the bottom quarter of prewar Eastern college classes, unwilling to face domestic readjustment after a war-time stint in the OSS but without the motivation or learning to pass the Foreign Service exams. For "security reasons" it was decided not to tap the vast pool of diversified, highly educated intelligence talent from every ethnic origin that abounded in the heartland—this in a nation of immigrants. To cap the sorry picture, the second-level leadership of the agency—the deputy directorships—was periodically handed over to well-connected lawyers with only a casual background in foreign affairs. The devastating results—the Bay of Pigs, Operation Phoenix, assassination plots, drug

experimentation on humans, relations with the Mafia, and a supply of burglar-alumni for Watergate—are what can be expected from a surfeit of Howard Hunts.

Nevertheless, in the Washington arena of decision-making and inter-agency rivalry, the usual senior CIA official is a much less effective operator than the public might fear. Lifelong habits of secrecy, the diminished sense of individual responsibility that comes from agency "compartmentalization," the defensive psychology inherent in personalities that deliberately choose a life of anonymity and concealment, and above all limited ability to function effectively in a normal decision-making setting usually relegate him to a minor role in any competition of ideas or contest of wills. This is not to say, however, that in executing their missions in the field, anonymous CIA section heads and station chiefs have not consistently committed the United States to the most damaging courses of action and involved it in the most discreditable associations.

To the outsider, these observations about US policy-makers may seem to represent the most outrageous kind of generalization. Obviously, there are atypical types in every professional category. The outstanding personalities—Marshall, Acheson, John Foster Dulles, Averell Harriman—for better or worse transcend easy classification. But in a decision-making context at the secondary level, it is an unceasing source of astonishment to observe how career background and professional characteristics come to the fore and submerge the personality factor. Not only are agency positions predictable in nine cases out of ten, but their representatives run as true to type as breeds of horses.

Consider, for example, the technical approach of Generals Marshall and Eisenhower to the final onslaught against Nazi Germany. At the very time that Roosevelt was bargaining with Stalin they continued to base their strategic planning on exclusively military grounds with political consid-



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erations rigidly excluded—even though by this time the enemy was all but defeated. Or the obstinate faith of General Westmoreland and Secretary McNamara in modern technology and fire-power, despite their devastating effects on the civilian population they were supposed to win over, and the alienation of public sympathy all over the world. In both instances a stereotyped approach generated anomalies that soon stultified the objectives being pursued.

The limitations of the Establishment display an equally striking pattern. Henry L. Stimson and John Foster Dulles placed inordinate faith in treaties and written agreements, instinctively carrying over the contractual and consensual values of Wall Street into wholly inappropriate contexts and concealing diplomatic ineptitude behind rigid positions. The otherwise resourceful and able Dean Acheson demonstrated the typical parochialism of the older Establishment in his inattention to and maladroitness of relations with Latin America and East Asia—

areas culturally antipathetic to a product of Groton, the Harvard Law School and the cosy world of Washington law practice. And a long procession of Establishment lawyers and businessmen to cabinet and sub-cabinet posts in the Pentagon did nothing to abate cost-overruns and procurement mistakes or to abort in the slightest degree the disastrous course of the Vietnam War. Total conformists by disposition and professional background, they were so enraptured by the mystique of power and so eager to be accepted by the military that whatever critical faculties they possessed were put to use in frustrating Congressional scrutiny rather than in protecting the public interest.

The operational ineffectiveness of career diplomats in Washington, in contrast to their excellent representational and reportorial skills, is well-known. They played no role whatsoever in the strategic planning and summit conferences of World War II and did nothing to inject themselves into the decision process. During the McCarthy era,

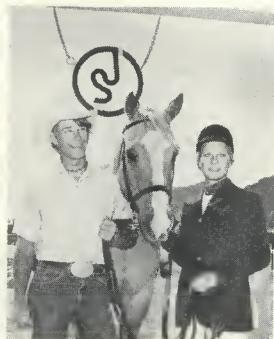
senior officials supinely collaborated with the handful of clumsy political amateurs who harassed them.

Perhaps the outstanding example of the way professional habits carry over into decision-making is the behavior of some of the recent donations of Cambridge (Mass.) to Washington (D.C.). Walt W. Rostow, an MIT development economist with no Asian experience, used his position on the policy planning staff of the State Department and as President Johnson's chief national security adviser to formulate many of the false rationales and deceptions practiced on the American public from 1961 to 1969. Richard Goodwin, a talented speech writer and idea man for Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, was so ignorant of the area and so offensive in his dealings with colleagues and Latin American diplomats that he had to be removed from an assignment to State as deputy assistant secretary for Latin American affairs. And the latest intellectual in high places, Henry Kissinger, with a detailed

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knowledge of foreign affairs unprecedented in any secretary of state, may already have vitiated his splendid contributions to world peace by his reluctance to act in concert with other agencies, his inability to ground policy on a strong institutional base, and his tendency to rest the most crucial international agreements on the flimsy and ephemeral scaffold of personal relationships between national leaders.

In short the decision process brings out the preconceptions and fixed attitudes of its participants in a way that freezes agency approaches to each problem. The process itself does the rest.

Except where a president or secretary of state becomes his own action officer, crucial decisions or recommendations typically emerge from a series of high-level inter-agency meetings, not one of which is decisive in itself. The principal actors represent giant departments and agencies, each with its own constellation of vested interests and statutory responsibilities.

Nearly all the actors are transients in space and time—whether plucked out of private life or promoted from the bureaucracy, they are usually newcomers to the immediate subject matter and prisoners of their position papers. Their latitude of action is always circumscribed by statutory restrictions, policy guidelines and prior decisions. Behind the confident facade that each actor presents to his colleagues and to the outside world lurks a morbid compulsion to protect himself from the unexpected, to make the weight of one's agency count and to appear effective in the eyes of superiors—but with the gnawing realization that the options available are limited and the course of events uncontrollable.

In this institutional atmosphere of public self-confidence and private frustration, the paradigms of decision-makers—their tacit assumptions and pre-conditioned approaches—cannot help but affect the outcome of the most carefully structured deliberations. For example, in a typical interde-

partmental policy meeting, the lawyer/assistant secretary of defense can be counted on for an impeccable summing up of his department's position, but he will rarely contribute any new insights and will often fall back on generalities and false parallels when new elements are injected into the equation. The career ambassador representing State will give detailed, carefully balanced political appraisals and has no difficulty in responding cogently to unexpected comments or disagreements on substance—but his message is sometimes so hedged and qualified that it gets lost in transmission. The White House special assistant will bubble over with erudition and glib formulations, mostly inapposite, and then deliver a ten-minute lecture on administration philosophy in the pathetic belief that it will have an impact on the politely impassive general seated opposite. When his turn comes, the general will give a cool, matter-of-fact statement of the JCS position, buttressed by an impenetrable array of statistics,

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which may be logical from a purely military standpoint but is devastating in its political implications. And all concerned will deliberately exclude domestic social, economic and political considerations from their consensus, as if national capabilities and will counted for nothing in the formation of policy.

Of course, the theory of the system is that any contradictions will be reconciled, domestic considerations weighed and a harmonious synthesis achieved through the superior wisdom of the chief executive and his secretary of state. But the former is usually a politician with only a limited capability to assess independently the options presented to him, while the latter has helped to structure the options and is therefore part of the problem. To make matters worse, both are under constant temptation to inject themselves in person into situations best dealt with at a more discreet level of public exposure. If they yield to it, they put their personal prestige unnecessarily on the line and risk the additional hazard of identifying their most publicized

achievements with their own political lives. As the world becomes more interdependent, and the variables grow more intractable and complex, the probabilities of error and miscalculation multiply.

Is there any escape from this dilemma or, to paraphrase Burke, are we doomed to be lashed round and round in the same miserable circle of repetition and error? Are the paradigms of our decision-makers so rigid that their responses are as predetermined as Dr. Pavlov's dog?

Seven years ago in this review ("Our Foreign Affairs Establishment: The Need for Reform," Spring, 1969), I contended that if the policy coordination apparatus were streamlined and domestic social, economic and political considerations brought into policy planning at an early stage, the decision-making process might be substantially improved. This solution now seems inadequate, though certainly ameliorative so far as it goes. But even the most efficient process attainable is no stronger than its participants.

First, we must recognize that instead of being treated as a technician in foreign policy decision-making, the specialist is an indispensable participant. Even absent all other considerations, the complexity of modern weapons systems and the interrelationships of economic and financial policy will make the policy-maker ignore expert advice at his peril. Such obvious goals as protection of the environment, controlled exploitation of raw materials, development of a global transportation and communications system, sharing of limited energy resources and all the other *desiderata* of a rational world order are unattainable without studies and projections of the most advanced kind and a continuous reassessment of objectives in light of changing conditions. Throughout the world, the growing incompatibility of national sovereignty with global solutions makes comprehension of internal social and economic forces all the more essential. In these and other areas only the specialist, be he scientist, engineer, economist, foreign ser-

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vice officer or intelligence analyst, is in a position to collect and interpret the data on which rational policy options can be based.

Where does this leave the sub-cabinet managerial layer and its corps of high level generalists? Regardless of how policy coordination is organized within the executive branch, there will always have to be a mechanism for mediating between the advice and recommendations of experts and the political objectives of the administration, if only to impose the electoral mandate on the bureaucracy. But this echelon can only be as strong as the ability and qualifications of its members. If they are more limited in approach and perspective than some of the specialists, there will be no diminution in the rate of policy failure. Organizational changes are useful, but the net improvement will be zero unless qualitative improvement of managerial personnel keeps pace with structural reform.

As a first step, Congress should face the fact that after years of blood, blunder and deception the

competence of the foreign affairs establishment can no longer be taken for granted. There must be an end to bringing unqualified outsiders into top policy positions with each change of administration. It is one thing to make a prominent lawyer chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, quite another to allow him to meddle in the volatile politics of Indonesia or the Congo a month after being sworn in as an undersecretary. The best products of university faculties should continue to be recruited—but not for posts for which they are unsuited. There should be no repetition of the anomaly of a Harvard dean, ignorant of the sinister world of underground warfare, presiding for six years over the national security committee charged with supervising covert operations—and then shirking responsibility for assassination plots and gross violations of domestic law when the sordid story finally comes out. Both the motives and qualifications of outside nominees to posts in the national security establishment should be

rigorously scrutinized, and in the case of candidates requiring Senate confirmation the burden should be on the White House to demonstrate their specific fitness for the posts to which they are nominated.

Second, the whole sociology of the foreign affairs establishment ought to be the subject of more scholarly and systematic examination than can be provided by special commissions or the anecdotal recollections of ex-officials, including the present writer. For example, it seems probable that the covert side of the CIA, like other clandestine organizations, is a subculture of the kind described by Gresham Sykes and others, where subterranean values like retribution, thrills, incognitos, violence and secret lawbreaking are legitimized and given approbation within the limits of official directives. If so, the type of adventurer who gravitates to this subculture may be thoroughly unsuited to subsequent employment in a decision or policy-making role that requires prudence, balance and good judgment. Similarly, the meagre and

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unoriginal contributions of senior Foreign Service officers to policy-making and its literature surely are rooted in the values of the type of individual attracted to the Foreign Service and the value system of the Service itself. Indeed, the extent to which all aspirants for membership in the foreign affairs establishment are motivated by considerations other than genuine interest in foreign affairs could be the subject of special investigation. If group values serve to fix paradigms, then their etiology deserves serious investigation.

Third, significant changes are needed in both the organization and process of policy-making. The managerial layer should be reduced in size and the number of purely political appointments restricted to the cabinet and sub-cabinet level. The functions of most appointees below the rank of undersecretary should be turned over to civil servants at the senior executive level, thus eliminating superfluous coordinators and allaying the natural resentment of career professionals at having to report to unqualified out-

siders. The level of specialist advice should be correspondingly raised. Except for essential mediation at the highest policy level, vital reports and recommendations on such crucial matters as energy, nuclear safety, strategic resource availability, marine pollution and the like should not be delayed, tinkered with and watered down on their way to higher authority by licensed interlopers with little to contribute but the ill-defined interests of their bureau or agency. The secretary of state himself should exercise the self-discipline not to take final action on technical matters outside his competence without giving the specialists a voice in the decision.

Finally, existing institutions ought to be strengthened instead of relying for foreign policy talent on the vagaries of a high-level spoils system. The graveyards of America and Asia are sufficiently filled to justify a moratorium on further politico-military experiments by "whiz kids" and game theorists from the banks of the Charles. However, if the role of career pro-

fessionals is to be elevated, their capabilities and experience must be broadened and diversified. Their education should be a never-ending process. Leaves of absence for graduate study, transfers to universities under the Intergovernmental Personnel Act and inter-agency personnel exchange should all be utilized to expose present and future policy-makers to disciplines and approaches different from their own. The National War College could well be transformed into a graduate institute of international affairs for the entire executive branch, where inquiry would be stressed rather than doctrine, and where economics, sociology, international law and environmental and natural resource studies would hold equal place with courses in strategy and military technology. The constant and disruptive reshuffling of cabinet appointments and agency heads that has characterized recent administrations makes it imperative to concentrate on the real policy-makers of the managerial layer, for they are the arbiters of our future.



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## MAGIC CARPET CAPER

from page 16

hooked. Both heads turned as if pulled by the same string; both began to peer intently at the sky.

It is a matter of conjecture whether, among those seated around the red carpet, it was the Chief of Staff or the senior minister who first became aware that the two very important diplomats standing at one side, and the two ladies, had become openly oblivious to the speech and the occasion. Clearly, however, both noted that all four foreign heads were turned toward one spot in the afternoon sky, and both, together, raised their eyes in the same direction. It is also beyond dispute that the infection spread around the remaining seats encircling the red carpet in a matter of seconds, and that in the same short breath of time several alert people in the front ranks of the crowd itself took in the tableau, were infected, and began to maneuver themselves in order to be able to peer over shoulders.

At that very moment, moreover, as the dignified man at the mi-

crophone was saying, "... and these walls shall endure, as those mountains shall endure ..." he looked up and gestured to illustrate his point. And stopped with his hand transfixed in air and his eyes caught.

"Good God!" he said, and "Ya Allah!"

The effect of his words and his obvious captivation by something above and beyond swept over the great crowd like wind rippling a field of lush grass. Like a great field of sunflowers, all heads turned skyward. Cory and the boy were clearly visible below the great white triangle of sail.

Most of their instant audience reacted with surprise or nervous laughter or other emotions appropriate to their dispositions, but a few responded in rather special fashion.

"My word!" said the tall Britisher who looked quickly, fiercely, at Cindy.

"Great balls of fire!" said the American Ambassador, quite accurately suspecting the worst. "Is that one of mine?"

Shafiq, the senior police officer, thought dammit, we covered every angle except up. But his mind worked as fast as it always did under pressure. Fortunately for all concerned he was the first to take in the small figure below the sail, to recall the Military Secretary's strange report about the youngster Rafiq being seen with a diplomat, to spot some of his men raising guns, and to be standing a scant dozen feet from the microphone. He covered the space in two seconds, grabbed the mike from the hand of the startled President, shouted:

"Attention, police! No shooting!"

While his voice was still echoing from the loudspeakers, Shafiq turned to the great man.

"Sir, I think there," he pointed at the V-shaped sail descending smoothly onto the grand staircase roof above the heads of the crowd, "is your grandson."

"Is it possible?" the President said, his voice showing that he knew very well it was possible. The Military Secretary appeared and

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began to shout but at that moment the kite nosed up and settled gently and a spontaneous roar of applause burst from the terrace. A short breath later the two fliers appeared hand in hand from the back of the sail, moved uncertainly forward. The taller figure broke away suddenly to grab the wing, turn it around, show the printing underneath.

Hundreds of voices exhaled the name, the laughter and shouting increased, the applause swelled. The President gently pushed the Military Secretary aside. He had a small smile on his face as he stepped again to the microphone.

"Ladies and gentlemen!" He had to say it several times, calmly, insistently, before he caught the attention of the crowd. Even then they listened to him but their eyes, like his, were on the man and boy, again hand in hand, now standing at the edge of the upper roof looking down into the field of upturned faces.

"Ladies and gentlemen," the President repeated, "I would like to introduce my young grandson

... ripple of exclamations, "... who has decided to come to our party in a slightly unorthodox manner ..." laughter until he continued, "... and his friend—whom we shall call Sinbad—because he has flown in on a Magic Carpet."

And that is all the President said, except to ask the assembly to welcome their unexpected guests. Rafiq and Cory came down by a hastily procured ladder, walked through a corridor spontaneously opened by the crowd, and stood while the boy explained excitedly to his grandfather how this was his best friend and how they had flown together from the very highest tip of the very highest mountain on a *Jadoo ka kaleen* and could *Coh-Ree* please stay and play with him before he had to eat his dinner.

Beginning most particularly with Cory himself, everyone assumed that the engaging but of course very foolish young American Third Secretary would be instantly whisked out of the country so that the ... uh ... incident could be promptly and diplomatically forgotten. But they failed to reckon with the

whims of popular emotion or the power of instant legend or the great negotiating advantage of a nine-year-old boy who happens to be the favorite grandson of a President.

Cory stayed. He was adopted as a national hero with his picture and Rafiq's and many versions of their adventure appearing in all the papers. No one seemed to remember (except the Military Secretary and perhaps one or two very important Ambassadors) that he had taken unusual chances with the welfare of a very important, very young man.

He even flew again but (at the gentle insistence of the President) not with Rafiq, and even the boy seemed to understand that this had to be. But Cindy soared with him many times and the flights became one of the most popular features of the local scene. So many people gathered so quickly to watch when the Magic Carpet flew that Shafiq kept patrols of his policemen on hand to clear the landing area.

And sometimes he watched the flights himself, with only occasional accusing glances at the sky.



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## MAKING FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY

from page 11

ery is almost inevitable. Even if Gerald Ford is the next President, the machinery is likely to go through some modification. Let me throw my thoughts into the hopper.

- Whatever machinery is established, it should treat with foreign policy, not economic policy, not political policy, not security policy, not science policy. There can be specialized sub-committees to provide the technical expertise needed in all these fields, but subordinating the economic to the political and the security, as is now the case, and as the Murphy Commission seems to advocate, strikes me as a serious mistake. The desk officers in State used to have a way of saying that "political considerations are overriding" whenever their position had no other justification. Political considerations rarely should override; they are part and parcel of the analysis.

- Temptation to short circuit machinery because of political

expediency should be made difficult, since this is an almost certain recipe for favoring special over national interests. I would go as far as to write laws to prohibit this kind of short circuiting. One example I have in mind, one of the crazy things we do to which I alluded earlier, was the international travel of then Commerce Secretary Stans to bludgeon the Japanese into imposing export controls on textiles and apparel. This was domestic politics all the way and it was done with no sensitivity, no knowledge of procedure, no cognizance of Japanese mores, and it was a disaster. Process does permit weighing of all interests.

- Finally, I hope some techniques can be found to sensitize personnel to concerns that their colleagues from other agencies have. The Murphy Commission recommends more interchange of personnel among Treasury, State, Agriculture, Commerce, etc. This might help to fade the agency coloration and expose the key analysts to foreign considerations if they are from a domestic agency, and to

domestic considerations if they are from the State Department.

Machinery for decision making is not an abstract issue devoid of substance. As I have tried to demonstrate, the choice of machinery can often be the most substantive and definitive of public policy decisions, as when stacked machinery is used to examine a given issue. The lack of procedure stimulates decisions without full analysis.

However, there is never one correct machinery. This is the reason that I have chosen to deal with concepts. Eventually, of course, the concepts will have to be translated into specific organization.

What matters is the policy process mixture of analyzing substantive issues in a machinery that permits consideration of all relevant elements and the presentation of viewpoints of all appropriate interest groups, so that priorities and trade-offs can be assessed. This, I suspect, will be one of the first foreign policy decisions the next administration will have to make. I hope it gets its priorities in the right order.



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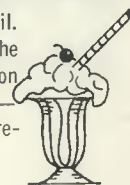
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## The Lone Eagle

LINDBERGH: *A Biography*, by Leonard Mosley. Doubleday.

The story of Charles Augustus Lindbergh, the Lone Eagle, offers lessons out of Aeschylus or Euripides. First man to fly solo across the Atlantic, victim of an appalling crime, a leading isolationist before World War II, and a global conservationist and environmentalist thereafter, his career was a pattern of extraordinary vicissitudes, most of them of his own making.

The author of the first biography to appear since Lindbergh's death in 1973 is an English journalist whose fascination with his subject took the form of hundreds of interviews with surviving friends and associates and examination of all the documents made available to him by a reticent and privacy-conscious family. The result is a detailed, occasionally impressionistic account, which devotes as much space to the hero's singular role in the pre-war debate over US intervention as it does to his spectacular aviation exploits and wholly admirable family life.

If the author's researches are accurate, Lindbergh was a more active apologist for the Nazi regime during the period 1936-41 than has hitherto been recognized. Partly as a result of his isolationist background—his Congressman father was an active opponent of US intervention in World War I—and partly as a result of personal trauma over the kidnaping tragedy, he seems to have developed a deep-seated revulsion to the more unattractive aspects of parliamentary democracy and mass society as they developed in the '20s and '30s. Unconsciously abetted by a gifted and sensitive wife, Lindbergh seems to have shared the mystique of nature, the warrior virtues, and abhorrence of Bolshevism that in part produced fascism and Nazism.

After Germany re-armed and became a threat to European peace, the failure of France and

Britain to come to terms with—not to oppose—Hitler reinforced Lindbergh's conviction that America should stay neutral. Initially drawn into quasi-official observer status by the US military attaché in Berlin, Lindbergh seems to have willingly acquiesced in the role of an unofficial and friendly envoy to the German air force and aircraft industry. On his return to the United States he was courted by the America First movement, and while never actually a supporter of the Hitler regime, soon became the foremost spokesman against aid to the Allies.

The inexcusably shabby treatment that Lindbergh suffered at the hands of President Roosevelt after Pearl Harbor can to some extent be explained—though not excused—by Lindbergh's own equivocal behavior. Had he simply reported for duty to the nearest Army Air Force headquarters on the morning of December 8, there is no doubt that he would shortly have been another one-star general serving in a command or staff capacity. Instead, his belated and indirect overtures triggered a vindictive political reaction and his talents were wasted through four years of war.

The book is a useful reminder of the unpredictable effects that single individuals can have on history—and history on them.

—CHARLES MAECHLING, JR.

## Arabic Art, Science and History

THE GENIUS OF ARAB CIVILIZATION; *Source of Renaissance*, edited by John R. Hayes. New York University Press, \$45.00.

This must certainly be one of the handsomest books yet published on Arab civilization. Its high price may well be justified by the quality of the reproduction of many excellent photos and illustrated manuscripts, which are combined with a series of essays by authorities in the fields of art, literature, architecture, philosophy, and the sciences and commerce. Six of the eight main chapters are by scholars of Arab background. The essays are of an introductory nature, but detailed enough to advance and refresh the knowledge of the average reader with some previous familiarity with the subject.

Two features are especially worth noting. Interspersed between the main chapters are 24 "monographs" on notable people, places, and things; at the end is an excellent discursive guide to further reading. The feeling of discovery which one not readily familiar with the Arabic names might feel would be roughly equal to that felt by an Arab reader were he to come across for the first time brief summaries of the lives of Chaucer, St. Thomas Aquinas, Marco Polo, Arnold Toynbee, and Leonardo da Vinci, or others of equal stature. And for those who consider themselves well-read in the fields of Arab art, science, and history, a careful glance at the number of recommended works published within the last ten years may well spur one on to renewed effort. An excellent and beautiful book.

—CHARLES O. CECIL

## Preventing Conflict

THE USE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, edited by F. S. Northedge. The Free Press, \$10.00.

In the State Department we are busy with the immediate problems of foreign policy. We tend to leave the thinking about the general problem of the use of force in international relations to the lawyers or to the UN specialists. But if foreign policy is to be anything more than improvisation, then it must have a broader purpose. First and foremost that purpose should relate to preventing conflict or containing it when it occurs, as it inevitably will. This means a rule of conduct for states in their use of force and in their reactions to its use by others. F. S. Northedge, a teacher at the University of London, has put together a collection of essays on the subject, all written by British colleagues. These essays offer no new solutions but provide a useful framework for considering the problem and stimulating our thinking.

—DAVID LINEBAUGH

## The Diplomat in Fiction

"At this point I changed the subject, and escaped from George's 'inspired' delusions. But if diplomatists never know anything more than they had succeeded in finding out in this instance, they appear to me to be somewhat expensive luxuries." — *The Prisoner of Zenda*, by Anthony Hope.

# The American Foreign Service Protective Association

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE INSURANCE YEAR ENDED FEBRUARY 29, 1976

## OPERATIONS

|                              |        | As of March 1 |              |
|------------------------------|--------|---------------|--------------|
|                              |        | 1975          | 1976         |
| Members carrying Group Life  |        | 2905          | 2870         |
| Group Life in Force          |        | \$53,416,650  | \$53,810,000 |
| (exclusive of Reversionary)  |        |               |              |
| Enrolled in Foreign Service  |        |               |              |
| Benefit Plan                 |        | 9792          | 10,361       |
| Claims paid during year:     |        |               |              |
| Group Life,                  | Number | 40            | 22           |
|                              | Amount | \$ 444,350    | \$ 333,500   |
| Family Coverage,             | Number | 16            | 14           |
|                              | Amount | \$ 44,500     | \$ 39,000    |
| Accidental Death,            | Number | —             | —            |
|                              | Amount | —             | —            |
| Foreign Service Benefit Plan |        | \$ 3,300,958  | \$ 4,633,255 |

## Changes in Plan

Benefits were provided for the services of a licensed clinical psychologist.

\* \* \* \* \*

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## The American Foreign Service Protective Association

c/o Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520 or  
1750 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Suite 1305, Washington, D.C. 20006  
Telephone: 298-7570

## "Good for General Motors?"

 Ambassador McGhee's reminder of the MNC's crucial role is timely (March issue FSJ) but his defense goes too far and contains fundamental flaws.

First it is a simple fact that in the past five years two Secretaries of State, the Department of State and the Foreign Service have given a substantially higher priority to furthering America's economic interests—rather than the decreased support which Ambassador McGhee reports. By any possible concrete measure—numbers of hours devoted by the Secretary, percent of FSOs working on economic/commercial affairs, rates of promotion between cones—this is the case. One result is that we are clearly more conscious of the competition and more aggressive in our promotion of American exports. While businessmen can always ask for more, they cannot legitimately complain about the trend.

But the more fundamental issue is whether MNCs are to be beyond criticism, whether we should hold to ex-Secretary of Defense Wilson's view that what is good for General Motors is necessarily good for the United States. This blank check attitude is rejected not only in Foggy Bottom but across the nation—as it should be. The current scepticism about the functioning of America's institutions extends beyond big government to big business for its behavior at home as well as overseas—as the critical attitude toward our business establishment of the Jerry Browns, Ralph Naders and George Wallaces attest. Thus there is not the "divergence between the views of Americans toward our economic system at home and its operation overseas," that Ambassador McGhee finds. In fact, precisely the same major corporations which are under attack overseas have come under attack at home and for precisely the same reasons—corruption and excessive political power. (A recent Harris Survey reports that only 16 percent of the American people have confidence in major companies, compared to 20 percent who express a great deal

of confidence in the Executive branch of the government.) Through illegal political contributions and bribes a significant number of our major American corporations and corporate leaders have done serious damage to our own democratic process and to relations with our major democratic allies in Europe and Japan. And in the Third World these corporations have used their considerable influence to foster ultimately disastrous American support for doomed undemocratic, unrepresentative and racist forces—the most worrisome and obnoxious current case being the pressure brought by at least some of the more than 300 US corporations with substantial operations in South Africa, (IT&T, IBM, General Motors, Goodyear, Union Carbide, among others, are there) for support of that apartheid regime even though their and our long-term economic as well as political interests in Southern Africa clearly argue that we get on the side of the 95 percent black majority.

Thus the issue—and the change which has taken place in the Department, in America and in the world—is not a desire to "dismantle" America's corporations abroad any more than at home, but a new demand for public accountability—a legitimate concern that corporate behavior accord both with America's overall domestic and foreign interests and with all nations' aspirations for control over their own destiny. The days of Adam Smith in national and now international economics are gone—we should spend less time regretting their passing and more in shaping the new economic order which is already emerging to encourage both political accountability and economic growth. Such a new global framework and consensus are required *inter alia* for the MNC to survive and to continue to make its essential contribution.

R. M. H. PALMER

## "The Embattled Multinationals"

 It is sad that the present state of AFSA affairs seems to be depriving the JOURNAL of comment on substantive issues. This letter, addressed to Ambassador McGhee's article—"The Embattled Multinationals: American Against Itself"—is meant to help redress

that "grievance."

Ambassador McGhee knows whereof he writes and he writes on behalf of a worthwhile cause. I too have labored in that vineyard for many years, though always from the government side. I would just like to add a few points which may heighten the perspective.

First, I believe it is worth emphasizing that relationships between American business and our embassies and consulates have several dimensions. Distinctions must be drawn between American firms engaged in international business who regularly need and/or use our services and those who do not. The multinationals generally fall in the latter category. More often than not, except in countries where government involvement in business is over-riding, they simply have no requirements on Foreign Service establishments. They have their own large staffs, their own locals, their own contacts. Those multinationals that maintain close contact with the Foreign Service do so more for public relations reasons than because of need. This accounts in part for their standoffishness.

Secondly, the interests of the multinationals sometimes appear to conflict with US interests. One example. Should the Foreign Service support American multinationals when they are selling in third country markets in *competition* with goods produced in the US? This is not an insurmountable issue, of course, but it often does lead to misunderstanding.

Many criticize multinationals for *not* being as American as apple pie. Informed critics do not suggest that the multinationals should stop being good citizens in the countries in which they operate. And they are aware of overseas tax and financial obligations. But they do believe that many multinationals should contribute more of their earnings to the US Treasury. While they can understand the desire of the multinationals to maximize earnings, they suggest that effective tax rates paid the US are not in line with their earnings or their obligations to their own country. The facts, of course, vary widely, company by company. But in the context of the point of this article—America Against Itself—this issue is worth pondering.

One final point. Ambassador McGhee properly notes that bribes and payoffs are reprehensible. As they truly are. But the recent publicity makes it appear that this is a new state of affairs which, as Ambassador McGhee also observes, is not so. And, on this score, it is worth noting that while there is no such thing on this earth as 100 percent morality, the *relative* morality of American business operating abroad is far higher than that of others.

EUGENE M. BRADERMAN  
Washington

### The Watch on the Main

 For the last few months, we in AFSA-Frankfurt have been watching the Board's antics in Washington with a growing sense of dismay and disgust. The Board has in a very short time brought itself and the Foreign Service as a whole into disrepute as witnessed by articles in the *FEDERAL TIMES* and even *STARS AND STRIPES*.

Many of us feel that Mr. Hemenway has overstepped his bounds as President. Many of us also believe that a number of proposals supported by President Hemenway have merit and we wonder why the current Board does not support them or seek the membership's opinion on these topics. We also question the Board's claim to "represent" AFSA when four out of 13 members are appointed. In any event we do not wish to embroil ourselves in Washington's controversy as to who is right and who is wrong.

To avoid taking sides in this issue, and to end the bickering which has crippled AFSA activity in Washington, we propose that the bylaws be amended to permit special elections, that the current Board resign in toto and that a special election be held to elect a new Board. We further propose in accordance with Article X of the Bylaws that all members of the current Board and/or their appointees be recalled should they refuse to resign and that new elections be organized.

We hope that other AFSA chapters and members will notify both AFSA-Frankfurt and AFSA-Washington of their support of this proposal.

FRANK BUCHHOLZ  
*Acting AFSA Representative*

### A Clarification

 Since Mr. Hemenway has referred to me in his report to AFSA in the May issue of the *JOURNAL* in a manner which implies support of his position in matters of contention in the Board of Directors, I should appreciate the opportunity to clarify my position.

After hearing Mr. Hemenway as well as other members of the Board speak at the brunch on April 3, I urged Mr. Hemenway and other members of the Board in a letter to adopt a proposal made at the brunch by Ambassador Loy Henderson with a view to reconciling their differences. This was to seek the advice and recommendations of an impartial outside group on how to compose them. It was in this context and spirit that I withdrew my signature from the recall petition, which I gather may involve a rather lengthy procedure. It seems to me that protraction of the present situation would be most damaging to the Association and to the interests of the officers in active service. I expressed my concern at the brunch, as did others present, regarding the use of litigation to deal with problems within the Association.

I regret that neither Mr. Hemenway nor other members of the Board have addressed themselves to Ambassador Henderson's proposal in their statements in the May *JOURNAL*.

JACQUES J. REINSTEIN  
*FSO-Retired*

Washington

### Rating the Prof

 When the Department very kindly sent me to Harvard for the 1957/58 academic year, it asked in return that I let the FSI know what I thought of the professors and their courses.

The other day I turned up my comments on one particular professor, and thought they might still be of interest, 18 years on:

"Course Title: Principles of International Politics (Govt. 180)

Instructor: Henry Kissinger

Comments: This is Henry Kissinger of 'Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy' fame, taking up where Machiavelli, Metternich and Hans Morgenthau left off. Mr. Kissinger is not sanguine about American ability to cope with the

political world of today, partly because of our peculiar institutions, but also because we have in his view no ideological, or 'conceptual,' framework within which to operate.

"FSOs may disagree with this analysis of our problems, but they will find Kissinger's approach to *specific* political problems refreshingly clearcut and free of illusions. The lecture hall was infested last year by large numbers of eager undergraduates, anxious to demonstrate their vocabulary. Some of this was amusing, but Mr. Kissinger is not too strong on discipline and a few of the sessions tended to get out of hand.

"Mr. Kissinger is always willing to talk with students outside the classroom."

HARRY I. ODELL

Bern

### John Harter's Complaint

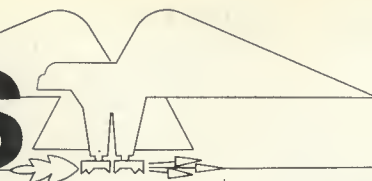
 AFSA News *falsely* reported in the May *JOURNAL* that the Employee-Management Relations Commission dismissed a formal Complaint I filed last November "against the State Department, most recently covered in the February *JOURNAL* . . . for lack of proof concerning the charges of wrongdoing by past and present AFSA Boards."

The Complaint at issue was that the Department's Management authorities violated several sections of Executive Order 11636 by engaging in a number of Unfair Labor Practices. The Complaint has never been "covered" by the *JOURNAL*, nor have its various elements yet been examined through a judicial proceeding, as required under the Commission's regulations. It could not be dismissed "for lack of proof" because the evidence to substantiate the charges is overwhelming. A ten-page Order dealing with the matter, issued by the Commission late in March, was recently returned to the Commission for further consideration.

More and more AFSA members hope the Editorial Board will soon force a cessation of the crass abuse of the *JOURNAL* by a small clique seeking to perpetuate their death grip, even though they are not representative of the membership.

JOHN J. HARTER  
Reston, Va.

# AFSA NEWS



This portion of the JOURNAL is the responsibility of the Governing Board 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

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## TAXATION OF ALLOWANCES COMMITTEE REPORTS

Members may recall that in October the House Ways and Means Committee deferred action on Taxation of our overseas allowances pending a report from an Inter-Agency Committee (December FSJ, p. 33). That Committee has now issued a preliminary report.

"Consensus among management representatives of the foreign affairs agencies opposes repeal of the section of the Internal Revenue code that exempts the living allowances of US Government civilians abroad from taxation. The interim report has concluded that repeal would result in a 'substantial' increase in the tax liability of employees abroad, and that 'most people in all income categories could not be attracted to service abroad given the negative effect on the employee and his family resulting from the unreimbursed extra expenses incurred. . . .'" The report illustrates the case against repeal by showing projected tax increases—in some cases as high as 150 percent of current tax liability—for a range of em-

## DEVELOPMENT INTERNS ACCORDED EQUAL PER DIEM RATE AT FSI

The Association appreciated and accepted an AID proposal to increase the per diem paid to its International Development Interns (IDIs) in training at FSI to the rate won across-the-board by AFSA and reported in the February FSJ on page 33. The IDIs on temporary duty in the USA were formerly paid:

Full per diem (\$33) for first 21 days, then

Half per diem for next 99 days, then

Quarter per diem for balance of TDY in USA.

The new FSI per diem rate, which now applies to the IDIs, is:

Actual subsistence expense (ASE) up to \$42 for first 30 days, then

Per diem up to \$19 for next 90 days, then

No ASE or per diem after 120 days.

This change, providing for greater Foreign Service uniformity and removing inequities which have led to misunderstandings, represents another step forward for AID's Foreign Service.

## GOVERNING BOARD

The Governing Board met as follows: **Tues., April 13:** Possible unfair labor practice against high management official; radiation at Amembassy Moscow; report on recall procedures. **Tues., April 20:** cancelled. **Wed., April 28:** Move of AID offices to Buzzards Point, S.W.; recall procedures enacted; radiation at Amembassy Moscow; censure of AFSA President for unauthorized remarks to press. **Tues., May 4:** Suggestions for AFSA recall procedures made to Mr. Hemenway by Mr. Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.; possible unfair labor practice against high management official; possible failure to meet requirements of referenda; resolution on official positions of the Association; appointments to Interim Recall Committee; creation of Amendments Committee. **Tues., May 11 (Special):** "Future of AFSA," Federal Charter for AFSA, regulation for Chapters, Interim Recall Committee nominations, President's FSJ column suspended, Amendments Committee.

Members may request the minutes of these or other meetings, giving the date(s) or subject(s) by writing to AFSA at Room 3644, New State.

## AFSA QUERIES CANDIDATES ON AMBASSADORSHIPS

AFSA remains concerned over the number of ambassadorial appointments which continue to be made from outside career ranks, and, more importantly, over the evident lack of qualifications of many of these nominees to serve as Chiefs of Mission.

Since this election year presents an opportunity to bring this issue to the attention of the public and its political leadership, on April 16 the Association followed up an initiative by member Lewis Murray and sent a letter on the subject to all presidential hopefuls. We will report any interesting responses.

## JOIN AFSA (OR ENCOURAGE OTHERS TO JOIN)

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, June, 1976

## NEWS FROM THE STANDING COMMITTEES

### AID AFFAIRS

#### STORM CLOUDS AHEAD

In recent months, the Association has received disturbing signals concerning future Agency manpower levels. We all remember the assurances provided by both the Administrator and Deputy Administrator that by early 1976 we should be "over the hump" and that the personnel problems caused first by "Congressional pressure" and then by the Indochina evacuation would have dissipated.

Recent briefings provided AFSA on this subject, while informative regarding the short run, indicate that the Agency has little in the way of long-range manpower projections upon which rational personnel planning can be based. Instead, in the last few months the Agency has talked about various "surpluses" and "skills mix" problems. Recently, we were informed that AID believes it will be able to accommodate short-term "surpluses" through reassignments in Washington and overseas, but that there remains a potential longer-term problem which could lead to terminations of both Civil Service and Foreign Service employees.

Such a proposition makes it obvious that AID will undertake "selective RIFs" at any time to address what they perceive essentially as a "skills mix" problem related to particular small occupational "AOSC" categories. This is a daunting and intolerable situation. We have informed management that Agency employees cannot continue to be strung along in this manner. We have asked the Administrator and the Assistant Administrator for Program and Management Services over and over again to plainly state future personnel requirements and AID's recruitment and promotion policies. Such information would permit employees to assess potential for retention, promotions, assignments, etc. We have urged the Agency to address this critical situation to avoid exacerbating the already poor morale of employees and the erosion of AID's professionalism. Until they focus on this, AFSA can only assume the worst and advise our Agency members accordingly.

### USIA AFFAIRS

#### AFTER THE DUST SETTLES

As we reported in the last FSJ, AFSA lost the right to represent USIA's foreign service employees in the recent election. The results were 504 for AFSA, 853 for AFGE and 75 for neither party. In short a clear cut victory for AFGE. We offer them our sincere congratulations and best wishes in their effort to represent the interests of USIA's foreign service. As the "loyal opposition" we will offer them our support or comments as we feel these best serve the interests of our members and of USIA's foreign service community.

In the meantime AFSA will continue to pursue those professional questions that have always been one of our chief concerns. To improve these activities the USIA Standing Committee is already considering a proposal to institute a series of working lunches to which we would invite prominent figures, including Congressmen, to discuss questions that are of interest to USIA's foreign service corps. We are looking for other ideas as well and welcome any suggestions. Please send them to USIA Standing Committee AFSA, Room 3644, Dept. of State.

Even though we have lost the election we still feel a moral obliga-

tion to speak out on questions of employee management relations that affect the foreign service of USIA. We will continue our interest in standards of recruitment of foreign service generalists and specialists, promotion policies, allowances, tours of duty and all the other matters that importantly affect the careers of USIA's foreign service. One matter that will be given special attention is the implementation of the new grievance procedures that AFSA has just negotiated with the three foreign service agencies. In the near future we will be establishing a system of counselors to whom members can turn to resolve grievances.

In short, even though defeat is disheartening, it need not be fatal. Despite the confused FAS question and the well-publicized troubles on the AFSA board, both of which must have cost us many votes, there were still five hundred and three members of USIA's foreign service who voted for AFSA. At its nadir AFSA still has a firm bedrock of support. With hard work, dedication, and skillful reorganization that bedrock can become the foundation of a strong, vigorous and successful AFSA/USIA.

### STATE AFFAIRS

#### FOCUS ON NEW "ZONE MERIT" PROPOSAL

The AFSA State Standing Committee's principal preoccupation during the past month has been management's proposals on the FSO selection system. On April 8 management outlined proposals for a "zone merit" promotion system from FSO-5 and 0-4; a new system for commissioning junior officers, and the application of "assessment exercises" to discover in FSO-3s capabilities for service at higher levels which may not be readily apparent from efficiency reports.

We circulated the full text of the management letter to the overseas chapters (State 87122) and in an April 15 Redtop to Washington-based FSOs. We specifically asked the State Keyman Network, and organized interest groups such as

2000+, COA and JFSOC, for their views. On April 29 we held an open AFSA State Caucus meeting in the Department's East Auditorium, attended by more than 200 people at which management officials presented their proposals and answered questions.

On May 5 we received from management the draft 1976 Selection Board precepts, which contain the "zone merit" concept for FSO-5 and FSO-4, and which management linked to our agreement to the overall three-tier concept described above; otherwise we would go back to last year's precepts. We replied to management on May 7, expressing our interest in consultations on these issues, but denying any necessary

linkage between the "zone merit" system and the overall "three tier" umbrella agreement and asking for more information comparing the present system with the proposed one in terms of its impact on the promotion prospects of FSOs in different cones and with various years in class. The management letter, the summary of management's proposed major changes in the precepts, and our response were transmitted as State 114776 on May 11.

At this writing, we anticipate within the next few days management's draft "umbrella agreement" which we plan to circulate overseas and through the State Keyman network.

Because the precepts must be agreed, one way or the other, before the Selection Boards meet in August, we will have to come to a decision within the next month or so (perhaps by the time you read this) on the concept of the zone-merit system and its relationship, if any, to the other elements of the management package. The decision probably will be difficult since the management package offers no increase in promotions, only a reorganization which will mean that some mid-level FSOs would have a better chance for promotion, and others a worse chance than they have had under the present system. We are determined to extract the maximum available information from management and to inform the Membership and seek its advice to the maximum extent feasible, before making that decision.

Other topics discussed at State Standing Committee meetings (April 8, 21, 28, May 5, 13, 17) have been non-promotion of Junior officers over the threshold, adequate representation of junior officers on the Standing Committee, proposed Foreign Affairs Specialist group, and straw vote on a new Treasurer.

#### HOME LEAVE

WANT an ideal base of operations for homeleave? See page 3.

JACKSON HOLE WYOMING. Fully furnished one-bedroom apartment. Sleeps five. Ideal any-season home leave or vacation spot, bordering Grand Teton National Park and only sixty miles from Yellowstone. Superb skiing, hiking, riding, fishing, etc. Contact F. P. Olson, Amcongen, Toronto.

## COMMITTEES

### RADIATION NEGOTIATIONS

The AFSA Committee on Extraordinary Dangers, headed by Harry Blaney, has continued its discreet but insistent contacts with management on the subject of microwave radiation in Moscow. The committee has obtained classified briefings on the situation in Moscow from management, as have current and future Moscow Embassy Foreign Service people and former Moscow hands still in the US Government. Further, the committee has been urging management to brief Moscow veterans who have left government. According to published information, the State Department has installed screens at the Moscow Embassy which reduce microwave radiation exposure by 90%, well below established safety standards. The Department has agreed that any Foreign Service person can without prejudice decline an assignment to Moscow or obtain a transfer out of there.

In response to a committee question about possible radiation dangers from the Department's own telecommunication equipment, Deputy Under Secretary Eagleburger has told the committee that the equipment has been checked, with no measurable radiation detected. The committee has also requested that in future, employees be informed as soon as possible about any exceptional condition which could adversely affect their health or welfare. We have pressed upon management the unacceptability of their knowing such information, yet keeping it to themselves, and we believe they will respond positively.

AFSA's Legal Counselor has reviewed the Federal Workmen's Compensation Act and has determined that it is applicable to health conditions, if any, resulting from the situation in Moscow. Anyone seeking information about claims under this Act may contact our Counselor at Room 3644, New State for assistance.

What remains unknown is whether environmental conditions in Moscow are in fact hazardous to health. Perhaps this can be determined only after a careful biostatistical study of those who have been exposed to such conditions. The Department has agreed that such a

study will be conducted. Pursuant to the committee's urging, the study will be conducted by an independent organization. AFSA will be consulted in its design, be permitted to designate an expert to help develop its methodology, and be informed of the results.

The Department's reluctance to comment publicly in detail on the issue—because, according to a Department spokesman, delicate talks are in progress—has led to some public confusion. AFSA President Hemenway, acting without Board knowledge, has charged in the press that the committee and the Department are participating in a "cover-up." AFSA rejects such charges. Our only concern is for the health and welfare of Foreign Service people serving in Moscow and we are determined to do or say nothing that could harm the delicate talks in progress.

On April 28 the Governing Board heatedly discussed this issue for an hour and a half and passed a resolution commending the committee for its work, censuring Mr. Hemenway for his personal press attacks on the committee, and urging him to turn over to the committee such information as he claims to have on radiation dangers.

### MEMBERS ENCOURAGED TO SURVEY FILES

It has come to the attention of the Association that some employees have discovered adverse personnel materials in their security files. Heretofore those files have been closed and unavailable for employee perusal. However, due to the new privileges afforded US citizens by the Freedom of Information Act and Privacy Acts, employees can request that they be shown their security files for review. Request the Freedom of Information (FOI) staff of the particular Agency to call forth the files, giving the desired dates for perusal and your Social Security number.

You should take along a personal representative who can make notes as to what you discovered in your particular file on the particular date. Thereafter, the Agency can make no additions to materials seen prior to that date; materials can only be added which are subsequent to the date you reviewed your file.

## CHAPTER NEWS

### BOARD ADOPTS REGULATION ON CHAPTERS

On May 11, the Governing Board adopted a regulation implementing Bylaws Article XIV on Chapters, and the AFSA Secretary sent it to all Foreign Service posts soon thereafter. To be considered a chapter for certain purposes, groups of AFSA members at posts must have notified AFSA/Washington of their AFSA Representative's name and send in their Chapter Bylaws within 90 days (Aug. 9).

Further, other groups of AFSA members may become chapters if they live in one geographic area, notify AFSA/Washington of their AFSA Rep's name, and obtain Board approval of their Chapter Bylaws. A Chapter Manual with copies of the new regulation and sample bylaws is available from the Association upon request.

### NEW MANUAL FOR CHAPTERS AND KEYPERSONS ISSUED

On April 12, AFSA sent to every Foreign Service post and to each of the 60 members of its Washington Keyman Network copies of a new manual to provide AFSA representatives with basic information about the workings of the Association. It has sections on professional and employee-representative activities, on Chapter organization abroad and on the Washington keyman network at home. Nine appendices give documentary material ranging from the AFSA Bylaws and a grievant's checklist to the guidelines for EO 11636 implementation abroad. We hope that it will make our members more aware of what's afoot in AFSA. Ask your Chapter President or keyperson for a look.

#### POSITION WANTED

TUTOR, SOCIAL SECRETARY and/or companion, available for overseas duty or vacationing. Languages, English, Spanish, French. Call evenings 8-10:30, Mrs. Torre, 588-0307.

#### POEMS WANTED

The VIRGINIA SOCIETY OF POETS is compiling a book of poems. If you would like our selection committee to consider your poem for publication, send it and a self-addressed stamped envelope to: VIRGINIA SOCIETY OF POETS, 2317 West Broad St., Richmond, Virginia 23220.

## REFERENDUM

### STATEMENT OF REFERENDUM COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ON REFERENDUM ON PUBLIC POSITIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION

This referendum is the first initiated by the Governing Board itself by resolution at the Board's May 4 meeting. Most of the resolution's supporters agreed that a referendum was not required by the Bylaws, but thought it desirable to have the Membership's view on the issues involved, on which AFSA President Hemenway and the Governing Board majority have differed in the past.

No statement has been submitted by opponents of the referendum. A statement in support of the referendum has been submitted by Vice President Hyde, mover of the resolution (see column 1 below). In order to give the Membership an opportunity to express its views clearly on the issues involved, two options are provided on the attached referendum ballot:

1. Yes should be marked by

Members who support the referendum proposal and generally agree with the views expressed.

2. No should be marked by Members who oppose the referendum proposal.

The final position of the Association on this issue will be determined by counting the Yes votes, compared with the No votes.

Members wishing to preserve the confidentiality of their ballots may use two envelopes, signing and legibly printing their names on the outer envelope, addressing it to P.O. Box 1316, Ref. 2, Arlington, Virginia 22210, and enclosing therein a second envelope containing the ballot. Ballots received by 10 a.m. August 1 will be counted by the Referendum Committee.

Results will be announced as soon as possible thereafter and published in the September AFSA News.

### RESOLUTION REGARDING OFFICIAL POSITIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION

#### BE IT RESOLVED THAT:

Pursuant to its authority under Article VII.4.h of the Bylaws, the Governing Board hereby makes the following regulation interpreting and implementing the Bylaws hereinafter indicated.

1. Pursuant to Article VII.3 and 4.a and b and VIII.2, the policies and positions of the American Foreign Service Association are determined by the Governing Board, or by Committees or Board Members to which the Board has delegated authority to act.

2. Pursuant to Article VII.4.f and g, the Governing Board has the duty to keep the Membership currently informed of important matters affecting their interests and to seek their advice whenever practicable before adopting policies which will have major impact on them. Subject to reasonable considerations of timeliness, coverage, and cost, the Governing Board should use the means of communication available to it for this purpose, including telegraphic facilities, mailouts to the Membership, the *Foreign Service Journal* and *AFSA News*, Redtops, communications to Chapter Heads and Representatives, and meetings with Keypersons and with groups of Members. Nothing in this paragraph shall be deemed to prevent the Governing Board from acting on behalf of the As-

sociation in situations of urgency without full advance communication with the Membership, or to impair the validity of any Board action taken on matters within its authority.

3. Pursuant to Article XII, a majority of Members casting valid ballots shall determine the Association's final position on a proposal duly submitted for referendum on a matter within the Governing Board's authority, at the time the final position is so determined. The Governing Board's position on such matter or matters shall be binding on the Association unless and until and to the extent that it is superseded by the results of such referendum.

4. While AFSA Board Members and Committee Members and employees have constitutional and legal freedom of expression, any such person communicating publicly on any matter within the authority of the Governing Board also has a positive duty to indicate clearly whether he/she is expressing an official view determined pursuant to paragraphs 1 or 3 above, or a personal view. No such person shall use AFSA letterhead stationery, personnel, facilities, or titles to communicate personal views orally or in writing to the press, or to the Congress or its Committees or Members, or in seeking to testify before the Congress; and shall

explicitly disclaim that such views have an official AFSA character in any such communication. Pursuant to Article V.5, any such person communicating official AFSA views to these addressees shall obtain an appropriate certificate from the AFSA Secretary or designee. The AFSA Secretary or designee is hereby authorized and directed to take appropriate action to correct the record whenever he/she learns of communications which may create confusion in this regard and to report to the Board.

5. Pursuant to Article V.3, the AFSA President is the principal representative of the Association. When it is necessary to communicate an official Association policy or position determined pursuant to paragraphs 1 or 3 above, the President shall do so unless the Board directs otherwise. The role of representative of the Association does not include the power to determine policy for the Association, however. As the principal AFSA representative, the AFSA President has a special obligation to make absolutely clear whether he/she is expressing official Association policy or positions, or when he/she is expressing personal views.

6. This regulation shall be effective immediately, and supersedes the regulation made on July 17, 1975 on Public Positions of the American Foreign Service Association.

7. This regulation shall be published and submitted to a referendum in the

next edition of AFSA News.

8. This regulation shall be communicated by the Secretary to the press and to appropriate Committees and Members of Congress.

### YES

This regulation is intended to help clarify the issue posed in our March FSJ editorial "Who Acts for AFSA?" and is needed for the reasons indicated in that editorial. The AFSA Membership and our public and congressional audience have a need and a right to know how AFSA positions are determined and expressed. More specifically, the regulation withdraws language in a previous regulation which some had contended limited individual constitutional rights of AFSA Board Members; makes clear that allegations of the Board's failure to inform or consult the Membership, or the fact that a referendum may be pending, cannot impair the validity of Board actions on behalf of AFSA; imposes procedures intended to help our audiences know immediately whether an AFSA official is expressing official or personal views; interprets the term "representative" to exclude policy-making functions.

We need this regulation because of AFSA President Hemenway's

misrepresentation of his personal views on such important issues as career minister nominations, 1976 FSO promotions, grievance legislation, and microwave radiation as official AFSA views. We need to submit it to referendum because Hemenway and the Board majority have differed on how official AFSA positions are determined, each claiming the support of the Membership, and we need to know what the Membership thinks.

When this regulation was first introduced, Hemenway declared it "illegal" and contrary to the Bylaws; after reading it he voted for it. But we fear that his attitude may not be genuine and represents an effort to put his own gloss on the regulation and to avoid the test of Membership views which a straight Yes/No vote offers. If you support this referendum proposal, disapprove of Hemenway's past actions with respect to official AFSA positions, and generally agree with the Board's efforts to clarify the issue, we urge you to vote **YES**.

**No statements have been received in opposition to this resolution**

## HERTER, HARRIMAN, AND RIVKIN NOMINATIONS EXTENDED TO JULY 15

The April FSJ on page 33 announced the opening of nominations for the three awards of \$1,000 apiece to members of the Foreign Service who display outstanding intellectual originality, courage, and forthrightness. While it is commonly thought that these qualities occur primarily in dissent, that the opinion be dissenting is not a prerequisite for being considered for any one of the awards. Particulars follow:

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

### NOMINATION PROCEDURES.

Nominations should be sent to:

AFSA Awards Committee  
2101 E Street, N.W.

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

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

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

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

AFSA Chapter Representatives and Keypersons in Washington are in particular charged with nominating deserving persons for these awards. Foreign Service employees of all ranks and grades in all three agencies are eligible.

### REAL ESTATE

FOR SALE OR LEASE—nearly 1400 square feet in the Dresden Apartments, 2126 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, \$600 per month or \$62,500. Also available 2½ acres of land. 224-5749, 265-8399.

### AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION REFERENDUM BALLOT

Resolution on Public Positions

Referendum

Yes ☐ No ☐

\*Member's Name (print)

\*Signature

Constituency: \_\_\_\_\_

Pay Plan:\*

FSO ☐ FSR ☐ FSSO ☐  
FSRU ☐ FSIO ☐

\*Optional. See procedures for double envelope, page 38.

Send to P.O. Box 1316, Ref. 2, Arlington, Virginia 22210 by 10 AM, August 1, 1976.

## JOIN AFSA

(OR ENCOURAGE OTHERS TO JOIN)

**DUES CHECKOFF MAKES IT EASIER**

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, June, 1976

## RECALL REGULATIONS AND COMMITTEE LAUNCHED

After a month and a half of consideration, on April 28, the Governing Board passed a regulation implementing Article X of the Bylaws on the recall of Board members charged with "serious misconduct." The text of the regulations is published on pages 43 and 44 in this issue of the FSJ.

The Board had been struggling with the regulation since a draft had first been submitted by Vice President Hyde on March 10, had gone through three later versions, and had consulted several lawyers as well as the Department of Labor.

The regulation as adopted applies not only in the current situation of Mr. Hemenway, but also to that of any other Board member, whose recall may subsequently be recommended.

In approving the regulation Board Members were conscious that they personally might subsequently be charged under it, but the overriding concern was for the rights of individual AFSA Members to bring charges of serious misconduct against Board Members without suffering reprisals from the organization, and the rights of the Membership as a whole to decide upon the recall of

Board Members so charged.

On May 4 the Governing Board appointed FSO-2 (ret) Archie Lang as Chairman of the Interim Recall Committee, which will organize and conduct the special meetings of the Washington Membership and the Chapters to consider whether to endorse the recommendation for the recall of President Hemenway, and perform other related functions. The Board on March 30 had asked the Executive Director, Mr. Moreland, who had been appointed to that post unanimously last summer by the current Board, to search for a nominee for Chairman.

Mr. Lang recommended as other Members of the Committee, Lee Metcalfe (FSO-ret.); Ronald Palmer, FSO-2; Stephen Talkins, FSIO-4; and John Walsh, FSIO-5, John Ivie, FSSO-2, and Helen Wilson, FSR-2 (AID), who were then appointed. The Committee held its first meeting, in executive session, on Friday, May 7.

Members will receive further information about the next steps in the recall from the Interim Recall Committee. Future editions of AFSA News will be cleared by the Committee Chairman, in order to further assure their impartiality on matters related to the recall.

## OPEN GRIEVANCE HEARINGS?

The AFSA Grievance Committee has been consulting with the Executive Secretary of the Foreign Service Grievance Board (John Warnock) about the internal regulations of that Board in considering grievances. As indicated in previous issues, these internal regulations will be issued by the Grievance Board, after having received comments but without necessarily having obtained the approval or agreement of management and employee organizations. The regulations are required by the legislation and include provisions dealing with due process for grievants in relation to hearings.

AFSA is particularly interested in obtaining for the grievant a presumption in favor of a public hearing if the grievant so requests. The legislation says: "The grievant, a reasonable number of repre-

sentatives of the grievant's own choosing, and a reasonable number of representatives of the foreign affairs agency concerned are entitled to be present at the hearing. The Grievance Board may after considering the views of the parties and any other individuals connected with the grievance decide that a hearing should be open to others." We should like the Grievance Board to have a stated policy of permitting hearings to be open to the public if the grievant so requests, unless and to the extent that national security, foreign policy privacy, or other considerations of law and regulation dictate otherwise.

We anticipate that the Grievance Board will issue its regulations for comment in the Federal Register when it has digested AFSA, AFGE, and management views.

## 1976 MERIT AWARDS

The Education Committee of AFSA has announced the following are the recipients of the 1976 Merit Awards for outstanding achievement:

Frank C. Bennett, Jr., Henry E. Bovis, Jr., Thomas J. Cizauskas, Gregory E. Coxson, Elizabeth M. Dwyre, Nancy C. Eiselt, Rosemary E. Fei, Debra A. Hughes, Rachel W. Jourdin, Stephen M. Milton, Marie R. Moore, Elizabeth F. Morefield, Carey M. Rappaport, Marlene J. Sakaue, Alfred K. Schlomann, Dwight D. Sipprelle, Sylvana Smith, Siobhan M. Sullivan, David R. Turner, Leslie A. Wang.

The following received honorable mention: Christopher K. Ahlen; Margaret M. Davis; Kathryn A. Dobbs; Alan S. Hatchimonji; Katherine A. Heichler; William S. Hoffenberg; Clayton L. Hough; Stephanie S. Hughes; Linda S. Kobrin; Patricia S. Lefes; James W. Perry; Juanita A. Wachob; Jody J. Zettler.

The awards this year are given in the memory of Ambassador "Tom" and Cornelia Wailes.

A more complete story on the Awards and the recipients, together with information on the program for next year, will appear in the August JOURNAL.

The members of the Association of American Foreign Service Women have chosen to express their approval and support of the AFSA Merit Award program by making available an additional \$2500 to be used toward awards. It is the understanding of the AAFSW Board that this amount will increase the number of awards to 20. The funds for these five additional awards are made possible for this year 1976 only by additional contributions and a most successful Book Fair.

## BOOK FAIR 1976

AAFSW is hoping for contributions of books, artwork, stamps and objets d'art for the annual Book Fair in October of 1976. The Book Fair also needs volunteers. Contact Lois Heginbotham (598-5946) or Ruthanne Nadler (363-1831), if you can be of assistance.

## MEMBERS INTERESTS

### BREAKDOWN IN NEGOTIATIONS

Negotiations and rapport between Management and AFSA's Members' Interests Committee have never been good, except when Management was getting its own way—then all has been sweetness and light. Conversations with associates and informal discussions with Management to try and resolve some of the differences have been fruitless.

Several months ago Management approached AFSA with a proposal for "package bargaining." In a further attempt to improve conditions in the Committee, AFSA agreed to try the concept in a limited format, i.e., for budget related matters only. On several occasions Management tried to relate the "package bargaining" concept to the private sector and negotiated contracts. On each occasion we had to remind them that we were not negotiating a contract nor were we the private sector. What we were trying to accomplish was a set of guidelines for the smoother functioning and more expeditious handling of Members' Interests matters. To this extent AFSA could see the benefit in a "package" concept as it related to budget matters. For months negotiations went on and on and on, line by line agreement was reached or not reached. Management briefed AFSA on the budget cycle—after we had to request it since we had been unable to get a clear definition from the Management negotiators on what constituted "budget related items." At one point Management negotiators even claimed that the cost of printing revised regulations could be considered as "budget related." AFSA was later assured by Management that they would not go that far. Uneasily AFSA tried to accept that Management was sincere. Then the final crunch—severability. AFSA maintained that within a package those items that had been agreed upon should be separable and not held back pending the outcome of those items that were still in disagreement or pending. The Management negotiators found this totally unacceptable! At that point negotiations broke down.

Where does this leave us? With bad feelings and poor rapport in the Members' Interest Committee and no new agreements. Where do we

go from here? By the time you read this AFSA will have submitted a series of proposals to Management, some of which will be budget related. It will be interesting to see how sincere Management is in expediting the negotiations and coming to agreement on these proposals. The deadline is June 30 in order to assure inclusion in the budget. Granted the time is short, BUT if Management is as sincere as they claim to be at the negotiating table, they will make every effort—and we all know that when every effort is made in any endeavor, good things can be accomplished. AFSA has tried to meet Management more than half-way in negotiating these guidelines, but without success. Although time has been lost, let us see if Management is willing to put forth effort, and the outcome should be more positive.

### TRAVEL FOR CHILDREN OF DIVORCED EMPLOYEES

In November 1974 the Controller General issued a landmark decision seriously circumscribing the Government's responsibility for paying for the travel of divorced Foreign Service employees' children (see discussion of this issue in February 1975 FSJ, pp. 39-40). The Department of State recognizes that in many cases the male Foreign Service employee is financially responsible for the support of his children. However, according to the Controller General's decision, he is not entitled to travel allowances if the mother was awarded their sole legal care and custody and their children's residence and domicile is with the parent having lawful custody.

Most employees submit a Residence and Dependency Report (Standard Form 129) on marital status listing dependents who would travel with the employee at government expense. But it has been difficult to get one's children classified as family members.

In June 1975 AFSA, in an effort to clarify this issue, proposed that unmarried children under 21 be considered as full family members of the Foreign Service parent and entitled as such to proceed to or return to post on home leave and rest and recuperation travel. Current State Department regulations in-

troduce the restrictive concept of "custody" which connotes the question of yearly abode. The Association believes that a Foreign Service employee's divorced status does not necessarily render his children any less his own. The existing regulations are arbitrary and violate equal rights, particularly those of males.

Most US courts have invested sole and exclusive custody of children in the wife. This has changed some recently but not much. We feel that employees who have suffered family disruptions should not be further punished by loss of allowances which require them to say goodbye to their children or spend large sums to see them occasionally.

The State Department has, to a large degree, ignored AFSA's proposal on this subject; no meaningful consultations having been held. The Department has referred the matter to an Inter-Agency Committee, which is composed of representatives from all US government agencies with overseas employees. Precisely when this Committee can be expected to render any decision on this matter is not known. Many months will probably elapse and many members suffer. The Association therefore advises members to have divorce decrees—whether interlocutory or final—amended to provide for *joint custody* for children. The granting of allowances and/or travel benefits to Foreign Service children of divorced parents is based in part on how much time the child spends with the Foreign Service parent; i.e., where summer vacations are spent, to whom academic records and reports are sent, and whose address is given to schools in case of emergency. While this criterion varies among legal jurisdictions, Management says that the general concept is nonetheless valid. Members with specific questions should write in detail to: Members' Interests Committee, AFSA, Room 3644, New State. We will endeavor to get decisions from the Department for you on a case by case basis. Please include the jurisdiction where the divorce was granted, your ex's place of residence, and where the children of your former marriage presently live.

## Foreign Service People

### Deaths

**Curtis.** Dorothy F. Curtis, wife of Charles W. Curtis, Jr., AID-retired, died on April 29 in Clearwater, Florida. Mrs. Curtis accompanied her husband on assignments to San Jose, Bangkok, Rio de Janeiro and Georgetown before his retirement in 1973. Mrs. Curtis was well-known as an artist and had exhibited in many countries. She is survived by her husband of 2401 Ecuadorian Way, Apt. 5, Clearwater, Florida 33515, three sons, Charles III, Christian and James, her parents and a sister.

**Boone.** Dorothy J. Boone, FSS-6, died on May 1 in Washington. Miss Boone is survived by her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Curtis J. Boone, 433 S. Craig Ave., Pasadena, California 91107.

**Furber.** Mildred Furber, who served at FSI from 1955 to 1975, died on April 2. Miss Furber served as secretary to the Director of FSI and as a Training Instructor with the Communication and Clerical Skills Program. She joined the Department of State in 1950 after service in WWII. She is survived by a sister, Mrs. Burley T. Cram, and two brothers, Howard N. Furber, Cambridge, Mass. and Norman J. Furber, 245 East 25th St., Apt. 4-H, New York 10010. Memorial contributions may be made to Children's Hospital.

**Hodge.** Philip G. Hodge, USIA-retired, died on May 6 in Rockville. Mr. Hodge joined the Foreign Service Auxiliary in 1946 in Rome and transferred to USIA in 1953. He served at Bonn, Taipei and Kingston before his retirement in 1965. Mr. Hodge was an active Rotarian, including Rotary International. He is survived by his wife, Muriel Miller Hodge, 616 Great Falls Road, Rockville, Md. 20850, two sons, Professor Philip Hodge of Minneapolis and FSO-retired Max E. Hodge, Treks End, Groom Creek Route, Prescott, Arizona, a daughter, Dr. Mary Frantz of Monroe, Wisconsin, 11 grandchildren and two great grandchildren. Contributions in his memory may be made to the American Foreign Service Association Scholarship Fund.

**Smith.** Dr. Rufus Burr Smith, FSO-retired, died on May 7 in Winter Park, Florida. Dr. Smith joined the State Department in 1946 and served at Bangkok, Karachi, Colombo and New Delhi before his retirement in 1967. He then joined the faculty of Rollins College and served as the Kenan Professor of Economics. He is survived by his wife, Maud Marie, of Winter Park, and three sons, FSO Rufus Grant, 21 E. 90th St., New York 10028, Douglas Burr, Ithaca, and Roy Herndon, Chevy Chase, Md. and two grandchildren.

### WELCOME BACK USAID/ MONROVIA

For over two years, USAID employees in Liberia have paid a financial, morale, and professional price by being arbitrarily put in privately-leased housing while their Foreign Service colleagues continued to live in government-leased quarters. This ill-considered move by AID management was to economize and to establish a "model" for other USAID Missions.

Fortunately, this arrangement has been reversed, thanks to the American Ambassador, Charge, and USAID Director. AFSA would like to know of any other situations which place AID employees at similar disadvantages vis-a-vis their State Department or USIA colleagues. Send any information on this subject to: AID Standing Committee, AFSA, Room 3644, New State.

### AID AFFAIRS

#### AFSA OPPOSES RELOCATION TO BUZZARD'S POINT, S.W.

In mid-April the Association discovered that AID was being pressured by the General Services Administration to accept one of its buildings in an isolated industrial zone of remote Southwest Washington, far from the madding crowd. The site would be occupied by all AID/W employees now located outside New State.

After investigating the location, AFSA representatives concluded that AID's move to the area would constitute exile for part of the Agency and its employees and would further exacerbate AID's problems. There are, for example, no restaurants or hotels in the area and no adequate public transportation; even a round trip taxi to New State takes an hour.

While agreeing with the principle of consolidation, AFSA opposes this particular move as one which will isolate AID's Foreign Service. We have asked for consultation under our Executive Order 11636 and are circulating petitions in Washington opposing the move. We urge AID people to adhere to the petition by sending in their names to: AID Standing Committee, AFSA, Room 3644, New State.

### BYLAW AMENDMENTS, ANYONE?

A number of members at home and abroad have suggested that our Bylaws, last overhauled in 1973, be worked over again. AFSA has just appointed an Amendments Committee to accept such suggestions. To propose an amendment you must get 100 members' signatures; to enact it you must win two-thirds of the votes. However, before submitting your pet idea, get a copy of the current Bylaws from your AFSA Representative or Keyperson. Note Article XIII on amendments quoted on page 34 of the May FSJ. If you want to initiate those procedures, get a small group together to discuss your idea. A devil's advocate or law school graduate can really help sharpen the proposal.

Drafts should then be submitted to the Amendments Committee, AFSA, Room 3644, New State, for consideration of technical problems and decisions on compatibility with the whole Bylaws framework.

### PRESIDENT'S MONTHLY COLUMN SUSPENDED

After receiving copies of Mr. Hemenway's column proposed for inclusion in this issue of the FSJ, the Governing Board voted to revoke the privilege accorded him in the past three issues. Members may request a copy of it and the Governing Board's reply from AFSA, Room 3644, New State.

WHEREAS AFSA BY-LAW VII.4.i. gives the Governing Board responsibility for the general direction of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL;

WHEREAS the AFSA Governing Board on February 23, 1976 authorized the publication in the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL of a monthly column by President Hemenway;

WHEREAS this forum was not afforded any of Mr. Hemenway's predecessors;

WHEREAS Mr. Hemenway has abused this privilege and used this column to make unsupported accusations against the character and motivation of members of the Association, including past and present members of the Governing Board;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED that the Governing Board, acting in the interests of the American Foreign Service Association and under the tenets of fair play rescinds its February 23, 1976 resolution and directs that Mr. Hemenway's access to the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL be limited to that accorded his predecessors.

## REGULATION IMPLEMENTING ARTICLE X

***AFSA members please note and retain. This is important information pertaining to current recall procedures.***

**RESOLVED**, that the Governing Board hereby makes the following regulation implementing Article X of the Bylaws:

### 1. AUTHORITY

- (a) AFSA Bylaws, Article VII.4c and h and Article X
- (b) E.O. 11636, Sections 5(b) (3) and 12
- (c) EMRC Regulations, Part 804
- (d) Subpart A of 29 CFR, Part 204, 204.30
- (e) 29 CFR 417

### 2. PURPOSE

The purpose of this regulation is to establish a reasonable and equitable procedure for the recall of AFSA Board Members, consistent with Article X of the Bylaws and applicable standards of conduct.

### 3. DEFINITIONS

(a) "*Chapters*" are defined in Article XIV and by regulation.

(b) Endorsement by "*a majority vote of the Members attending these meetings*" means a majority of the valid votes cast on each stated reason in support of the recall recommendation by Members who attend the special meetings of the Washington Membership and the Chapters to consider the recall recommendation.

(c) "*Party*" means the proponents of the recall, and/or the Board Member(s) in question, i.e., whose recall has been recommended, and/or their representatives.

(d) Unless otherwise indicated, "*days*" means calendar days, provided that if a time limit expires on a day which is not a working day of the U.S. government, the time limit shall be considered to have expired at close of business the next day which is a working day for the U.S. government.

### 4. GENERAL PROVISIONS

(a) Members shall have a reasonable opportunity to recommend the recall of a Board Member without being subject to retaliatory threats, coercion, or acts of intimidation.

(b) The recall recommendation, including its stated reasons, shall be communicated to the Board Member in question, and to the Membership, reasonably in advance of the special meetings.

(c) Subject to reasonable restrictions and after adequate notice, adequate opportunity shall be provided during the special meeting of the Washington Membership for testimony or the sub-

mission of evidence in support of or in opposition to the recall recommendation.

(d) the results of the vote at the special meetings on whether to endorse the recall recommendation for any of the stated reasons shall be given promptly to the Membership.

(e) If a majority vote of the Members attending the special meetings has endorsed any of the stated reasons in support of the recall recommendation, that recommendation with the stated reasons so endorsed shall be submitted promptly to the Membership for a recall election by secret ballot.

### 5. RECALL RECOMMENDATIONS

(a) Fifty AFSA Members, or a two-thirds majority of the Governing 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.

(b) Such recommendation should be submitted to the AFSA Secretary, who shall expeditiously verify the signatures. When the AFSA Secretary has determined that the recommendation has been submitted by the requisite number of Members or Board Members, as the case may be, the Secretary shall transmit a copy of the recommendation, including its stated reasons, to the Board Member in question and to the Governing Board.

(c) Upon receipt of the recall recommendation, the Governing Board shall promptly appoint an Interim Recall Committee to organize and conduct the special meetings of the Washington Membership and the Chapters to consider the recall recommendation.

(d) The Governing Board may recognize one or more persons as representatives of the parties.

### 6. INTERIM RECALL COMMITTEE

(a) The Interim Recall Committee shall be composed of not less than three AFSA Members who are not parties to the recall and who shall act as impartial individuals in the performance of their duties. No Interim Recall Committee Member shall accept appointment to the Board or to the Chairmanship of any other Committee during the year, except the Recall Committee indicated in Section 12 of this regulation, following that Member's appointment to the Interim Recall Committee.

(b) The duties of the Interim Recall Committee shall be to:

(i) organize and conduct the special meeting of the Washington Membership;

(ii) supervise the organization and conduct of the special meetings of the Chapters;

(iii) interpret and implement applicable Articles of the Constitution and Bylaws, this regulation, and applicable law and regulation; and

(iv) resolve related issues and disputes.

(c) In the performance of its duties, the Interim Recall Committee may draw upon the AFSA staff and facilities, and upon volunteers who are not parties to the recall. While working on recall matters, such staff and volunteers shall be under the direction of the Interim Recall Committee.

(d) The Interim Recall Committee may meet in Executive Session.

### 7. NOTIFICATION TO THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE RECALL RECOMMENDATIONS AND CALL FOR SPECIAL MEETINGS

(a) As soon as possible after its appointment, the Interim Recall Committee shall notify the Membership of the recall recommendation and call special meetings of the Washington Membership and the Chapters to consider the recommendation. The notification shall include the following:

(1) The Bylaws;

(2) The recall recommendation with stated reasons;

(3) A notice of the time and place of the special meeting of the Washington Membership;

(4) A notice of the requirement to hold special meetings of the Chapters;

(5) Such additional factual material as the Committee deems necessary;

(6) Such material in support of and in opposition to the recall recommendation as the parties agree, or the Committee decides, is necessary to assist the Membership in deciding whether to endorse the recall recommendation.

(b) The Interim Recall Committee shall send instructions to the Chapters regarding the conduct of the special meetings of the Chapters.

### 8. COMMUNICATION WITH THE MEMBERSHIP

(a) The parties, or other Members or groups of Members, may communicate concerning the recall with the Membership, or any practicable portion thereof, at their own expense, paying the Association in advance for any related costs to be charged to the Association.

(b) The parties may examine at AFSA headquarters in 2101 E Street, NW, the printout of AFSA's Membership list.

(c) Keypersons and Representatives are urged to distribute on an equal basis to the AFSA Members they represent material concerning the recall received from the parties or from other Members or groups of Members, provided that Keypersons and Representatives have the right as AFSA Members to support or oppose the recall.

(d) No edition of the *FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL* or *AFSA NEWS* prepared for publication after the notification of the recall recommendation to the Membership and the call for special meetings, and before the recall procedures are concluded, shall contain any material supporting or opposing the recall. All materials relating to recall appearing in such editions shall be approved by the Chairperson of the Interim Recall Committee or Recall Committee, as the case may be, before publication.

#### 9. SPECIAL MEETING OF THE WASHINGTON MEMBERSHIP

(a) The Interim Recall Committee shall determine the date, time, and place of the special meeting of the Washington Membership, which shall be not sooner than ten days after the notification of the recall recommendation and the special meetings to the Membership, and as soon as possible thereafter.

(b) The Interim Recall Committee Chairperson or designee shall preside over the meeting.

(c) The Interim Recall Committee shall organize and conduct the meeting so that:

(1) The Membership of those attending the special meeting can be verified;

(2) The parties have a reasonable and equal opportunity to present testimony and evidence on each of the stated reasons supporting the recall recommendation;

(3) Members attending have the opportunity to vote on whether to endorse each of the stated reasons in support of the recall recommendation;

(4) The secrecy of Members' ballots is guaranteed.

(d) The meeting shall be tape-recorded and a transcript shall be prepared as soon as possible. Either shall be made available at cost to any party or other interested persons.

(e) At the end of the meeting, the Interim Recall Committee shall open the ballot box or boxes and count the votes in the presence of the parties, who may challenge the eligibility of voters or the validity of votes. The Interim Recall Committee shall resolve such challenges, and publish the results of the vote as soon as possible.

#### 10. SPECIAL MEETINGS OF THE CHAPTERS

(a) The Chapters shall organize special meetings pursuant to the instructions which they receive from the Interim Recall Committee pursuant to Section 7(b) above.

#### 11. RESULTS OF SPECIAL MEETINGS

(a) The Interim Recall Committee shall keep a running tally of votes reported from the special meetings in the presence of parties, who may challenge the validity of any ballots. Such challenges shall be resolved by the Committee.

(b) Forty-five days after the notification of the Membership indicated in Section 7 above, the Interim Recall Committee shall inform the Governing Board of the results of the tally.

(c) If none of the stated reasons in support of the recall recommendation has been endorsed by a majority vote of the Members attending the special meetings, the recall procedures are over and the Board Member in question may remain in office. The Governing Board shall so inform the Membership promptly.

#### 12. RECALL COMMITTEE

(a) If any part of the recall recommendation has been endorsed by a majority vote of the Members attending the special meetings, the Governing Board shall appoint a Recall Committee to organize and conduct promptly a recall election by secret ballot.

(b) The Recall Committee shall be composed of not less than three AFSA Members who are not parties to the recall, and may include Interim Recall Committee Members. Recall Committee Members shall act as impartial individuals in the performance of their duties. No Recall Committee Member shall accept appointment to the Board or to the Chairmanship of any other Committee during the year following that Member's appointment to the Recall Committee. The Recall Committee may function as indicated for the Interim Recall Committee in Section 6(b) (iii), (iv), (c), and (d).

#### 13. NOTIFICATION TO THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE SECRET BALLOT RECALL ELECTION

(a) As soon as possible after its appointment, the Recall Committee shall set a date for the notification to the Membership of the secret ballot recall election.

(b) The notification shall include:

(1) The results of the vote of the special meetings on each stated reason in support of the recall recommendation;

(2) The text of the recall recommendation with the stated reasons endorsed;

(3) A ballot on which the Member can indicate support or opposition to the recall of the Board Member in question;

(4) An inner envelope marked "Secret Ballot" into which the Member may place the marked ballot;

(5) An outer envelope addressed to a bank post office box on which the Member must sign and print his/her name.

(6) Such further explanatory material as the Recall Committee deems necessary;

(7) Such statements as may be presented by the parties to the Recall Committee not later than five working days before the scheduled date of the notification, in sufficient copies for circulation with the ballots.

#### 14. COUNTING BALLOTS AND ANNOUNCING RESULTS

(a) Forty-five days after the notification to the Membership of the secret ballot recall election, the Recall Committee shall open the bank post office box, at C.O.B. and count the ballots therein in the presence of the parties, who may challenge the eligibility of any voter or the validity of each vote. The Recall Committee shall decide such challenges.

(b) The recall of the Board Member in question shall require a simple majority of the valid votes cast, regardless of whether the voter attended the special meetings.

(c) The Recall Committee shall certify the results of the recall election to the Governing Board, which shall inform the Membership promptly.

#### 15. TERMINATION OF BOARD MEMBER'S TENURE BY RECALL

Any Member of the Board whose recall has been voted by a majority of the membership voting as provided in the preceding articles shall cease to be a Member of the Board upon certification of the results of the recall election by the Recall Committee, as provided in 14 (c) above.

#### 16. MISCELLANEOUS

(a) This regulation is effective immediately upon its approval by the Governing Board.

(b) This regulation shall be published promptly.

(c) These procedures may be stopped at any time by the resignation of the Board Member in question, or by the withdrawal, prior to the Special Meeting, of the recall recommendation.

(d) Any portions of the "Resolution on the Appointment of a Recall Committee" passed on March 30, 1976 and inconsistent with this Regulation are repealed.

*APPROVED* at Board Meeting of April 28, 1976 by a vote of 11 to 1, the President being opposed.

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